A N

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

VOL. X.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καταιόει, ἐν ἀυταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅσσα ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



DUBLIN:
Printed by EDWARD BATE, for the EDITORS:

M,DCC,XLV.

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The ſequel of the Jewiſh *hiſtory, from* Judas Maccabeus, *to the conqueſt of* Judæa *by the* Romans.

Judas Maccabeus *ſucceeds his father.*

JUDAS, ſurnamed *Maccabeus*, from whom the heroes of this epocha had the name *Maccabees* (P), did not ſuffer his troops to continue longer idle, than till they had ended the days of his father's mourning. His little army amounted to no more than ſix thouſand men [a]; but what they

[a] 2 MACCAB. viii. 1.

(P) There are various conjectures concerning the etymology of this word, and not one of them to be depended upon; not only becauſe nothing is more uncertain than etymologies, but becauſe, the book of the *Maccabees* being only extant in *Greek*, we have no certainty which were the original letters of the word; ſo that ſome have taken the middle letter to have been a ר, others a כ, others

they wanted in number, they made up in zeal and bravery, and God gave them such success, that they quickly got into some

the ק, according to which the sense of the verb will vary exceedingly.

It might indeed appear at first sight, that the *Maccabees* were so called from the *Hebrew* מחבה, *Mucchabeh*, or *Mecchubeh*, *hid*, as a term of contempt, because they hid themselves in holes and caverns; and that having afterwards wiped off the reproach of it by their bravery, they retained still that appellative in memory of their former absconsion, or from the word *Makkabah*, which signifies *a cavern*; and so they might be called *caverners*, or *lurkers in caverns*.

Others derive it from the verbs *macab to wound*, from *nakab to perforate*, from *hakab to supplant*; all which they do, by some seeming analogy, apply either to those *Jewish* heroes who fought, or to those who suffered martyrdom, for their religion, whether in *Judæa* or out of it. *Rufinus* above-mentioned tells us indeed, that the eldest of the seven brethren, who suffered under *Antiochus*, was called *Maccabeus*; and that all the rest, who fought or suffered for the same cause with him, were called *Maccabei*; but he gives us no authority for it but his own.

The most general opinion is, that it was taken from the four initial letters מ כ ב י of the 11th verse of the 15th of *Exodus*, *Micamoca baelim Jehovah, Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the Gods?* which four letters are supposed to have been embroidered upon their standards and shields, in the manner of the *Romans S. P. Q. R.* That the *Jews* were afterwards fond of these abbreviations, appears from those of the treble or quadruple names of their learned *Rabbies*; such is that of Rambam for *Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon*; Ralbag for *Rabbi Levi Ben Gershom*, and many more (1); but whether or no these kind of abbreviatures were so antient as as the *Maccabees*, it seems plain from the text, that *Judas* had that surname long before he displayed his standards against his enemies (2); not by anticipation, but in the same manner as his other brethren had each his different one, of which it would still be more difficult to find the cause or meaning.

However that be, *Judas* the *Jewish* chief seems to have bore it by way of eminence; and from him it passed to his brethren and successors, and thence to all who took up arms, or died, for the *Jewish* cause; and lastly it was given to the books which contain the history of those wars and persecutions, and of which it will be therefore necessary to give our readers a short account, before we close this note.

(1) *De his, vide Wolf. biliotb. Rabbin. & Buxtorf. tract. de abbreviatur.* (2) *Vide* 1 *Maccab. ii.* 4.

The

ſome of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of *Judæa*, fell upon their enemies ſo ſuddenly, and with ſuch courage, that they drove them

The firſt book of the *Maccabees* was written originally either in *Hebrew* or in the *Chaldee*, which became the current language of the *Jews* after the captivity. Its ſtyle and phraſe come neareſt that of the ſacred hiſtorians of any of the *Apocrypha*, and its chronological computation is purely *Hebrew*, and begins always at the month *Niſan*, anſwering to our *March* and *April*; whereas the *Syrians*, &c. began their year ſix months later. St. *Jerom* tells us, that he had ſeen it in the former (3); and *Origen* tells us, that it was intitled *Sharbit Sar Bene El*, or, *the ſceptre of the prince of the ſons of God* (4); or, according to others (who read *Sarbene* in one word, and with the *ſamech* inſtead of the *ſhin*) *the ſceptre of the rebels againſt the Lord*, intimating, that the *Maccabees* had maintained the divine ſceptre or power, againſt thoſe who had rebelled againſt it; but the original has been long ſince loſt, and the *Greek* verſion is now reckoned the moſt authentic.

It contains a clear and ſuccinct hiſtory of what happened to the *Jews*, from the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, to the death of the high-prieſt *Simon* (5); that is, of about forty years. It was partly compiled from the memoirs which *Judas Maccabeus* had cauſed to be collected (6), and partly from thoſe of the high-prieſt *Hyrcanus* the ſon of *Simon*, who began his government where the book ends, and who is therefore by ſome ſuppoſed to be the author of it, though he be barely quoted in it as having furniſhed him the materials out of his chronicle (7), and ſeems therefore to have lived after him.

Theodotion is generally ſuppoſed to have tranſlated this book into *Greeek*; but it being quoted by ſome fathers as ancient as that writer, ſeems to argue this verſion to be of older date. It is, however, from this that our *Engliſh* verſion was made.

The ſecond book of the *Maccabees* is, as we have obſerved in another ſection, an epitome of a larger hiſtory written by one *Jaſon*, but long ſince loſt. Both the author and the abridger ſeem to have been *Helleniſts*, by their manner of computation and ſtyle; or rather it looks like a collection of ſome valuable pieces relating to the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, from the attempt of *Heliodorus* upon the treaſury of the temple, to the ſignal victory which *Judas Maccabeus* gained over *Nicanor* fifteen years after

It begins with two letters from the ſanhedrin at *Jeruſalem*, one to the *Jews* of *Alexandria*, the other to thoſe in *Egypt*, to notify to them the purification of the temple and dedication of the new

(3) *Prolog. galeat.* (4) *Apud Euſeb hiſt. eccleſ l* vi *c. ult. & Comm in Pſalm Vol.* II *edit. Huetian.* (5) *Vide* 1 *Maccab cap. ult ver.* 11, *& ſeq.* (6) 2 *Maccab* ii. 14. (7) 1 *Maccab. xvi. ver. ult.*

them out of their cities, villages, and advantageous posts; insomuch, that *Judas*'s name began to become terrible to the *Syrians*, *Samaritans*, and apostate *Jews*, whilst those who had forsook their country to avoid persecution, were encouraged to resort daily to him from their retreats, whereby his troops increased to such a degree as to make *Apollonius*, the then governor of *Judæa* and *Samaria*, think it high time to suppress their growing power, before it was grown to a greater height. He hastened therefore to raise a considerable army, which chiefly consisted of *Samaritans*, *Jewish* renegadoes, and other neighbouring nations, with whom he marched against the *Maccabean* chief. *Judas*, on the other hand, in no ways terrified with the superiority of the enemy, came out against him with his handful of men, and gave him a total defeat. *Apollonius* was killed on the spot, with a great number of his men. The rest were put to the rout, leaving a rich plunder behind them. Among the rest of the spoil, *Judas* took the slain governor's sword, and used it ever after in those wars which he waged against the enemies of the *Jewish* nation [b].

This defeat so enraged *Antiochus*, that, upon his hearing the first news of it, he swore again the total extirpation of the *Jews*; and happy was it for them that his treasury was then so exhausted, by his extravagant largesses, that he was forced to suppress his resentment, till he could raise a sufficient supply of money to renew the war against them; but before he could accomplish this, another of his generals, received likewise a signal overthrow. this was *Seron*, deputy-governor of *Cœle-Syria* [c] under *Ptolemy Macron*, who took it into his head to come against *Judas*, in hopes, that if he could defeat that little army of his before the king sent more forces thither, he should gain no small glory by it. He advanced therefore with

Seron *defeated.*

[b] 1 Maccab. iii. 10, & seq. Joseph. ubi supra. [c] 1 Maccab. iii. 13, & seq

altar, instead of that which had been polluted with the idol of *Jupiter*, and to exhort them to join in the celebration of the festival of it on the twenty-fifth of the month *Cisleu* But both these letters are esteemed even more apocryphal than the rest of the history, and therefore neither of them need be longer dwelt upon.

We have already spoken of the third book of the *Maccabees* as previous in time to these two, and in authority to the latter of them. We shall likewise refer the reader to what we subjoined in that note concerning the fourth book of that name.

his

his troops as far as *Bethoron*, where *Judas* met him with a handful of his men. Theſe, ſeeing the ſuperiority of the enemy, expreſſed a great reluctancy to engage, fatigued as they were with marching and faſting (Q); but *Judas* ſoon diſpelled their fears, by reminding them, that they fought the cauſe of God, who was not wont to ſave by ſtrength or number, and whoſe glory, now concerned in their ſucceſs, would diſplay itſelf the more, by the diſproportion there was between the two armies. Having thus put new life into them, they fell upon the *Syrians* with ſuch vigour, that *Seron* was overthrown and killed, with eight hundred of his men, on the ſpot. Some of the reſt fled as far as *Bethoron*, and the greateſt part ſaved themſelves by running into the land of the *Philiſtines* [d]. Theſe continued ſucceſſes of the new *Jewiſh* general made *Philip*, governor of *Judæa*, think it high time to acquaint *Antiochus* with the danger that province was in of being loſt, if not ſpeedily relieved. *Antiochus* had then left the government to *Lyſias*, whilſt himſelf was gone beyond the *Euphrates*, as we have ſeen elſewhere *. *Lyſias*, who had orders to invade *Judæa*, and to deſtroy all the *Jews*, diſpatched immediately to *Ptolemy Macron*, governor of *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and to *Nicanor* and *Georgias*, two experienced officers, forty thouſand foot, with orders to ſee the king's commands punctually obeyed againſt the *Jewiſh* nation. Theſe came and encamped on the plains of *Emmaus*, not far from *Jeruſalem*, about twenty miles from *Lydda*, where they were reinforced with ſeven thouſand horſe. *Nicanor*, who had reſolved to raiſe, if poſſible, the ſum of two thouſand talents, which the king his maſter did owe to the *Romans*, cauſed proclamation to be made in all the cities and ſea-ports round about, that he would ſell his *Jewiſh* captives

Nicanor *and* Georgias *ſent againſt* Judas.

[d] Ibid. ver. 14, & ſeq. * See before, Vol. VIII. p. 575, & ſeq.

(Q) It was, it ſeems, this *Hebrew* general's method to keep a faſt before they engaged the enemy (9); and here, their march, faſt, and onſet ſo cloſely followed, that his men began to deſpond of the victory, when they ſaw the ſuperiority of *Seron*'s army to theirs.

As for *Bethoron*, it was, according to St *Jerom* and *Euſebius*, about twelve thouſand paces from *Jeruſalem* (10); but, according to *Joſephus*, one hundred ſtades (11). It was ſituate northwards of *Jeruſalem*, and between that metropolis and *Shechem* (12).

(9) 1 *Macrab.* iii. 17, & *ſeq.* (10) *Loc. Hebr.* (11) *Conf. antiq. l.* 20. *c.* 4 & *bell. Judaic. c.* 11. (12) *Hieron. ubi ſup.*

at the rate of ninety for a talent; and this brought a great concourse of merchants, who came with large sums of money to purchase those captives. Our author reckons no less than a thousand of them, besides a great number of servants, who brought chains and other materials to convey them away [c].

Judas's speech to his troops.

Judas, being thoroughly appriſed of this bloody apparatus againſt his nation, gathered his little army together, conſiſting only of ſix thouſand men, and reminded them not only of his late ſignal victories, but of thoſe which had been formerly gained in a more miraculous manner againſt *Senacherib*, and other powerful enemies of the *Jews*; and particularly of a recent one, which ſix thouſand of their nation had gained over an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand *Gauls* and *Macedonians* [f]. However, concluded he, remember that, let the ſucceſs be what it will, it is ſtill more glorious to die ſword in hand, in defence of our religion, lives, and liberties, than to fall into the hands of an enemy fully determined on our utter deſtruction. After this exhortation he was obliged, by the *Moſaic* law, to make proclamation, that all who had married wives, planted vineyards, *&c.* or whoſe hearts failed, ſhould depart [g]; and this carried off near one half of his men, whilſt the reſt, who remained intrepid, were ſcarcely furniſhed with weapons fit for ſo bold and unequal an enterprize [h]. However, he led his three thouſand men to *Mizpa* (R), there to implore the divine aſſiſtance by

[c] 1 MACCAB. iii. 41. 2 MACCAB. viii. 34. JOSEPH. l. xii. c 11. [f] 2 MACCAB. viii. 19, & ſeq. [g] Vide Deut. xx. 5. [h] 1 MACCAB. iv. 6.

(R) This place, which is famous in the Old Teſtament upon many accounts, and where the *Jews* uſed to aſſemble themſelves to worſhip before the temple was built (13), was now made choice of upon this occaſion, the temple being then polluted, and kept by a *Syrian* gariſon.

Here they faſted in ſackcloth and aſhes, whilſt *Eleazar*, *Judas*'s brother, read and expounded to them ſome proper portions out of the ſcriptures. The *Nazarites* likewiſe, who ſhould have performed the concluſion of their vows at the temple †, aſſembled themſelves with the prieſts in their robes; and, at the cloſe of their faſt and prayers, the prieſtly trumpets gave a ſignal, as a ſure omen of their future victory; and the *Maccabean* chief gave for the watch-word, *the help of God* (14).

(13) *Vide int al* 1 *Sam.* vii. 5, & *ſeq* † *De his, vide Vol. III p* 229, & *ſeq.* (14) 1 *Maccab.* iii. 46, & *ſeq.* 2 *Maccab.* viii. 23, & *ſeq.*

prayer,

prayer, faſting, and ſacrifices, in confidence of which he marched with them againſt the enemy, and encamped as near them as he ſafely could, reſolved to give them battle early on the next morning, of which he gave his troops notice that very night[i]. In the mean time news was brought him by ſome of his ſcouts, that *Georgias* was coming, at the head of five thouſand of his choiceſt men, and one thouſand horſe, to ſurpriſe him in his camp; which gave him ſuch an opportunity of countermining him, as gained him a complete and eaſy victory; for, taking the advantage of *Georgias*'s abſence, he and his three thouſand men fell on a ſudden on the *Syrian* army, killed three thouſand of their men, and put the reſt to flight, and into ſuch confuſion, that they could not be rallied again by any means, but left their camp, and all their baggage and ſpoil behind them, and fled. *Georgias*, having in vain ſought for his enemy, whom he ſuppoſed to have retired again into the mountains, was returning back to his army, when he perceived his camp on fire, which threw his men into ſuch a panic, that, in ſpight of all he could do to prevent it, they threw down their arms, and ran after the reſt. *Judas* did not leave off purſuing them, till he had killed ſix thouſand more of their men, beſides a great number of maimed and wounded; after which he led his victorious troop to plunder the enemies camp, where, among other rich ſpoil, they found that money which the greedy merchants had brought to buy the *Jewiſh* captives with. This ſignal victory was gained on the *Friday*, and the next day, being their ſabbath, was celebrated with ſuitable returns to the divine providence for their miraculous deliverance[k].

Defeats the Syrians.

THIS defeat proved doubly advantageous to the conqueror. It furniſhed him with quantities of arms and ammunition for his men, and his fame drew daily freſh reinforcements from all parts of *Judæa*, whom his ſucceſs encouraged to repair to him from all the places of their diſperſion; ſo that he found himſelf ſoon after in a condition to attempt another action, which proved no leſs glorious and ſucceſsful to him. *Timotheus*, governor of the country beyond *Jordan*, and *Bacchides*, another experienced officer of the *Syrian* army, had joined their forces, and were coming againſt him, with a deſign to retrieve their late defeat; but *Judas* was by this time ſo well reinforced, that he met and overthrew them in a ſet battle, killed twenty thouſand of their men, inriched himſelf

[i] Ibid. iii. 57, & ſeq. [k] Ibid. cap. iv. paſſ. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra. 2 MACCAB. viii 24, & ſeq.

with

with their ſpoil, got a new ſupply of proviſions for his men, and took preſently after ſeveral ſtrong fortreſſes from the diſheartened *Syrians*, which he gariſoned with ſome of his troops, and depoſited in them the arms which they had taken from the enemy. In the diſtribution of all the ſpoil, *Judas*'s generoſity outwent what was even preſcribed by the *Moſaic* law, which intitled none to ſhare it with the combatants, but thoſe who were left to take care of the baggage †; but he cauſed a conſiderable part to be divided among his indigent brethren; ſo that the old, decrepit, the ſick and lame, the widows and the fatherleſs, were made partakers of the fruits of his victories. In this battle was killed one of *Timotheus*'s chief officers, named *Philarchus*, who had been a bitter enemy to the *Jews*; and whilſt they were making their rejoicings for their ſucceſs, news was brought, that *Caliſthenes*, the man who had firſt ſet fire to the gates of the temple, had concealed himſelf in a little houſe not far from them; upon which *Judas* diſpatched a detachment, who went and ſet it on fire, and burnt him in it, as a juſt retaliation for his ſacrilege [l]. As for *Nicanor*, he ſaved indeed his life, but loſt his honour, being forced to retreat to *Antioch* in the diſguiſe of a ſervant, and there excuſe his late diſgrace, by owning, that the *Jews*, when under the protection of their God, were invincible [m].

Divides the ſpoil.

Caliſthenes *burnt.*

Nicanor's *ſhameful flight.*

When *Lyſias* heard the news of the total defeat of the army he had ſent into *Judæa*, he made all the haſte he could to put himſelf at the head of ſixty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, all of the choiceſt troops he could get; and entering *Judæa* with them through the territories of *Idumea*, was met at *Bethzura* (S) by the *Maccabitiſh* general, at the head

† Vide Numb. xxxi. 25, & ſeq. 1 Sam. xxx. 24. [l] 2 Maccab. viii. 30, & ſeq. [m] Ibid. ver. 35, & ſeq.. 1 Maccab. & Joseph. ubi ſupra.

(S) This was a very important fortreſs about that time. It was in the tribe of *Judah* (15), and had formerly been fortified by king *Rehoboam* (16), it being one of the keys of *Judæa* on the ſouth ſide of *Idumea* (17). The ſecond book of the *Maccabees* places it at five furlongs diſtance from *Jeruſalem* (18); but this muſt be a miſtake either of the tranſlator or tranſcriber, it being, according to *Euſebius*, full twenty miles from it, on the road to *Hebron* (19).

(15) *Vide Joſh.* xv. 58. (16) 2 *Chron.* ii. 7. (17) 1 *Maccab.* iv. 61. 2 *Maccab.* xii. 19. (18) *Chap.* xi. 5. (19) *Loc. Hebr.*

It

head of only ten thouſand men. The two armies engaged, and *Judas*, tho' ſo much inferior to the *Syrians*, fell upon them with ſuch courage, that he immediately killed five thouſand of them on the ſpot, and routed the reſt; and *Lyſias*, obſerving that the *Jews* fought like men determined either to conquer or die, dared not venture a ſecond engagement with the remainder of his ſcared army; but returned to *Antioch*, with a deſign to bring a much greater force againſt them by the return of the year [n] (T).

Lyſias defeated in Judæa. Year of the Flood, 2834. Before Chriſt, 165.

BUT

[n] 1 MACCAB. iv. 30, & ſeq.

It is likely that this was one of the fortreſſes which *Judas* had retaken from the *Syrians*, and which *Lyſias* came now to beſiege; but was defeated in the attempt by the *Jewiſh* chief, who came immediately from *Bethoron* to its relief.

(T) This is one of the moſt ſignal victories that ever *Judas* yet gained againſt the *Syrians*, and at the ſame time the moſt difficult to be accounted for, from the imperfect relation which the *Jewiſh* authors give us of it. That which he gained againſt thoſe two experienced generals, *Nicanor* and *Georgias*, was owing to a ſurprize, the *Syrian* army being attacked in the night, and in the abſence of one of their generals, whilſt the other, depending on his ſtratagem, did lie in profound ſecurity. In that which he gained over *Timotheus* and *Bacchides*, he killed twenty thouſand of their men before they gave ground; neither is it ſaid of either of theſe two actions, whether *Judas* attacked the two commanders jointly or ſeparately; ſo that if we may gueſs from his character, it is more likely he fell upon them both, before they had joined their forces.

But in this, *Lyſias* comes at the head of ſixty thouſand choice foot, and ten thouſand horſe, ſets down before *Bethzura*, is attacked by only ten thouſand men, and has ſcarcely five thouſand of his own killed, a ſmall number out of ſeventy thouſand; before he is routed, and ſo diſheartened, as to leave the province, and retire to *Antioch*. Our authors do not tell us in what order either ſide diſpoſed their troops; but from what we have formerly mentioned of the *Jewiſh* way of fighting †, and even by what we can gather from that of the *Maccabees*, who ſeem to have ſtill followed the old way, the method was, (whenever their army was too ſmall to make a front equal to that of the enemy) to divide their troops into four or five bodies of a conſiderable depth, and ſo fall on the enemy at proportionable diſtances.

As for the *Syrians*, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they did like other nations, ſpread their phalanges according to the number of their troops, and cover at leaſt their two wings with their

† *Vol. III. p.* 57.

But all theſe ſucceſſes ſeemed ſtill too ſmall to our *Jewiſh* general, whilſt the ſanctuary continued polluted with abominable idols, the temple gariſoned by idolaters, and the city a ruined heap. As ſoon therefore as their enemies were gone out of the province, *Judas* marched with his army to the metropolis, fully purpoſed to recover and purify it, and was as chearfully followed by them. Upon their coming to mount *Sion*, and ſeeing the deſolation in which it did lie, the houſes, palaces, and gates of the temple burnt down, the courts of the ſanctuary over-run with ſhrubs and briars, the prieſtly apartments demoliſhed, the altar and holy places profaned and ſtripped of all their antient ſplendor, they rent their cloaths, covered their heads with duſt, and filled the air with cries and other tokens of the livelieſt ſorrow. As ſoon as *Judas* obſerved theſe firſt emotions a little aſſuaged, he poſted ſome of his braveſt troops to guard all the avenues of the city from ſurprize, and then appointed ſuch of the prieſtly order, as had beſt ſignalized themſelves for their zeal and ſanctity, to enter into the temple, and ſee it thoroughly rid of all its profane lumber, whilſt the reſt of the people were buſy in clear-

Comes and purifies the city and temple.

cavalry; and in this laſt reſpect *Lyſias* had vaſtly the advantage, as well as in number, ſince we find not any where that the *Maccabees* made uſe of any cavalry; for, if they had, it is hardly to be ſuppoſed their hiſtorians would have omitted mentioning it, as well as that of the enemy.

Let us therefore ſuppoſe ever ſo great a ſuperiority in the *Jewiſh* army, either in point of courage and experience, knowledge of the ground, advantage of ſituation, or the like, it will appear next to a miracle, that ſeventy thouſand choice men of horſe and foot ſhould be routed and broken, upon the death of five thouſand of their men, and by ſo ſmall a number as ten thouſand, (ſuppoſe none of theſe were either killed or wounded) ſo as not to be rallied again by their old experienced officers; but that they ſhould, one and all, be flung into ſuch conſternation, as to quit both the field and the country to ſo inferior an enemy.

If therefore the *Jewiſh* authors have not exaggerated the number of their enemies, we may very well ſuppoſe they have their character; and, by their defeat, and their general's ſo ſuddenly retiring from *Judæa*, it may be reaſonably concluded, that his army, inſtead of conſiſting of ſuch choice horſe and foot, was only an undiſciplined multitude, gathered up in haſte, and eaſily ſcared at the ſight of ſo brave and reſolute an enemy What confirms this conjecture is, that *Lyſias* had much better ſucceſs the next year, when he came againſt *Bethzura* with a freſh army, whilſt that of *Judas*, as well as his fame, and conſequently the courage of his troops, increaſed by every one of theſe victories.

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ing the ſtreets and places of all the rubbiſh. Whatever old materials they found, that had undergone any defilement, they broke in pieces, and carried them out of the city, and buried them in ſome common place, eſpecially the altar of burnt-offerings, which had been ſo notoriouſly profaned, that no part of it was fit for future uſe; and which was therefore demoliſhed, and carried off, and another of unhewn ſtones [o] ſubſtituted to it (V). There were ſtill many things wanting before the divine ſervice could be reſumed; the altar of perfumes, the table of ſhew-bread, the ſeven-branch candleſtick, cenſers, and other ſacred utenſils, all of the pureſt gold, had been carried off, as well as the rich veil which covered the holy of holies: all theſe therefore the *Jewiſh* chief cauſed to be made anew out of the ſpoils of their enemies; and all being ſet up in their reſpective places, and the holy and moſt holy place repaired, they began the divine worſhip, with the

[o] Ibid. ver. 43, & ſeq. 2 MACCAB. x. 6, 7.

(V) It ſeems there aroſe no ſmall difficulty among the *Jewiſh* doctors, about diſpoſing of the materials of this old altar. On the one hand, it had been dedicated to, and had a long time been uſed in, the ſervice of God; ſo that they thought it unlawful to apply them to any common uſes. On the other hand, the heathens had polluted it in ſo many ways, by ſacrificing unclean beaſts upon it to their idols and falſe deities, that the retaining any part of it, would have been deemed to defile all their future offerings. At length a middle expedient was agreed on, that they ſhould be depoſited into ſome convenient cavity of the mountain on which the temple ſtood, till ſome prophet aroſe that could direct them how to diſpoſe better of them 20).

Among the ſacred utenſils which *Judas* cauſed to be made, inſtead of thoſe which *Antiochus* had carried off, we do not read of an ark and mercy-ſeat to ſtand in the moſt holy place; nor is it ſaid by *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, or even by *Joſephus*, that ever they made a new one.

The *Talmudiſts*, after the author of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees*, tell us indeed, that *Jeremiah* cauſed the old one which *Moſes* had mode, to be buried in ſo ſecret a place a little before the captivity, that it could never be found; and the former add, that it will never be brought forth, till God is reconciled to the people, and has gathered them all under the king *Meſſiah*. It is therefore reckoned one of the five things that were wanted in the ſecond temple; but whether they made any thing like it after their return, is more than we dare affirm We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that when the *Romans* plundered the ſanctuary, they found it quite empty of all thoſe utenſils.

(20) 1 *Maccab. iv.* 44.

dedication of the new altar, and other holy utenſils, on the twenty-fifth day of the month *Ciſleu*, it being the very ſame day on which it had ceaſed by the profanation of the temple three years before, and in the ſecond year of *Judas*'s government.

This ceremony, which was performed with all imaginable ſolemnity, was uſhered in with the earlieſt dawn, by the ſound of the trumpets, by raiſing a freſh fire by the ſtriking of two fire-ſtones; which was no ſooner kindled, than they began with offering the lamb for the daily ſacrifice, lighting the lamps, burning the uſual portion of incenſe, and all other parts of the divine ſervice, according to the *Moſaic* law; from which time it was never diſcontinued, till the deſtruction of the temple by the *Romans*. This feſtival was kept eight days with great devotion and joy, after which it was ordered to be ſolemnized every year in the ſame manner by the whole nation, under the name of *the feaſt of the dedications* [p]. During this time the front of the temple was adorned with crowns, garlands, eſcutcheons, and other ornaments of the beſt gold. Every houſe was likewiſe illuminated and adorned; and from thence it was alſo called *the feaſt of lights* [q] (W). The author

[p] 1 Macc. iv. 58, & ſeq. [q] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

(W) It was accordingly continued to be celebrated by lighting many candles, ſome at their doors, and ſome in their houſes. Even to this time they light a certain number of large wax-tapers in their ſynagogues during this feſtival; that is, one on the firſt day, two on the ſecond, and ſo on to eight on the laſt day of the feaſt; the occaſion of which, the *Jews* tell us, was, that when they came to light the lamps on the great candleſtick, they could find no holy oil to feed them with, till, after much looking, they found a little veſſel ſealed, which contained juſt as much as would ſerve one day; but to their ſurprize, burnt eight whole days. On this day they likewiſe celebrated the death of *Holophernes* by *Judith*, tho' they are not all agreed that it happened about this time (21).

It was lawful, however, to work during the feſtival, it being only obſerved by mirth and going to the ſynagogue. The *Jews* call it *hanuca*, which ſignifies *reſtoration*, or *renewing*. One of the Evangeliſts calls it *encænia* (22), which implies the ſame thing, and adds, that it fell in the winter, about the time of that ſolſtice.

This circumſtance is ſo much the more material, becauſe Chriſt, vouchſafing to aſſiſt at it, tho' appointed only by human authority, ſufficiently proves the lawfulneſs of inſtituting feſtivals in memory of public bleſſings (23).

(21) *Vid. Leo, de Moden. cerem. Jud. par.* 2, *c.* 9. (22) *John* x. 22. (23) *Vid. Grot. in John* x.

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thor of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* adds [e], that in memory of their having kept the feaſt of the tabernacles whilſt they lurked in their dens and on the mountains, they repaired to the temple on this new feſtival with palms and other curious branches in their hands, and celebrated this wonderful deliverance with pſalms and ſuitable hymns to the occaſion.

AND now there remained but one obſtacle more to be removed, namely, the gariſon which *Apollonius* had placed in the fortreſs of *Acra*, on the eminence over-againſt the temple (X), to annoy thoſe that went to and from it; for whilſt that was ſtill kept by heathens and apoſtate *Jews*, it could not but obſtruct their concourſe to that place of worſhip. A ſiege would have taken up too much time, had *Judas* been furniſhed with men and warlike inſtruments for it; becauſe the place was very ſtrong both by art and nature: and to have blockaded it would have taken up a greater number of men than he could ſpare. There was therefore but one way left, namely, to fortify the mountain of the temple with a high wall and ſtrong towers round about, and to leave a ſtout gariſon to defend it, and hinder that of *Acra* from diſturbing thoſe who reſorted to *Jeruſalem*. At the ſame time *Judas* cauſed ſome additional fortifications to be made to *Bethzura*, it being, as was lately obſerved, an advantageous fortreſs, to obſtruct the entrance from *Idumea* (Y); for which reaſon it had been lately attempted by *Lyſias* [f].

BY

[e] 2 MACCAB. x. 6, & ſeq. [f] 1 MACCAB. iv. 60, & ſeq.

The *Jews* did indeed celebrate two other dedications, *viz.* that of *Solomon* and that of *Zerubbabel*, which were properly founded on divine authority, becauſe inſtituted by perſons divinely inſpired; but that this, which our Saviour is obſerved to have been preſent at, could be neither of theſe, is plain, becauſe that of *Solomon* was kept in the month *Tiſhri*, which is about our autumn (24); and that of *Zerubbabel* in the month *Adar*, or the laſt month, which falls in the ſpring (25); whereas that of *Judas Maccabeus* was in the winter, which agrees with what the Evangeliſt ſays of it in the place above-quoted.

X) The word, Ακρα *acra*, properly ſignifies an *eminence*, or *fortreſs built on ſome eminent ground, which has the command of the country round about*; and as this of *Acra* ſtood higher than that of *Sion*, it gave that gariſon the advantage of annoying all that paſſed to and from the temple, as was obſerved above.

(Y) It will not be improper here to remind our readers, that

(24) 1 *Kings* viii. 2. 2 *Chron.* v. 3. (25) *Ezra* vi. 15, & *ſeq.*

this

By this time all the neighbouring nations, having heard what had been done at *Jeruſalem*, were ſo exaſperated againſt the *Jews*, that they reſolved to join their forces to extirpate the whole nation. They began with murdering all thoſe that chanced to live among them, and waited only the coming of *Antiochus* into *Judæa* to aſſiſt them in the utter deſtruction of the *Jews*; but, happily for theſe, *Antiochus*'s death, which happened ſoon after, broke all their meaſures, and freed them from the bloody deſigns which that exaſperated tyrant had ſworn againſt them, when he heard of their ſucceſs againſt his three generals [t]. We have already given an account, both of his preparations and extraordinary death in a former chapter *, and to which nothing needs to be added here.

Antiochus's *death.*

The minority of the young *Antiochus* cauſed ſome alterations in *Paleſtine*, and gave the *Jews* a kind of reſpite, which proved, however, but ſhort-lived. *Ptolemy Macron*, governor of *Cœle-Syria*, who had been an inveterate enemy to the *Jews*, and had made them ſuffer great hardſhips during the laſt reign, was now by ſome means become their friend; but he was ſoon after accuſed for it to the king, and deprived

[t] 1 Maccab v. 1, & ſeq. 2 Maccab. ix. 1, & ſeq. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c 14. Euseb. Chron. * Vol. VIII. p. 546. & ſeq.

this *Idumea* is not the *Idumea* antiently ſo called in the ſacred books of the Old Teſtament, otherwiſe the land of *Edom*, ſituate between the *Dead* and the *Red* ſea, and known ſince by the name of *Arabia Petræa*; concerning which the reader may ſee what has been ſaid in a former volume *

But this we are now ſpeaking of, was a portion of the inheritance of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, taken in poſſeſſion by ſome *Idumeans*, during the time of the *Babyloniſh* captivity; who, being driven out of their land by the *Nabatheans*, came at ſettled here, and inlarged their territory from the ſouth part of the lot of *Judah*, as far as *Hebron*, which they made their metropolis, as it had been that of the tribe of *Judah*. Theſe, therefore, and not the antient *Edomites*, are the *Idumeans* we ſhall have often occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Now *Bethzura*, lying on the road between *Hebron* and *Jeruſalem*, at about twenty miles from the latter, as we have hinted in a former note, was an important barrier againſt the incurſions of the *Syrian* troops that were in *Idumea*, and did well deſerve all the care that *Judas* beſtowed in the fortifying of it.

* *See Vol. II. p.* 146, & *ſeq.* & *Vol. III. p.* 93, & *note* (E).

of

of his government by *Lyſias*, who ſucceeded him in it, and came preſently after with a powerful army into *Judæa*. In the interim, *Gorgias*, who commanded the *Syrian* forces there, having gathered a freſh body of ſtrangers, was making continual incurſions againſt the *Jews*, whilſt the *Idumæans*, who had joined with him, held the moſt advantageous poſts, and received in them all the renegado *Jews*, in hopes to tire the reſt by prolonging the war. But *Judas*, having gathered his army together, went and attacked them in that part of their territories, which was called *Acrabatene*, and killed no leſs than twenty thouſand of them [u]. From thence he marched againſt the children of *Bean* (Z), who had proved a great thorn in his ſides, and drove them into two of their ſtrongeſt towers; and when he underſtood they were furniſhed with every neceſſery thing to hold out a ſiege, he left his three brethren, *Simon*, *Joſeph*, and *Zaccheus*, with a ſufficient force to reduce them, whilſt he led the reſt upon a more important expedition. During the ſiege, ſome of *Simon*'s head officers ſuffered themſelves to be bribed with a ſum of ſeventy thouſand drachms, to let ſome of the beſiegers eſcape. *Judas* being informed of it, ordered thoſe traitors to be tried by the heads of the army, and to be put to death; after which he took the two fortreſſes by aſſault, put both gariſons, which conſiſted of about twenty thouſand, to death, burnt the towers to the ground, and paſt over *Jordan* into the land of the *Ammonites* [w]. Theſe he found likewiſe in a good poſture of defence, having *Timotheus* the *Syrian* general at their head, who had gathered a great number of forces out of *Aſia*, and was coming to invade *Judæa*; he had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the *Ammonites*, before he could come at the *Syrian* commander, defeated and killed great numbers of them; after which he took the city of *Jazar*, put a gariſon in it, and marched back into *Judæa* [x].

Judas *falls on the* Idumæans.

[u] 2 MACCAB. x. 14, & ſeq. [w] 1 MACCAB. v. 1, & ſeq. [x] Ib. ver. 8.

(Z) Whether *Bean* was the name of a man, city, or tribe, is not certain; but moſt probably they were a tribe of *Idumeans*, of whom the text ſays, that they were a ſnare and decoy to the *Iſraelites*, and did lie in wait againſt them on the high ways (26), as they paſſed to and from *Jeruſalem*.

(26) 1 *Maccab.* v. 4, & *ſeq* *Conf. cum Gen.* xxxvi. 27. & *Numb.* xxxii. 3. & xxxiii. 31, & *ſep.*

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In the mean time *Timotheus* had not been idle, but had gathered together an army from among all the heathen nations, who were now more than ever exasperated against the *Jews*, resolved, if possible, to wipe of the disgrace of his former defeat, with the extirpation of that people. To this end, he entered *Judæa* with his new forces. *Judas* did not let him penetrate far, before he met and totally defeated him, killed twenty thousand five hundred of his foot and six hundred horse, and forced him to retreat into the city of *Gazara* (A), which was commanded by his brother *Chereas*. Hither *Judas* pursued and invested him, and, having carried the place in five days, slew him with his brother and another *Syrian* general named *Apollophanes* [y]. This defeat, though very advantageous to the *Jews*, proved the cause of great numbers of their nation being murdered by the heathens, who could not brook the continual success of the *Maccabitish* general. A thousand of them were sacrificed to their fury in the land of *Tob*, and their wives and children carried into captivity; the rest of their brethren must have undergone the same fate, had they not timely prevented it, by flying into *Dathema*, a fortress in the land of *Gilead*, and there timely provided for their own defence [z]. From thence they sent letters to *Judas*, informing him of their condition, and that *Timotheus*, perhaps the son of him that was lately killed at *Gazara*, at the head of the *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, *Ptolemaidans*, and others, was besieging them in it. *Judas* had scarcely done reading these letters, when he received others from other brethern in *Galilee*, who were also in the same distress. The general immediately convened a sanhedrin, in which it was resolved, that *Judas* and his brother *Jonathan* should go to help the *Gileadites*, with part of his troops, making in all about eight thousand: that *Simon*, another of his brothers, should go with another part to succour those of *Galilee*; and that *Joseph* and *Azarias* his other brothers, should stay to defend *Jerusalem* with the residue of their troops. To these latter *Judas* gave strict charge in no case to act of-

Defeats Timotheus.

Gileadites and Galileans defeated.

[y] 2 Macc. x. 31, & ad fin. [z] 1 Macc. v. 1, & seq.

(A) Probably the same with *Gadara* and *Gaderoth*, situate in the neighbourhood of *Diospolis* and *Nicopolis* (27). *Eusebius* places it about five miles northward of the latter (28).

(27) *Vide Steph. Byzant sub Gadara, Reland. Palest. l.* iii.
(28) *Loc. Hebr.*

fensively,

fenſively, but to ſtand in their own defence, till his or his brother *Simon*'s return [a].

UPON *Judas*'s paſſing the *Jordan*, he was informed by the *Nabatheans*, with whom he was then at peace, that not only the *Jews* of *Dathema*, but likewiſe thoſe of *Boſſora*, *Caſphon*, *Maked*, *Alema*, *Carnaim*, and other conſiderable cities of the land of *Gilead*, were likewiſe cloſely ſhut up by their enemies, and, if not timely relieved, were deſigned to be all deſtroyed in one day. As there was no time then to be loſt, *Judas* immediately fell on *Boſſora*, took it, and deſtroyed all the males; and, having freed his brethren, ſet fire to the city, and marched directly to *Dathema*. Upon his arrival thither early on the next morning, he found *Timotheus* ready to ſtorm the place; and fell upon him ſo unexpectedly, and with ſuch force, that he put all to the rout; for they no ſooner heard the ſound of their trumpets, and underſtood that *Judas* was at the head of their enemy, than they threw down their arms in the utmoſt confuſion, and betook themſelves to flight. *Judas* purſued them ſome time, and killed about eight thouſand of them; but remembering the condition of his other brethren in the *Gileaditiſh* cities, he marched againſt and took them one after another, made them undergo the ſame fate as he had that of *Boſſora*, loaded himſelf with the richeſt plunder, and returned, with his victorious army and delivered brethren, to *Jeruſalem* [b]. *Delivered by* Judas.

ON the other hand, *Simon*, his brother, though inferior in ſtrength, having but three thouſand men, was no leſs ſucceſsful in *Galilee*; he defeated his enemies in ſeveral rencounters, killed about three thouſand of them, and purſued them as far as *Ptolemais*, inriched himſelf with their plunder, and delivered his brethren from their cruel thraldom; but finding it impoſſible with his handful of men to ſecure their longer abode there, by the total reduction of their oppreſſors, he choſe rather to bring them with their families and valuable things to *Jeruſalem*; whence *Judas* ſoon after ſent them to new people the deſolate cities of *Judæa*, where they might dwell in more ſafety. Whilſt things went on thus ſucceſsfully in *Gilead* and *Galilee*, the two brothers, that were left at *Jeruſalem*, unluckily took it into their heads to ſignalize themſelves alſo by ſome brave exploit on their heathen neighbours, though contrary to *Judas*'s expreſs commands. *Jamnia* appeared to them a fair ſea-port town (B) and worth Joſeph's their *unlucky attempt on* Jamnia. *Simon's ſucceſs in* Galilee.

[a] Ibid. ver. 19. [b] Ibid. v. 22, & ſeq.

(B) It was ſituate on the *Mediterranean*, between *Joppa* and *Azotus*, or *Aſhdod*, about two hundred and forty furlongs diſtant from

their conquering, before the return of their victorious brethren. Thither therefore they led their little army, but were unhappily defeated by *Gorgias*, who commanded the place, and who ſallied out againſt them, killed about two thouſand of their men, and forced the reſt to return with ſhame and loſs to *Jeruſalem* [c]. This diſgrace, however, did not hinder the fame of their worthy brother's increaſing daily, and his valour being more and more dreaded by their enemies. This gave the *Jewiſh* chief a freſh opportunity of falling upon the *Idumeans*, who, as we have ſeen, had joined with the *Syrians* and had been in ſome meaſure humbled by them. But as he found them ſtill ſtirring againſt him, he led his forces into the ſouth parts of *Idumea*, laid ſiege to *Hebron* their famous metropolis, took and demoliſhed it, with all the neighbouring towns, and carried off a conſiderable plunder [d]. From thence he entered the terrritories of the *Philiſtines* and *Samaritans*, injecting terror where-ever he paſt, and diſcouraging thoſe nations at leaſt from acting offenſively againſt him. In this expedition, ſome indiſcreet prieſts, that were in his army, endeavouring to ſignalize their valour by ſome exploit againſt the enemy, fell a ſacrifice to their untimely ambition, being all ſlain in the attempt, and by their deaths convinced both him and his army, how dangerous it was to go one ſtep beyond the orders of ſuch an experienced general. *Judas* did not return into *Judæa* till he had taken a tour thro' the land of the *Philiſtines*, and deſtroyed, with their fortreſſes, all their altars, groves, and other inſtruments of idolatry [e].

Judas's *ſucceſs againſt the* Idumeans.

Year of the Flood, 2836. Before Chriſt, 162

All theſe repeated ſucceſſes raiſed ſuch a jealouſy and ſhame in the lately defeated *Syrian* governor, that he aſſembled an army of eighty thouſand foot together with all the horſe and elephants he could get, and marched with them into *Judæa*, not doubting but ſpeedily to reduce that unhappy kingdom into as miſerable a condition as *Antiochus* had for-

Lyſias *invades* Judæa.

[c] Ibid. v. 55. & ſeq. [d] Ver. 65, & ſeq. [e] 1 Maccab. v. 67, 68.

merly

from *Jeruſalem* (29). Its name is not to be found in the *Hebrew*, but the ſeptuagint places it after the city of *Ekron*, mentioned in *Joſhua* (30). It is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Jabneh*, which *Uzziah* king of *Judah* is ſaid (31) to have taken from the *Philiſtines*.

(29) 2 *Maccab.* xii. 9. (30) *Cap.* xv. 45. (31) 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 6.

merly done. After which his design was to extirpate the whole *Jewish* nation, and to repeople their land with heathens, and to inrich his master and himself, both with the richest plunder of the land, and with the sale of the high-priest-hood and other dignities. Flushed with these great hopes, he marched through the southern territories of *Judah*, probably because the other was too mountainous and craggy for his elephants and cavalry, and laid siege to the fortress of *Bethzura*. *Judas*, who was then at *Jerusalem*, having first implored the divine blessing on his arms, set out with his little army to its relief. On the road there appeared to them a man on horseback in rich shining armour, and seemingly brandishing his spear against their enemies. This sight, whatever it was, gave his men such flush of courage, that they fell like lions on the *Syrian* camp, killed eleven thousand foot, and put the rest to flight. *Is defeated.*

Lysias, now more than ever convinced how impossible it would be to carry on the war against such an enemy, with either honour or advantage, sent *Judas* some overtures of peace [f], with a promise that it should be ratified by the king his master, and that the young prince should make him all the concessions he should with justice demand, and conclude an alliance with him. *Judas* accepted the proposal, and sent soon after *John* and *Absalom*, two of his captains, with the conditions upon which he would agree to a peace, to *Lysias*, who caused them to be forthwith conveyed to *Antiochus*. They contained upon the whole a general amnesty for whatever had been done before; a total revocation of the late edict, which obliged the *Jews* to renounce their religion and to conform to that of the *Greeks*; a free exercise of their religion and customs; and safe passports for commissioners to pass from *Jerusalem* to *Lysias*, or, if need required, to *Antioch*. These conditions, advantageous as they were to the hated *Jews*, were readily granted by the king, and two letters were sent, the one to the governor, and the other to the *Jewish* senate. *Lysias* likewise wrote to them, as did also *Q. Memmius* and *T. Manlius*, two *Roman* embassadors to the *Syrian* court. All these four letters the reader may find in the chapter last quoted [g]; by which it appears, how ready both the governor and his master were to agree to a peace with the victorious *Jews*, and how friendly those two *Romans* *Sues for peace.*

[f] 2 MACCAB. cap. 11. 1, ad 13. [g] Vers. 17, to the end.

had

had interposed their good offices on their behalf (C). It appears also by the king's letter, that *Menelaus*, the apostate high-priest, who in all likelihood was then at the *Syrian* court, had also laboured to promote this peace, and was desirous to be included in it, since he was sent back to *Jerusalem* by *Antiochus*, as his letter terms it, to comfort or confirm the *Jews* [h].

This peace, however, which seems to have been obtained from the young king by the sole interest of *Lysias*, unless we join with him the high-priest above-mentioned, could not be brooked by the other *Syrian* generals; so that, as soon as

[h] Ibid. ver. 32.

(C) *Lysias*'s letter, being dated from the month *Dioscorinthius*, or, as the *Latin* version abridges it, *Dioscorus*, has very much puzzled the chronologists, because there is no such month to be found in the *Syro-Macedonian* calender, or indeed in any other of those times. Those who suppose it to have been an intercalar one, placed between those of *Dystrus* and *Xanthicus* (32), answering in part to our *March* and *April*, have not given us any proof, that either *Syrians*, *Macedonians*, or even *Chaldeans*, had any such intercalary month; and the main reason on which they build their supposition, *viz* that the ratification of the peace is dated from the month *Xanthicus*, immediately following, doth make rather manifestly against it.

For *Antioch* and *Jerusalem* being at least four hundred miles asunder, it is hardly credible, that these articles of peace could have been sent for, transmitted, and ratified in so short a space as a month. We must therefore either suppose some mistake in the text, occasioned by the inadvertency of the transcribers, or suppose, that the king was not then at *Antioch*, but either in *Phœnicia*, or some other place nearer *Jerusalem*; and this latter seems indeed the most probable, if we consider, that, according to the king's letter (33), those *Jews*, who were to transact this peace and to go from *Jerusalem* to *Lysias*'s camp, or, as was observed above, to the *Syrian* court, had but fifteen days allowed them, *viz.* from the fifteenth to the thirtieth day of *Xanthicus*, which would have been too short a space to have gone to and from the king, and makes it reasonable to suppose he was nearer *Judæa*.

In this case *Dioscorinthius* and *Dioscorus* may be probably enough either a corruption, or more likely, other names for *Dystrus*, im-

(32) *Scalig. de emend. temp. l.* ii. *Usser. sub A. M.* 3841.
(33) 2 *Macc.* xi. 30.

mediately

as *Lysias* was retired to *Antioch*, *Timotheus*, *Apollonius* (D), *Hieronymus*, *Demophon*, and *Nicanor* governor of *Cyprus*, began to renew their hostilities against the *Jews*. The neighbouring nations, whether out of innate hatred against them, or by the suggestion of the *Syrian* officers, were equally forward to infest them. Some instances of which the author gives us in those of *Joppa*, who treacherously invited, upon some pretence, a number of *Jews*, with their wives and children, who lived in the place, on board some barges by the sea shore, rowed them further into the deep, and flung them over-board, to the number of about two hundred. This barbarous action was soon after heard of at *Jerusalem*, and *Judas*, justly provoked at it, marched against those murderers, came upon them in the dead of night, set fire to their boats and port, and killed all those that had saved themselves from the flames. He would have done the same to the city itself, but they had timely shut their gates upon him; and when he was resolving its utter destruction, he heard that those of *Jamnia* had hatched the same cruel mischief against those *Jews* that lived with them; he turned his arms thitherward, and came suddenly upon them, burnt their ships, port, and magazines, insomuch, that the flames were seen from *Jerusalem*, though, as we hinted before, at near two hundred and forty furlongs, or about thirty miles distance [i].

Judas staid not to take a further revenge of those two perfidious towns, because he heard, that *Timotheus*, who had by this time got a fresh army, was entered the land of *Gilead*; but marched directly to their assistance; he had

[i] 2 MACC. c. xii. 1, & seq. ad 9.

mediately preceding *Xanthicus*, or, if the former be derived from Διος κορινθιος, as who should say the month *Dius* of the *Corinthians*, because *Dius* among the *Bithynians* answered the *Dystrus* of the *Syro-Macedonians*, which is not improbable, then the *Dioscorus* of the *Latin* version will be only an abbreviation or corruption of the *Dioscorinthius* (34).

These letters bear moreover the date of the hundred and forty-eighth year, *viz.* of the *Seleucidæ*, which the learned author last quoted has proved to answer to the year before Christ 163, and the rest in proportion accordingly; to which we refer the reader.

(D) Not the general that has been spoken of in the former section, who was the son of *Thyrseus*, and was killed by *Judas*, but another, who is here called the son of *Gennæus* †.

(34) *Vid. Prid. sub an.* 163.

† *See Vol.* VIII. *p.* 604, (I).

scarce

scarce gone nine furlongs, before he was attacked by a band of *Arabian Nomades* (E), in number about five thousand foot and five hundred horse. A fierce engagement immediately ensued, in which *Judas* having got the better, forced those free-booters to sue for peace, and granted it to them the more readily, that his march into *Gilead* might not be stopt [k]. However, he obliged them to furnish him with a certain number of cattle and provisions, and extorted a promise, that they should assist him in any thing he should require of them, after which he marched in all haste to the other side *Jordan* to attack the *Syrian* general. However, he met with several other obstacles, and was forced to take some places in his way. The first of them was *Caspis*, a city well fenced with high walls, and so well provided within, that the inhabitants, trusting to their own strength, threw many scornful and blasphemous sarcasms at the *Jewish* army; but *Judas* assaulted it with such an unexpected bravery, that he made himself master of it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, insomuch, that a neighbouring lake, about two furlongs broad, was seen running with blood [l].

Judas defeats the Arabians.

From thence he marched into the land of *Tob*, where the *Jews*, called from thence *Tubieni*, had shut themselves up in the fortress of *Characa* (F); and whence *Timotheus* having in

[k] Ibid. ad ver. 12. [l] Ibid. ad ver. 16.

(E) These were a kind of wandering people, living in tents, and staying in a place no longer than it afforded them provision for themselves and cattle. They were the descendants of *Ishmael*, and, according to the angel's prediction of them (35), their hands were against every man, and every man's hand against them; for they lived chiefly upon plunder, especially of the caravans, who did therefore go well armed, and whenever they met, they seldom gave quarter to one another; and as those plunderers were stout, warlike, and well acquainted with the course of all those countries, it was no ill policy in the *Jewish* chief to secure their friendship and future services.

(F) Probably the same with *Charac Moab*, as *Carnion* may be reasonably supposed the same which, in the *Hebrew* and the first book of the *Maccabees*, is called *Carnaim*, *al. Ashtaroth Carnaim*, or *Astar with two horns* (36), which city was the residence of *Og*.

(35) *Gen. xvi.* 12. *See also, Vol. II p.* 365, *note* M. (36) *De his vid. Byzant. Reland Palest. tom.* 1. *p* 212, *& seq & alib. Bochart. & al.*

king

in vain tried to diſlodge them, was gone, after having left a good gariſon in a place ſtrongly ſituate within its neighbourhood to keep them in awe. As ſoon therefore as *Judas* found him gone, he ſent two of his generals with a detachment to take that gariſon, whilſt he with the reſt of his army, marched in ſearch of the *Syrian* chief. *Doſitheus* and *Soſipater*, the two *Hebrew* generals, ſoon after forced the gariſon, and put it to the ſword, to the number of ten thouſand. By this time *Timotheus* had got an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe; and when he heard that *Judas* was in full march againſt him, he ſent all the women, children, and other luggage, into *Carnion*, a ſtrong city of *Gilead* and very difficult of acceſs, whilſt himſelf incamped his army in the neighbourhood of *Raphon*, upon the borders of the river *Jabboc*. As ſoon as *Judas* was come near enough for his van-guard to be ſeen by the enemy, they ſeem to have been ſeized with a panic fear, for they made ſuch haſte to fly from him, that they wounded one another with their own weapons in the flight. In this running fight *Timotheus* loſt thirty thouſand of his men, and, unable to rally the reſt, betook himſelf to his heels. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter, finding themſelves cloſely purſued, fled into *Carnion*, and a great number of them went and took refuge in the temple of *Atargatis* (G). *Judas*, who came cloſe after them, burnt the temple and them in it; then ſetting fire to the reſt of the city, they all periſhed likewiſe, either by the flames or by his ſword, to the number of ten thouſand. *And Timotheus.*

Takes and burns Carnion.

king of *Baſhan* †. We find a city mentioned by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* by the name of *Carno* in *Arabia*. *Euſebius* mentions one near *Jeruſalem* (37); and there might be many more of the ſame name, if *Aſtarte* was either the moon, worſhipped under that name, or the *Egyptian Iſis*, repreſented by a bullock's head with two horns (38).

(G) Suppoſed to be the ſame with the *Aſtarte* mentioned in the laſt note. *Diodorus* ſays (39), ſhe was worſhipped at *Aſcalon*, under the figure of a woman from the navel upward, and fiſh downward, like the *dagon* of, if not the ſame with that of, the *Philiſtines*; for ſhe was worſhipped under ſeveral names, though under the ſame form, being called *Derceto* at *Joppa*, *Aſhtaroth*, *Atargatis*, and *Atergata* in other places (40).

† *See Vol. II. p* 174, 200. (37) *Vid. infra, in ſeq.* (38) *Vid Sanchoniat. ap Euſeb. Præp. lib.* 1 *c ult. & Vol. II. p.* 308, G. & 310. (39) *Bibl l* ii. (40) *Vid. Strab Geogr. l. Plin. l.* v. *c.* 23. *Selden. de diis Syr. & Vol. II. p.* 308, *& ſeq.*

ber

ber of twenty five thouſand. As for *Timotheus*, he fell in his flight into the hands of *Doſitheus* and *Soſipater*, who were haſting from the land of *Tob* to join their commander. Theſe two captains, however, were perſuaded by him to give him his liberty, upon promiſe that he would do the ſame to a great number of *Jews*, whom he held priſoners, many of whom were very nearly related, either to ſome of thoſe officers, or to ſome of their troops there preſent [m]. This victory quite compleated the reduction of the land of *Gilead*, and put it out of his enemies power to undertake any thing againſt him there. However, as the cities of *Judæa* were ſtill in great meaſure unpeopled, he choſe rather to follow his brother *Simon*'s example, and bring the *Jewiſh Gileadites* to inhabit and fortify them [n].

And Ephron.

In his way to *Judæa* he was of neceſſity to paſs through *Ephron*, that city being ſo advantageouſly ſituate, that he could neither turn to the right nor the left hand of it. It was moreover well fortified and peopled by ſtrangers of all nations. He therefore ſent in a peaceable manner to demand a paſſage through it; but they, inſtead of opening their gates to him, did ſhut, and even wall them up, and prepared themſelves for a ſiege. *Judas* therefore cauſed it to be proclaimed through his camp, that every man ſhould ſcale the walls in the place that chanced to be over-againſt him. On the other hand, the city which had been well gariſoned by *Lyſias*, had placed their choiceſt men on the battlements of it. The aſſault was fierce, and laſted the whole day; at length *Judas* carried it and took the city, put all the males, about twenty five thouſand, to the ſword, took their wives and daughters captive, ſeized all the richeſt plunder, and burnt and quite erazed the place. From *Ephron*, croſſing the *Jordan*, he ſpread his army along the plains of *Bethſhan*, then called *Scythopolis*, a conſiderable city, about a hundred furlongs from *Jeruſalem* †. Here he enquired of the *Jews* how they had been treated by the *Scythians*, and they anſwering much to the commendation of that people, *Judas* returned them thanks for their kindneſs to his brethren, exhorted them to live in friendſhip with them, and aſſured them of his own [o], and then continued his journey towards *Jeruſalem*. During their march, *Judas* kept ſtill in the rear of his army, encouraging thoſe that lagged behind, and brought them at length to that metropolis about the time of pentecoſt. Here they went to the temple to return thanks to God for

[m] Ibid. ad ver. 24. [n] Ibid. v. 24, 25. † De hac. vid. v. p. 365. [o] 2 Macc. ubi ſupra v. 30, & 31.

their

their quick and wonderful ſucceſs (H), and particularly that they were all returned ſafe and victorious without the loſs of one man [p].

Judas had ſtill a powerful enemy left: *Georgias*, governor of *Idumea*, was at the head of that nation, and had haraſſed the *Jews* for ſome time. He therefore made no longer ſtay at *Jeruſalem* than the ending of that feſtival, immediately after which he marched at the head of only three thouſand foot and four hundred horſe. The two armies met, and the onſet was ſo fierce on both ſides, that *Judas*, till then ſo victorious, had the mortification to ſee ſome of his men killed on the ſpot. *Doſitheus* likewiſe, a brave captain of his, whom we have lately mentioned upon another occaſion, having ſeized the *Idumean* general alive, had his arm cut off cloſe to the ſhoulder by a *Thracian* horſeman, and was forced to quit his priſoner, who took that opportunity to fly into *Mareſa*, a fortreſs near *Eleutheropolis*. Another part of his troops, commanded by *Eſdrin*, had ſuſtained the ſhock ſo long, that they were quite exhauſted. At length, *Judas* having again revived his men by freſh prayers and warlike canticles, the enemy took flight and fled, which gave him an opportunity of rallying his ſcattered forces to *Odollam*, a town near the field of battle, where they purified themſelves for the ſabbath then enſuing. On the day following, when he and his men came to view the ſlain, in order to bury them, they found upon every one of them ſome gold and ſilver idols, which had been conſecrated by the *Jamnites*, and which, though taken in plunder, were forbidden to be worn by the law of *Moſes* [q]. It was then eaſy for them to diſcover the true cauſe of their late defeat, and the juſt puniſhment of thoſe wretches, who had ventured to tranſgreſs in that clan-

[p] 1 MACC. v. 46, & ſeq. 2 MACCAB. xii. 30, & ſeq. [q] DEUT. vii 25, & ſeq.

(H) Quick and wonderful indeed! if we conſider, that the peace could not be broken as ſoon as made, and that it was concluded on the fifteenth of *Xanthicus*, anſwering to the beginning of our *April*; and that the feaſt of pentecoſt fell either on the latter end of *May* or beginning of *June*; ſo that in leſs than two months time they burnt the two havens of *Joppa* and *Jamnia*, beat the *Arabian Nomades*, took the city of *Caſpis*, defeated *Timotheus* and his numerous army, burnt and deſtroyed *Carnion* and *Ephron*, beſides ſeveral other ſtrong fortreſſes, releaſed a vaſt number of their brethren, and were returned to *Jeruſalem* loaden with ſpoils and a vaſt multitude of female captives, and all this without any loſs on their ſide

deſtine manner. *Judas* did not loſe ſo fair an opportunity of inſpiring the ſurvivers with an abhorrence againſt all ſuch heatheniſh ſuperſtitions; and with a ſure confidence in God, as long as they kept themſelves free from them. He then ordered a voluntary collection to be made among them which amounted to two thouſand drachms of ſilver, which he ſent to *Jeruſalem*, and cauſed an expiatory ſacrifice to be offered up for thoſe that had thus died in their ſin, and to avert any further puniſhment being inflicted on them for it in the other life [r] (I). From thence *Judas* fell upon the ſouthern parts of *Idumea*, took *Hebron* and other fortreſſes; after which he went and took *Azotus* from the *Philiſtines*, and pulled down all their images and altars wherever he paſſed, and ſo returned to *Jeruſalem* loaden with freſh laurels and plunder.

Offers ſacrifices for the ſlain.

All this while the fortreſs of *Acra* was in the hand of the enemy, and not only hindered many of the *Jews* from reſorting to the temple, but annoyed thoſe that did, eſpecially in *Judas*'s abſence. Upon his coming therefore from *Odollam*, he reſolved to form the ſiege of it, and to that end gathered together his whole army, furniſhed himſelf with engines for throwing large ſtones, and with other inſtruments

Beſieges Acra.

[r] 2 Macc. ubi ſupra, verſ. 38, ad fin.

(I) This is certainly the meaning of the hiſtorian (whatever might be that of the *Jewiſh* chief in cauſing this ſin offering or reconciliatory ſacrifices and prayers to be made for thoſe dead ſinners); for he adds (41), that *Judas* gave thereby a ſignal proof of his belief of a reſurrection; for, ſays he, if he had not hoped that thoſe ſlain men would have riſen again from the dead, it had been vain and ſuperfluous to have cauſed prayers to be made for them.

Judas might, in all likelihood, have in his eye the defeat which the *Iſraelites* had formerly had upon ſuch another occaſion, in the caſe of *Achan*'s ſacrilege (42); but it may as well be likewiſe, that the notion of praying and offering of ſacrifices for the dead might be then in uſe, if not of longer ſtanding. However that be, it muſt have been ſo in the time in which the hiſtorian wrote it, unleſs we will ſuppoſe with ſome interpreters, that the paſſage above quoted was a gloſs of the tranſlator (43).

We may further obſerve that the *Arundelian* copy and *Syriac* verſion mention three thouſand drachms, and the *Latin* one twelve thouſand (44).

(41) 2 *Maccab.* xii 44. (42) *Joſh.* vii 16, & *ſeq Vid.* & *Vol. III. p* 71, & F. (43) *Vid int. al. Tremel. in loc.* (44) *Vid. Uſſer. anx. ſub A. M.* 3841.

for

for the ſiege. The place being very ſtrong, and the gariſon numerous and well furniſhed with arms and proviſion, made it likely to hold out a conſiderable time. But the renegado *Jews*, a great number of whom were then in the place and knew the valour and ſtoutneſs of *Judas* and his troops, finding that they ſhould be forced at length to ſurrender, and knowing how little mercy they had to hope for from the conqueror, adviſed the commanders to make a vigorous ſally, in order to give an opportunity to ſome of their brethren to go to *Antioch*, and inform the young king of their diſtreſs. Their advice was taken, and the ſally ſo well managed, that a number of thoſe renegadoes, with ſome officers, found an opportunity to divide from the reſt, and to take the way to the court unperceived. Upon their arrival they went and informed the king of all that *Judas* had done. They added, that he perſecuted with the moſt mercileſs hatred all that dared ſhew any fidelity to the *Syrians*, that he plundered, ſacked, and put to fire and ſword all that came in his way; and laſtly, that to ſhake wholly off the *Syrian* yoke, he had beſieged the gariſon of *Acra*, which had been placed there to keep their metropolis in awe, and that it muſt undergo the fate of *Bethzura* and other of his cities and fortreſſes, if not ſpeedily relieved. This news failed not to alarm the *Syrian* monarch, who ordered immediately all his generals to aſſemble his troops, and if they were not thought ſufficient, to hire a number of auxiliaries, and to march with the utmoſt diſpatch into *Judæa*. His orders were punctually obeyed, and a vaſt army was drawn together, conſiſting of a hundred thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe, thirty two elephants, and three hundred armed chariots. Theſe, having the young king and his uncle *Lyſias* at their head, marched to the borders of *Idumea*, where they laid ſiege to the fortreſs of *Bethzura* [r]. We have already given an account of this war in a former volume [†], and of the miraculous deliverance of the *Jews*, which ended in an advantageous peace to them, though diſhonourable to *Antiochus*, who, contrary to the articles of it, cauſed the fortifications of their metropolis to be demoliſhed. *Invaded by* Antiochus.

Menelaus, the apoſtate high-prieſt, who had accompanied the king in this expedition, in hopes of being reſtored to his ill-gotten dignity, and perhaps of obtaining the government of *Judæa*, left no ſtone unturned to ingratiate himſelf to the

[r] 1 Macc. vi. 18, & ſeq. 2 Macc. xiii. 1, & ſeq. [†] See Vol. VIII. p. 584, & ſeq.

young monarch, though at the expence of his nation and religion; but his wicked policy failed him, and *Lysias*, tired with so dear and dishonourable a war, and fearful, lest, if that wretch was left at *Jerusalem* and invested with any power, he should stir up a new revolt, either to ingratiate himself to the *Jews*, or to maintain his own authority against a people who he foresaw would never brook it; thought it more adviseable to find out some expedient to rid himself of so dangerous a wretch. He easily compassed his end, and his great credit with the young monarch, to whom he accused him as the author and cause of all the late mischiefs, soon prevailed upon him to condemn him to such a death as his treason, if not to *Antiochus*, yet to his God and nation, had deserved.

Menelaus *put to death.*

He was accordingly sent[t] under a strong guard to *Beræa*, and there made to undergo the cruel punishment of the ashes[t], a death we have already described in a former volume *.

The *Jews*, though glad at the death of that monster, did not, however, gain much by the change, *Lysias* found means to persuade the young monarch, that there was a necessity of bestowing the high-priesthood on one that was not of the pontifical family; so that that dignity, which of right belonged to *Onias*, the son of that worthy high-priest, who had been murdered at *Antioch*, was bestowed on *Alcimus*, or *Jacimus* as he is called by *Josephus*, who was of another family, tho' of the *Aaronic* race, and a person no less wicked than his predecessor. As for *Onias*, when he found his right given to one who had neither title nor merit, he resented the wrong to such a degree, that he retired into *Egypt*, in hopes by some other way to recompence himself for his loss. Accordingly, upon his coming to that court, he found means to ingratiate himself so well to *Ptolemy Philometor* and to his queen *Cleopatra*, that they granted him, some time after, the liberty of building a temple at *Alexandria*, like unto that of *Jerusalem*, of which he secured the priesthood to himself and descendants, as shall be seen in the sequel [u].

Onias *deprived of the high-priesthood.*

Demetrius *recovers* Syria.

We have elsewhere seen how *Demetrius*, the lawful heir of the *Syrian* crown, had found means to escape from *Rome*, where he had been long kept as an hostage; and, being arrived at *Antioch*, had put to death both *Antiochus Eupator* and *Lysias*, and had made himself master of that capital, and

[t] 2 Macc xiii. 3, & seq. * See Vol. V. p. 19. & note.
[u] 2 Macc. xiv. 9, &c. Joseph. antiq. l. xii. c. 15. xx. 8.

soon

ſoon after of the whole kingdom *. In the mean time *Alcimus*, whom the *Jews* had refuſed to admit to the high-prieſthood, becauſe he had obtained and ſullied that dignity by open apoſtacy and conforming to the religion and cuſtoms of the *Greeks*, came to complain of it to the new monarch; he brought with him a number of other *Jewiſh* renegadoes, whom *Judas* had cauſed to be baniſhed *Judæa* for the ſame crime. At the head of theſe miſcreants he applied himſelf to the king, accuſed *Judas* and the reſt of the *Maccabean* or *Aſmonean* race, of having deſtroyed thoſe that ſtood firm to their allegiance to him; of baniſhing others for not joining with his revolted party and of other ſuch crimes as they thought would render them odious to the court. They added, that their preſent diſtreſs was owing to their readineſs in obeying the edicts of the late king, his uncle; and in the end, *Alcimus* forgot not to beg to have the high-prieſthood confirmed to him by *Demetrius*. This accuſation, carried on with ſuch ſeeming zeal for the king, did ſo exaſperate him againſt the *Jews*, that he ſent back the apoſtate, and with him *Bacchides*, governor of *Meſopotamia*, at the head of a conſiderable army, and with orders both to reinſtate *Alcimus* to his dignity, and to carry on the war againſt the *Maccabees*. Theſe two were joined in the ſame commiſſion, and *Alcimus*, impatient to ſee himſelf reſtored to his dignity, haſtened the *Syrian* general, who was wholly devoted to him, to march forthwith into *Judæa* [w].

Judas *accuſed by* Alcimus.

UPON their arrival, the two collegues, who knew what an enemy they had to deal with, endeavoured at firſt to decoy him by ſome treacherous ſtratagem; and to this end ſent deputies to the *Jewiſh* chief to invite him to a conference, in order to end their diſpute in an amicable way. They ſpared no promiſes nor vows, that he ſhould come and go with utmoſt ſafety. *Judas* eaſily ſuſpected their deſign, and rightly judged, that ſuch a powerful army was intended rather to ſurprize him, than to decide the title of an intruding prieſt, hated and rejected by the whole nation. Inſtead, therefore, of accepting of their invitation, he ſet himſelf about preparing for a vigorous defence. His behaviour, however, was diſapproved by ſeveral doctors and ſcribes, and particularly by ſome of the *Aſſideans*, whoſe ſect we have ſpoken of in a former ſection. Theſe, pretending to a greater degree of ſanctity than the reſt, inſiſted, that an amicable way was preferable to an hoſtile one, and that *Alcimus*, being of the race of

* See Vol. VIII. p. 591, & ſeq.

[w] 1 MACCAB. vii. 8, & ſeq.

Aaron,

Aaron, ought not to be lightly ſuſpected of treachery againſt them. But finding *Judas* unmoveable, they took it into their heads to try how far their mediation would work towards the deſired peace; and having obtained an oath of ſafety from the treacherous high-prieſt, they came to him accompanied with ſome of their doctors and ſcribes. *Alcimus* gave them at firſt a friendly reception, but as ſoon as he had got them into his power, he cauſed ſixty of them to be ſeized and put to death [x]. This action proved of ſingular ſervice to *Judas* and his council, and ſufficiently juſtified his refuſal; and his whole army, *being now fully* convinced that nothing but the blackeſt perfidy was to be expected, from that baſe pontiff and his collegue, reſolved to ſtand up for their general, their relgion and liberty. Some few indeed, being terrified, either at the news of *Alcimus*'s perfidy, or at the ſight of ſo great an army, left *Jeruſalem* and retired into the country; but there ſtayed with him a ſufficient number to ſuppreſs the power of the treacherous pontiff, in ſpite of his daily reinforcements from the renegado *Jews*, who reſorted to him, eſpecially after *Bacchides*'s departure. For that general, whether ſtung with the reproaches, which his late perfidious action brought upon him, or with ſhame for not having been able to ſubdue an enemy by treachery, whom he dared not attack openly, left *Judæa* and returned to *Antioch*, leaving *Alcimus* what he thought a ſufficient number of troops, to maintain himſelf in his new dignity. However, whilſt he was in his way to the *Syrian* court, he could not forbear committing ſome cruelties againſt thoſe *Jews* that came in his way. Particularly at *Beſeth*, or *Bethſetha*, he cauſed a conſiderable number of them to be ſeiz^ed and killed, and their bodies to be flung into a well [y].

Alcimus, on the other hand, ſpared neither pains nor coſt, flatteries nor cruelties, to ſtrengthen himſelf. Thoſe that were of greateſt ſervice to him were the *Jewiſh* renegados and malecontents, whom his careſſes and generoſity drew daily to his ſide. For with theſe, ſupported by the *Syrian* troops, he was making continual excurſions into ſome part or other of the country, plundering, burning, and deſtroying all that refuſed to acknowledge him. *Judas* on his ſide was no leſs watchful of all opportunities to oppoſe and ſuppreſs him; he defeated him in ſeveral rencounters, and took ſuch a ſevere vengeance on as many of the revolted *Jews* as fell into his hands, that the reſt dared no longer act againſt him. *Alcimus*, being by this

[x] Ibid. ver. 12, & ſeq. [y] Ibid. v. 19.

time

time convinced of the impoſſibility of maſtering his enemy, and of ever being admitted to approach the ſacred altars, unleſs he procured a much greater army to force the *Jews* into a compliance, returned to the *Syrian* court, renewed his former accuſations and complaints, which failed not to be backed by all the enemies of the *Jews* that were then at *Antioch*; and having preſented *Demetrius* with a rich crown of gold and other valuable preſents, obtained of that incenſed monarch a freſh army, the command of which was given to *Nicanor*, one of the bittereſt enemies the *Jewiſh* nation had, with expreſs orders to cut off *Judas* and his party, diſperſe his army, and to ſettle *Alcimus* in his power and dignity, beyond the poſſibility of any future oppoſition [z]. But *Nicanor*, who had lately been ſo feelingly convinced of the ſtrength and bravery of the *Jewiſh* chief, and juſtly reckoned that one defeat more would complete his diſgrace, ente ed *Judæa* with a numerous army indeed, but with a full reſolution if poſſible, to bring *Judas* to accept of a peace, rather than hazard any more battles with him.

Nicanor *ſent againſt the* Jews.

HOWEVER, upon his firſt coming into that province, all the apoſtate *Jews* and the heathen, whom *Judas* had driven out of *Judæa*, came in ſhoals to liſt under him, in hopes to be ſoon reſettled in their former habitations, ſo that his army was increaſed exceedingly, before he reached the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*. On the other hand, the *Jews*, being informed of his approach, went to the temple to implore the divine aſſiſtance by faſting and prayers, and then prepared themſelves for a vigorous defence. *Nicanor* advanced as far as the fortreſs of *Deſſau*, where *Simon*, *Judas*'s brother, having attempted to come out againſt him, was ſo terrified at the ſight of his numerous army, that he was glad to retire to *Jeruſalem* [a]. All this, however, could not induce the *Syrian* general to begin any hoſtilities againſt the valiant *Judas*; on the contrary, he ſent three of his head officers, *Poſidonius*, *Theodoſius*, and *Matthias*, to make overtures of peace to him. *Judas*, who had ſo lately obſerved the propenſity of his men to a peace, acquainted them with the propoſals made to him by *Nicanor*, which was ſo well approved by them, that a day and a place for an interview was agreed on by thoſe two generals to give it the finiſhing ſtroke. *Judas*, however, *Makes peace with them.* juſtly ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the *Syrians*, cauſed a certain number of his ſtouteſt men to be ſo advantageouſly poſted, that they might come to his relief, in caſe any violence were

[z] Ibid. 21, & ſeq. [a] 2 MACCAB. xiv. 12, & ſeq.

offered

offered to him. But his precaution at this time was needless, and *Nicanor* was so bent upon clapping up a peace with him, that their conference was carried on to the satisfaction of both parties; the articles were agreed on, after which *Nicanor* went and stayed some time in *Jerusalem*, without giving the *Jews* the least cause of complaint; so far from it, that, to avoid giving them any umbrage, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and lived in perfect friendship with the *Jewish* nation [b] (K).

[b] Ibid. ver. 16, & seq.

(K) In this year some chronologers (45) place the introduction of the cycle, or rather period, of eighty four years, in order to settle the return of their new moons and festivals depending on them, we have shewn in a former volume †, what a wretched method they had used before the captivity, for discovering those new appearances without the help of astronomical tables The inconveniency they found in it after their dispersion, obliged them to fall upon some surer method, that the whole nation might, in every place, observe them and the other festivals on the same day.

This method was the period of eighty four years, which in all probability was only the period of *Calippus*, which that learned astronomer had published about a hundred and seventy years before, and consisted of seventy six *Julian* years, and to which they added the *Quoeteris*, either thinking it answered their purpose better, or, which is more likely, as dean *Prideaux* conjectures (46), to make it look like a discovery of their own. For the *Jews*, who were always very jealous of being suspected to borrow any thing of the heathen nations, may be supposed to have been more so at this time, when they had just gone through so great and general a reformation in their church.

But whether *Judas* and his sanhedrin, harassed as they were on all sides by their enemies, could have leisure enough to find out and settle this new method, or whether they had not brought already something like it, either from *Babylon*, or from some of the *Greeks*; one thing is certain, and worth observing, that this period of eighty four years was peculiar to the *Jews*, and has been used from thence downward to the time of the famous *Hillel*, who corrected their calendar in the year of Christ 300. It was afterwards followed by the primitive fathers in the christian church in the settling of their *Easter*, till new disputes arose, and new corrections were introduced, which are foreign to our present subject,

(45) *Vid Bocher. de antiq. Paschal Cycl. ap Prid. connect. sub an* 162. † *Vol. III. p.* 186, (H). 46, *Ubi supra.*

THI

THIS harmony was, however, interrupted ſoon after by the perfidious high-prieſt, who, thinking the peace not ſufficiently advantageous to him, went a third time to *Antioch* to complain againſt *Nicanor*, as a betrayer of his maſter's intereſt, and a friend to his mortal enemies; in teſtimony of which he urged the peace lately concluded between them. *Demetrius*, though juſtly ſurpriſed that his general ſhould venture to take ſuch a ſtep, not only without his leave, but without informing him of it, would not, however, recall him: he contented himſelf with refuſing to ratify the articles, and ſending him freſh orders to renew the war againſt the *Jewiſh* chief, and not to ſheath his ſword till he had killed him, and wholly ſuppreſſed his party. Upon receiving this unexpected order, *Nicanor* was extremely diſpleaſed; on the one hand, he was loth to violate the peace, which had been ſo ſtrictly kept by the *Jews*; on the other, he feared the reſentment of the king, if he diſobeyed ſuch an expreſs command. The laſt motive having at length determined him, his main ſtudy was now to find out ſome plauſible pretence for laying hold on the *Jewiſh* chief. To this end he began to alter his behaviour towards him, and, inſtead of their former intimacy, to treat him with coldneſs, and an air of ſuperiority. This ſoon gave *Judas* to underſtand, that it was high time to look to himſelf, which he accordingly did, with ſuch ſpeed and ſecrecy, that he was quite diſappeared before they had the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. *Nicanor*, ſurpriſed to find him gone out of his reach, endeavoured, as well as he could, to conceal his reſentment: he found himſelf now obliged to raiſe a new army, and to act againſt him as an open enemy, and yet was both afraid and unwilling to do it. At length, having gathered a ſufficient number of forces, and come towards *Jeruſalem*, he reſolved once more to try to ſurpriſe him by ſome foul ſtratagem, before he ventured upon an open rupture. To this end he ſent ſome deputies to acquaint him, that he was not come to make war againſt him, but to treat of peace with him, and to invite him to a new interview. *Judas* came accordingly to the place agreed on, where their firſt greeting was in all appearance very friendly and peaceable; but having diſcovered his treacherous intent, he withdrew, and from that time refuſed to meet him any more. *Nicanor* then ordered his troops to advance towards *Capharſalama*, not far from *Jeruſalem*, where, being met by the *Jewiſh* army, a battle was fought, in which he loſt five thouſand men. But the *Jews*, finding themſelves unable to make head againſt the enemy's ſuperior forces, retired, ſome to the city of *David*, and ſome into the tem-

Year of the Flood, 2838. Before Chriſt, 161.

Ordered to renew the war.

Attempts to ſurpriſe Judas.

ple [c]. *Nicanor* then led his army ſtrait to *Jeruſalem*, and, getting upon the eminence of mount *Sion*, was addreſſed by ſome of the prieſts and heads of the people, who came in a ſubmiſſive manner to him, and ſhewed him from that place the ſacrifices which were then offered up in the temple for the proſperity of king *Demetrius*. But the exaſperated general, having caſt many inſolent and blaſphemous reflections on what he called their baſe ſuperſtition, ſwore the utter deſtruction of them and their temple, unleſs *Judas* was immediately delivered up to him. But *Judas* had happily put it out of their power, having betimes withdrawn himſelf into the land of *Samaria* with ſome of his faithful troops. However, it was in vain for the prieſts to urge this or any thing elſe in their own defence, to a man who was now determined to make them feel the effects of his reſentment, for having miſſed his blow. The poor prieſts, ſeeing an exaſperated enemy at the head of a powerful army, at the very gates of the temple, and their valiant protector forced to abandon them to his mercy, had no other recourſe but to their prayers and tears; whilſt *Nicanor*, ſtill bent rather upon ſtratagem than open war, bethought himſelf of a helliſh expedient to oblige the *Jews* to apoſtatize, both from their God and their brave deliverer [d].

Threatens Jeruſalem.

THEY had at that time an aged member of their ſanhedrin, named *Razis*, a man highly eſteemed by the nation for his ſtrict piety and virtue, and whoſe inviolable fidelity to his religion and nation had gained him the title of *father of the Jews*. *Nicanor*, having heard ſo good a character of him, and that his example had preſerved numbers of his people from apoſtatizing, conceived a deſign either to force him to it by fair or foul means, or elſe to do a deſpight to the nation, by putting him to ſome cruel death. To this end he diſpatched five hundred of his ſoldiers to take and bring him to him. Theſe, finding his caſtle ſtrongly guarded, were endeavouring to break open the doors, or to force him out by ſetting it on fire, when the old man, after a long and ſtout defence, finding himſelf on the brink of being either taken or burnt, ruſhed on the point of his ſword, and pierced himſelf through. However, the wound not proving mortal, and he ſeeing the ſoldiers ruſhing into the houſe, he ran to the top of one of the turrets, and flung himſelf headlong down. This fall not having put an end to his life, he raiſed himſelf up, ran through the midſt of them to a neighbouring ſteep rock, leaving a rivulet of blood behind, which iſſued

[c] 1 Maccab. vii. 27, & ſeq. [d] Ibid. ver. 32, & ſeq.

out

out of his wounds, and having gained the top of it, he opened his wound with his hands, tore out his bowels, and flung them at his agaſhed enemies[e]. Thus died the brave old man, with an intrepidity rather to be admired than imitated. The *Jews*, however, have made no ſcruple to canoniſe him a martyr, though his death was rather that of a madman, or a deſperado. *Kills himſelf.*

WHILE this was doing at *Jeruſalem*, *Nicanor*, having heard that *Judas* was in the land of *Samaria*, marched againſt him with an army of thirty five thouſand men; and as he ſtill truſted more to his political ſtratagems, than to his ſtrength, he reſolved to attack him on the ſabbath, not doubting but they would, as they had formerly done, chuſe to be all murdered, rather than fight on that day. He was, however, aſſured of the contrary by ſome of that nation who were in his army, and who begged that he would pay a regard to that ſacred day, which the God of heaven had conſecrated to his ſervice. *Nicanor* aſked them, with a ſcornful taunt, Whether there was indeed a mighty God in heaven, who had ordered the ſanctification of the ſabbath? And being anſwered in the affirmative, he replied, And I, who am powerful upon earth, do command you to fight for the king your maſter, and to obey his orders. This blaſphemous arrogance, as well as his former threatnings againſt the temple, did not go long unpuniſhed; for whilſt he was incamped in the neighbourhood of *Bethoron*, *Judas* marched immediately againſt him with his three thouſand men, and incamped near *Adaſa*, a place about thirty furlongs diſtant from the enemy. The firſt thing he did was to encourage his little army with proper texts out of the ſacred books, and, to aſſure them further of the divine aſſiſtance, he acquainted them with a comfortable viſion which he had lately had, in which he ſaw *Onias*, the late worthy high-prieſt, and after him the prophet *Jeremiah*, interceding for the *Jewiſh* people, and that the latter had preſented him with a ſplendid ſword, and given him at the ſame time an aſſurance of a complete victory. This ſpeech had the deſired effect, and his men were on a ſudden fired with ſuch courage, that they routed the enemy on the very firſt onſet; for *Nicanor* being killed one of the firſt, his men were ſeized with a panic, threw their arms down, and ſought in vain for a ſhelter; for *Judas* purſuing them, and the *Jews* of the neighbouring cities hearing of this victory, ſtopping their flight, killed them all to a man, inſomuch, that there was not a ſingle perſon left to carry the news to *Antioch*. Nicanor *attacks the* Jews. *Is defeated and ſlain.*

[e] 2 MACC xiv. 37, & ſeq.

This battle was won on the thirteenth day of the month *Adar*, anſwering to our *February*; and on the next day, the body of *Nicanor* being found among the ſlain, *Judas* ordered his head and right hand, which he had ſo lately lifted up with threatening oaths againſt the temple, to be cut off, and carried in triumph to *Jeruſalem*; where, being arrived with his army, he cauſed them to be expoſed to the view of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, reminding them at the ſame time, that thoſe were the head and hand of the profane *Nicanor*, who had ſworn the total deſtruction of their ſacred temple. His tongue he likewiſe ordered to be cut out, and minced, and to be thrown to the birds, and his head and hand to be hung up on ſome of the higheſt towers of that city. After the uſual rejoicings for their late ſucceſs, a public anniverſary was inſtituted by the ſanhedrin, to be kept by future generations on the thirteenth day of *Adar*, by the name of *the day of* Nicanor [f], which has been kept ever ſince.

This victory gave the *Jewiſh* nation ſome peaceful intermiſſion, and their enemies being juſtly terrified at the continual ſucceſſes of their leader, ſuffered him to return and take quiet poſſeſſion of the city, which his ſucceſſor was, however, forced to quit ſoon after to the then ſuperior power of the *Syrian* general and apoſtate *Alcimus*, who held it but a ſhort while, and for the laſt time, as the ſequel will preſently ſhew.

The Jews *make alliance with* Rome.

During this peaceful interval, *Judas*, always intent on the intereſt of his religion and nation, obſerving how powerful the *Romans* were now grown, and how faithfully they protected and aſſiſted their friends, reſolved to procure an alliance with them, which might prove a bulwark againſt the oppreſſive power of the *Syrians*. *Eupolemus* the ſon of *John* and *Jaſon* the ſon of *Eleazar*, who had been already ſent with ſucceſs to *Seleucus Philopator*, were likewiſe choſen for this embaſſy. Their propoſals were readily accepted by the *Roman* ſenate, and a decree was accordingly made and ingraven on copper, in order to be ſent to *Jeruſalem*; importing, that the *Jews* were thenceforth acknowledged as friends and allies of the *Romans*; that both nations ſhould be ready to ſuccour each other and the allies of either with all their power, and in no caſe ſhould aſſiſt their enemies: and for as much as *Demetrius Soter* had been complained againſt to the ſenate, as an oppreſſor of the *Jewiſh* nation, they ſent a letter to him, injoining him for the future to forbear all hoſtilities againſt them, and threatening him with an invaſion of his country by

[f] 1 Macc. vii. ad ver. 50. 2 Macc. xv. 1, & ſeq. Vid. & Joseph, antiq l. xii. c. 17.

ſea

ſea and land, in caſe he did not comply with the purport of their decree [g]. This alliance was made in a lucky time; for whilſt it was tranſacting at *Rome*, *Demetrius*, having received the news of *Nicanor*'s defeat and death, was ſending the right wing, that is to ſay, the flower (L) of his army, into *Judæa*, with

[g] Idem, ibid.

(L) It was uſual in thoſe days for the king to command the right wing of their army, ſo that the beſt of their troops were generally placed there

With relation to the alliance above-mentioned, *Joſephus* obſerves (47), that it was the very firſt that ever the *Jews* made with *Rome*, which is very probable alſo, from the manner in which the author of the firſt book of *Maccabees* prefaces his account of it (48); for it appears from it, that the *Jews* till then knew but little of the *Roman* ſtate.

And here it will not be amiſs to inquire, how far the account which *Joſephus* gives of this alliance (49) is liable to the reproof which our learned *Uſher* gives it (50; that hiſtorian tells us, that *the decree of the ſenate was written by* Eupolemus *and* Jaſon, *when* Judas *was high prieſt, and his brother* Simon *general of the* Jews. That *Judas* died before *Alcimus*, and ſo could not be choſen by the people to ſucceed him in that dignity, as he there affirms a little before, is plain, not only from the firſt book of *Maccabees*, but even from *Joſephus* himſelf, who tells us in another place, that *Alcimus* had no ſucceſſor till ſeven years after his death (1), but that the ſuperſcription abovementioned was therefore forged by him, doth not ſo clearly follow. It is probable, on the contrary, that his finding it in thoſe very terms, in the *Roman* records which he was then conſulting, might lead him for the preſent into that miſtake, that *Judas* had been choſen to the high prieſthood after *Alcimus*'s death

If it be aſked, how it came to be ſo worded, we anſwer, that the *Jewiſh* nation being known to have had a high-prieſt at the head of all their affairs, both religious and civil, ſuch an alliance could not be well contracted without one. On the other hand, *Alcimus* having been conſtantly rejected by reaſon of his apoſtacy, it is not likely, that they would make uſe ſo much as of his name in ſo public a tranſaction. What other expedient could then be found, but that *Judas*, who was then at the head of all affairs, ſhould take that title upon him, at leaſt in the tranſacting of this alliance?

(47) *Antiq l.* xii. *c.* 17. (48) *Cap.* viii. 1, & *ſeq.* (49) *Antiq l.* xii. *ſub fin. cap.* 17. (50) *Sub. A. M.* 3843. (1) *Antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 8.

We

with *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* at their head. It conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, and with theſe *Bacchides* entered *Galilee*, and took the city of *Maſeloth* or *Maſſadoth* in the territories of *Arbela*, where he killed a great number of *Jews*. From thence they marched towards *Jeruſalem*, but being told that *Judas* was retired into the neighbourhood of *Eleaſa*, they went to attack him there. *Judas* had then but three thouſand men, and when theſe beheld the ſuperiority of the enemy's army, their hearts failed them ſo far, that only eight hundred of them ſtayed with him, and the reſt conveyed themſelves away, to the great regret of their valiant chief, who was now ſo ſorely preſt, that he had no time to get a new reinforcement, but muſt either fight or be cut in pieces. However, truſting in that ſuperior aſſiſtance which had accompanied him hitherto, he encouraged his men the beſt he could; a dreadful fight enſued, which laſted from morning till evening; and *Judas* obſerving that the enemy's right wing, commanded by *Bacchides*, was the ſtrongeſt, made a ſtout puſh at it, broke and purſued it as far as mount *Azotus*; but in the mean time, the left having quite ſurrounded him and his men, he was at length over-born by their numbers, and ſlain, after a long and vigorous defence; ſo that he fell down on a heap of his enemies, which he had killed round about him. As ſoon as the news of his death had reached *Jeruſalem*, the whole city was filled with the moſt lively ſor-

Judas's death.

We might add, that it is not eaſy to gueſs, how the nation could be ſo long without a high prieſt; for ſetting aſide thoſe religious functions which were peculiar to that dignity, and which might, for ought we know, have been ſuſpended during this interval; it is plain, the ſanhedrin, or grand *Jewiſh* ſenate, could neither aſſemble nor make any authentic decrees without him; ſo that we muſt ſuppoſe, either that every thing went irregular, or that they choſe ſome perſon to that dignity; in which caſe, why might not the choice of the nation, or at leaſt of the heads of it, be deemed as valid at leaſt, as that of a heatheniſh king, or rather tyrant and uſurper? for ſuch the *Jews* deemed even the beſt foreign princes that ruled over them.

How the generalſhip came to be given in this inſcription, rather to *Simon* the third brother, than either to *Judas*, or to *Jonathan* the next in birth, can only be gueſſed at. *Judas* treating then with the *Romans* as high prieſt, might think the quality of general incompatible with it, and *Simon* might, for ſome ſignal exploit or other, have been at that time more famed than his brother.

One thing may be added, that this ſuppoſed inſcription might impiy no more in the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, than that *Eupolemus* and *Jaſon* wrote, or ſent the written decree to *Judas* the high-prieſt, and to *Simon* the general.

row.

row. An univerſal mourning was made for him for ſome time, and in imitation of that which *David* made for *Saul* and *Jonathan*, they ſung theſe lines of his, *How is the mighty fallen? How is the preſerver of* Iſrael *ſlain?* However, his body did not fall into the hands of the enemy; for whether the *Syrians*, after this victory, which redounded leſs to their honour than a defeat, left the field of battle, or whether a truce was made for the burying of the dead, the author tells us, that it was taken and carried off by his two brothers, *Jonathan* and *Simon*, and buried in the ſepulchre of his father at *Modin* [h]. Thus died the brave *Jewiſh* general, ſix years after his father *Matthias*, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Jonathan*. The *Maccabitiſh* hiſtorian adds, that the reſt of his victorious wars were omitted, becauſe they were too numerous; and *Joſephus*, that he never departed from the precepts of his father, who injoined him never to ſhun any labours or hazards for the ſervice of his country, and that he died on the third year of his executing the office of high-prieſt [i], which confirms what was obſerved in the laſt note; ſo that, for ought appears, his only miſtake was in making him die ſo long after *Alcimus*.

THE news of his death was no ſooner ſpread through *Judæa*, than it gave a new life to all the enemies of the *Jews*, ſo that the greateſt part of thoſe found themſelves obliged, partly for want of a chief of known valour and conduct, and partly through a grievous famine, which then raged in the land, to acknowledge *Bacchides* their governor, and to ſubmit themſelves to him. Whilſt therefore this general was taking all proper meaſures to ſecure his own government, ſome of the chief officers, that ſerved under him, were ordered to make a diligent ſearch after the principal friends and adherents of the *Maccabees*, and to put them to the moſt torturing deaths; inſomuch, that this perſecution did ſeem to exceed all that they had ſuffered ſince their return from *Babylon*, and cauſed as general a defection. Under theſe diſmal circumſtances, thoſe few who retained ſtill a love for their religion and country had recourſe to *Jonathan*, ſurnamed *Apphus*, and deſired him to take upon him the command of the *Jewiſh* forces, and to endeavour to ſtop the cruel progreſs of the *Syrian* general. *Jonathan* was eaſily prevailed upon, and was gathering what forces he could get. But *Bacchides*, being informed of it, and coming againſt him with a deſign to ſurprize and put him to death, forced him and his few

Jonathan ſucceeds him.

[h] 1 MACCAB. ix. 1, & ſeq. ad 22. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xii. c. ult. [i] Id. ad fin.

followers

followers to retire into the deserts of *Teckoa*, where they encamped near the lake *Asphar*, being fenced by a large morass on the one side, by woods on the other, and the *Jordan* before him [k]. This situation, which he thought very advantageous to his handful of men, because there was but one narrow way to come at them, proved the very reverse, when they came to engage the enemy, as we shall soon see.

John *killed by the* Jambrians.

IN the mean time, as soon as he heard that *Bacchides* was in full march against him, his first care was to secure their goods and equipage, which were very numerous, till better times. The *Nabathæans*, as we observed before, were then at peace with them. *John* therefore, the brother of *Jonathan*, was sent at the head of a convoy to go and deposit them with them. But in the way he was surprized by the *Jambrians* (M), who issuing out of their city, fell upon him, slew him and his men, and carried away all their baggage. This injury did not long go unrequited. *Jonathan* being informed soon after that a great wedding was to be celebrated at *Medaba*, between one of the *Jambrian* chiefs and a daughter of a *Canaanitish* prince, or perhaps rather a prince of the *Arabians* now settled there, and having got notice of the day on which the bride was to be conducted to her new home, he and his men lay in ambush behind a hill; and as soon as the company, which was very numerous and of both sexes, was come nigh enough, they fell upon them, killed them to the number of four hundred, and carried away their plunder to their camp.

Bacchides *comes against the* Jews.

As soon as *Bacchides* heard of this retaliation upon the *Jambrians*, he hasted his army, with a resolution to attack the *Jewish* general on the sabbath, at which *Jonathan* found himself in no small distress. On the one hand, he was hemmed in on all sides, and on the other his men were with difficulty prevailed upon to stand in their own defence, partly at the sight of their superior enemy, and partly out of respect to the day; whether they had forgot the resolution and example of their late chiefs to the contrary, or whether they scrupled the validity of it. At length *Jonathan*, finding

[k] 1 MACCAB. ix. 23, ad 45. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiii. c 1.

(M) These were a tribe of the plundering *Arabs*, who lived then at *Medaba*, formerly one of the cities which the *Moabites* took from the tribe of *Reuben* (2), and afterwards the *Arabs* from them.

(2) *Conf Josh.* xiii, 16. *Isaiah* xv. 2. & *Joseph. ant. l.* xiii. *c.* 1.

himself

himself preſſed by the enemy on one ſide, and on the other by the reluctancy of his men to engage them, addreſſed himſelf to the latter in the following ſhort, but pathetic ſpeech; "Come on, and let us fight for our lives; for it is not now "with us, as it was in time paſt; for you ſee plainly, that "the battle is both before and behind us, and the *Jordan* on "this, and the moraſs and the wood on that ſide. Neither "is there a place left for us to turn aſide to. Wherefore "cry ye now unto heaven that ye may be delivered out of "the hand of your enemies". As ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, his men, what through his encouragement, and what through deſpair, made a bold puſh at the enemy, and killed a good number of them on the firſt onſet. *Bacchides* all the while ſeemed to aim ſolely at *Jonathan*, which being perceived by him, he attempted to make a full and effectual blow at him, but was prevented by his addreſs. The *Jews*, finding themſelves at laſt unable to cope with ſuch an army, caſt themſelves one and all into the river (MM), and ſwam to the other ſide, after having killed about a thouſand, or, according to *Joſephus*, two thouſand of the enemy [1]. Jonathan *put to flight.*

[1] Id ibid.

(MM) Whoever compares the ſituation of theſe places with the abſtruſe and imperfect account which the author of it gives of this action, muſt confeſs, with the judicious *Calmet* *, that *Jonathan* muſt have croſſed the *Jordan* twice, inſtead of once, elſe he could never have had that river before, and *Bacchides* behind. For when he retired to *Teckoa*, the river muſt then have parted them, and he muſt have croſſed it again to come to *Medeba* to puniſh the *Jambrians*; for *Medeba* was on the eaſt ſide, and *Teckoa*, where they had encamped at firſt, was on the weſt ſide of that river.

Had he then croſſed it again, after this bloody expedition, which would have been the third time, he could not have had it before, and *Bacchides* behind him, unleſs we ſuppoſed that he alſo croſſed it either higher or lower, and ſo fetched a long compaſs about to incloſe him; in which caſe there would be three croſſings omitted, *viz.* two of *Jonathan*'s and this of *Bacchides*'s. But it is more probable, conſidering what haſte the latter was in to fall upon him, that he overtook him as they returned from *Medeba*, and before he could croſs again to return to *Teckoa*; and this may be the reaſon when they found themſelves overpowered, of their flinging themſelves into that river, and ſwimming acroſs it, in order to recover their camp, which might be ſo well ſituate and fortified, that it diſcouraged the *Syrians* from purſuing them further.

* *Sub voce Jonathan I.K*

Bacchides, now convinced that they would fight on the ſabbath, as well as on other days, did not think fit to purſue them further, but returned with his army to *Jeruſalem*, and there gave orders for the fortifying and gariſoning of ſuch places as were moſt likely to keep the *Jews* in awe, and oblige the *Maccabitiſh* party, either to ſubmit, or at leaſt to forbear all future attempts againſt him. Among theſe were *Bethoron*, *Jericho*, *Emmaus*, *Bethel*, *Thimnatha*, *Bethzura*, and ſome others, eſpecially the fortreſs of *Acra*, into which, beſides a new ſupply of men, arms and proviſions, he ſent the children of ſome of the principal *Jews* to be kept as hoſtages there, to prevent their parents and relations going over to *Jonathan* and his party. At the ſame time the apoſtate *Alcimus*, finding himſelf maſter of *Jeruſalem*, gave orders for demoliſhing the wall of the temple, which incloſed the court of the prieſts from that of the people (N), and which had been formerly built by the direction of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zachary*. But he had ſcarce began the work, before he was ſtruck with a dead palſey, which took his ſpeech from him, ſo that he died without being able to ſpeak a word, or to take any care of his houſe. After his death *Bacchides*, having by that time brought all *Judæa* into ſubjection, thought he had no further buſineſs there, but returned to *Antioch*, and left the *Jews* and heathens to live in peace there, which they did for about two years [m] (O).

Year of the Flood, 2119 Before Chriſt, 160.

[m] Iid ibid.

(N) Or more probably that which divided the court of the circumciſed from that of the uncircumciſed. For as his apoſtacy had made him incur the hatred of all the ſincere *Jews*, it is not unlikely, that he cauſed this partition wall to be pulled down to mortify them, and to ingratiate himſelf with the heathen and the renegadoes of his nation. However, the book of *Maccabees* calls it the wall of the inner court of the ſanctuary (3), and *Joſephus* (4) the wall of the old ſanctuary, and adds to it the works of the prophets.

(O) It may be alſo likely enough, that he was privately recalled by *Demetrius*; for that prince at this time ſtood in great need of the friendſhip of the *Romans* (5), and had probably received their letter, which ordered him to ceaſe all hoſtilities againſt the *Jewiſh* nation; ſo that he was forced to recal him, yet ſo privately, that the *Jews* ſhould not be too elated by it; and this may be the reaſon why neither *Joſephus* nor the book of *Maccabees* mention it.

(3) 1 *Maccab.* ix. 54. (4) *Antiq l.* xii, *c.* 17. (5) *Vide Polyb. legat.* 120. *Jonathan*

Jonathan and his party made the beſt of this ſhort interval to ſecure themſeves, ſo that they lived quietly and without any miſtruſt. This gave his enemies an opportunity to make afreſh attempt upon him, by inviting *Bacchides* to ſurpriſe and deſtroy the whole party, which they ſent him word might be done in one night. *Demetrius*, who had been by this time acknowledged king of *Syria* by the *Romans*, and had made a new alliance with them, having now nothing to fear from that ſide, was eaſily perſuaded to ſend *Bacchides* with a powerful army into *Judæa*. As ſoon therefore as this general was got there, he ſent letters to thoſe of his party, with orders to ſeize *Jonathan* and his men, and to bring them to him, as had been agreed before. This plot, however, had not been carried on with ſuch ſecrecy, but that vigilant chief had notice of it time enough, both to diſappoint it, and to puniſh thoſe traitors that had hatched it; for he came ſuddenly upon them, took fifty of the chief conſpirators and put them all to death; after which the reſt were ſoon diſperſed, and the whole deſign diſcomfited [n].

A plot againſt Jonathan.

Defeated.

AFTER this ſignal eſcape, *Jonathan*, being informed of *Bacchides*'s coming againſt him, and finding himſelf by far too weak to withſtand ſo great a force retired to *Bethbaſi*, or, as *Joſephus* calls it, *Bethlagan*, a place ſtrongly ſituate in the deſert of *Jericho*, which he and his brother *Simon* fortified, and filled with all neceſſary proviſions for a ſiege. *Bacchides* came, according to his expectation, and laid cloſe ſiege to the place with his numerous army, which he had increaſed with all his adherents in *Judæa*, whom he ſummoned to repair to him thither. As the ſiege was like to laſt long, *Jonathan*, after a vigorous defence, left the place under the care of his brother, and with a ſmall brigade went out to reinforce his army; and croſſing the country, defeated *Odonarches* and his brethren, and the ſons of *Phaſiron*, in their tents. Theſe we ſuppoſe were part of the beſieging hoſt. From thence he went on, attacked, and annoyed other parts of their camp, and forced *Bacchides* to come to their aſſiſtance; which being perceived by *Simon* from within, he made a vigorous ſally, burnt their engines, then falling upon his army, diſcomfited it on one ſide, whilſt his brother did the ſame on the other. *Bacchides* vext at the heart to meet with ſuch a defeat, where he expected an eaſy victory, vented his rage on thoſe who had invited him out of *Syria*, and put many of them to death, reſolved to raiſe the ſiege and to return to *Antioch*. The only difficulty was how to do it, if not with

Jonathan *beſieged by* Bacchides.

Defeats him.

[n] 1 MACCAB. ubi ſupra. v. 57. ad 61. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra.

honour, at leaſt with as little diſgrace as might be; which as ſoon as *Jonathan* underſtood, he ſent him ſome meſſengers with propoſals for a peace; which were gladly accepted, and ſoon after ratified by both parties. By theſe articles all priſoners were to be releaſed on both ſides, which was accordingly done; and *Bacchides*, having ſworn never more to act hoſtily againſt *Jonathan*, departed into *Syria*, and punctually kept his oath to him as long as he lived [o]. It ſeems likewiſe, that by theſe articles *Jonathan* was left, if not governor, at leaſt deputy governor, of *Judæa*; for as ſoon as *Bacchides* was gone, he went and ſettled in *Michmaſh* (P), where he judged *Iſrael*, pretty near like the antient *Judges*. He began with making a ſevere example of all the apoſtate *Jews*, who were the cauſe of all the wars and perſecutions that fell upon their nation, from the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes* downwards to that time. After this he ſet about reforming the *Jewiſh* church and ſtate. So that from this time *Judæa* began to enjoy a perfect peace and free exerciſe of their religion, the happy effects of their general's valour and piety [p].

Makes peace with him.

Judges the Jews.

Soon after this, the troubles that happened in *Syria*, and of which we have already ſpoken in a former volume †, gave the *Jews* a fair opportunity of wholly recovering their liberty, and not only of raiſing themſelves into a ſtate of independency, either from that kingdom, or that of *Egypt*; but of being highly courted by both. But, above all, *Demetrius*, who ſo feelingly knew their ſtrength and bravery, had moſt cauſe to uſe all poſſible means to prevent their declaring for his competitor *Alexander Balas*. To effect which, he wrote a letter to *Jonathan* full of expreſſions of the ſincereſt friendſhip and confidence, and in which he gave him full power to levy what forces he ſhould think fit, and to cauſe new arms to be fabricated, and declared him his new friend and ally. In the end, he added an order for ſetting at liberty all the hoſtages which had been ſent by *Bacchides* into the fortreſs of *Acra*, and had been detained there ever ſince, notwithſtanding the late peace concluded with him. As ſoon as *Jonathan* had received

Year of the Flood 2846. Before Chriſt 153.

Demetrius's *letter to* Jonathan

[o] Id. ibid & ſeq. [p] Maccab ubi ſup. verſ 62. ad fin. antiq. l. xiii. c. 2. † Vol. VIII. p. 598, & ſeq.

(P) This town was in the tribe of *Benjamin* eaſt of *Bethaven* (6), about nine miles from *Jeruſalem* (7), and between it and *Gibeon*. *Euſebius* tells us in the place laſt quoted, that it was ſtill very conſiderable in his time.

(6) 1 *Sam.* xiii. 5. (7) *Loc. Hebr. ſub voce.*

ceived the letter, he brought it to *Jeruſalem*, cauſed it to be read before that gariſon, and demanded the hoſtages to be delivered unto him according to the tenor of it. The people, ſeeing how great a power he was now inveſted with, dared not to heſitate about the matter, but immediately complied with his demand; after which *Jonathan* found his army increaſe exceedingly, there being now no check nor danger in joyning him. On the other hand, thoſe gariſons which *Bacchides* had left in ſeveral ſtrong places of *Judæa* above mentioned, not finding themſelves ſtrong enough to withſtand him, forſook them and fled. Thoſe only of *Bethzura* and *Acra*, which were moſtly filled with apoſtate *Jews*, not daring to follow their example, leſt they ſhould be purſued and meet with their juſt deſerts, reſolved to ſtand it out to the laſt, and either ſurrender upon ſafe terms, or to die ſword in hand. *Jonathan*, however, did not think fit to beſiege them immediately, but went to *Jeruſalem*, where his preſence was more required, and there cauſed the repairs both of the city and temple to be forthwith ſet about, fixing his abode in that city to ſee the work more effectually finiſhed [q].

WHEN *Alexander* underſtood what a powerful friend *Jonathan* was like to prove to the ſide he ſhould declare himſelf for, and the favours which *Demetrius* had lately bribed him with, he reſolved to outbid him and to draw him to his intereſt. He ſent him a moſt obliging letter (Q), in which he beſtowed the high-prieſthood on him, and accompanied it with rich preſents, and among them a purple robe and a golden crown [r]. *Jonathan* readily accepted of them, put on the

Alexander's *letter to him.*

Jonathan *made high-prieſt.*

[q] 1 MACCAB. x. 10, & ſeq. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3, & 4. [r] 1 MACCAB. ibid. ver. 17, & ſeq. Ant. ubi ſupra, c 5.

(Q) The purport of it was to this effect: King *Alexander* to "his brother *Jonathan*, &c Being informed of your power and va- "lour, and that you are worthy of our friendſhip, we conſtitute "you high prieſt of your nation, and it is our pleaſure that you "be inrolled in the number of the king's friends To this end "we have ſent you a purple robe and a golden crown, not doubt- "ing a ſuitable return from you for our affection and friend- "ſhip (8).

We have often obſerved in the courſe of this hſtory, that the purple wa a mark of the greateſt dignity next to the royal one; it was eſteemed ſuch among the *Jews*, *Perſians*, *Macedonians*, &c. and thoſe that wore it were called the king's friends, and implied the ſame as the king's couſins here with us.

(8) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 5.

prieſtly

prieſtly veſtments, on the feaſts of tabernacles [r], in the ninth year of his government (R), and in the ſeventh month of that year. However, as he would not ſeem wholly to receive that dignity from a prince, whoſe right to the *Syrian* crown was ſo juſtly ſuſpected, he got himſelf choſen to it by the ſuffrages of the *Jewiſh* nation; and indeed not without a ſpecious right to it; for being, as we hinted in the laſt note, of the family of *Joarib*, and conſequently of the firſt claſs of the *Aaronic* race, that was ſufficient to intitle him to it upon the failure of that of *Jozadac*, which had enjoyed it ever ſince their return from *Babylon*; and we don't read of any ſurvivor of it except *Onias*, who was then in *Egypt*, and had there, if not apoſtatiſed, at leaſt made a conſiderable ſchiſm, by ſetting up a new temple, altar, and prieſthood there. As ſoon therefore as *Jonathan* was inveſted with his new dignity, his firſt care was to raiſe new forces, and to cauſe a great number of arms to be made, reſolved to ſide with *Alexander*. When *Demetrius* found that his competitor was likely to deprive him of ſo important an ally, he ſpared neither favour nor promiſes to prevent it: he ſent him a long letter, couched in the moſt obliging terms, and wherein he artfully diſguiſed his reſentment for his defection, under the

Demetrius's ſecond letter to him.

[r] Iid ibid.

(R) *Joſephus* (9) ſays in the fourth year after the deceaſe of his brother *Judas*; but we have already ſhewn in a late note his miſtake in making this laſt outlive and ſucceed *Alcimus*, the contrary of which appears from the book of the *Maccabees* (10), which expreſsly mentions the inſtallation of *Jonathan* to have been on the hundred and ſixtieth year of the *Grecian* kingdom, which anſwers to the three thouſand eight hundred and fifty-ſecond year of the world, and one hundred and fifty three before Chriſt (11).

We have likewiſe ſhewed at the cloſe of the laſt ſection †. that *Mattathias*, the father of the *Maccabees*, was deſcended from the prieſtly family of *Joarib*, though not from that of *Jaddua* or *Jaddus*, the high-prieſt, whoſe lineal heir and ſucceſſor was the *Onias* whom we lately mentioned to have retired into *Alexandria*, and there built a temple for the uſe of the *Egyptian Jews*.

Jonathan, if not his brother *Judas*, was therefore the firſt of the family who enjoyed the pontifical dignity, which continued in it through a number of ſucceſſors till *Herod*'s time, who, from hereditary, made it venal and arbitrary, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel.

(9) *Ibid.* (10) *Conf.* 1. *Macc.* x. 21. & ix. 3. 28, & 54. (11) *Vid. Uſſ ann.* & *the Marg. of the Macc. in loc:* † *Vol.* IX. *p.* 6. 12. (K).

greateſt

greateſt profeſſions of confidence in his friendſhip and loyalty. In acknowledgment of which, and to bind him ſtill faſter to his intereſt, he promiſed him a general relaxation of all arrears, an exemption from future tribute, impoſts, or taxes, a free exerciſe of their religion, with many other conceſſions and privileges, vaſtly exceeding thoſe which *Alexander* had made to him, and too great indeed to be really deſigned by that monarch: at leaſt the memory of the many miſchiefs and perſecutions, which they had ſo lately ſuffered under him, made them ſuſpect the ſincerity of them; and indeed ſuch was the character of that prince, and the preſent ſituation of his affairs, that they might well exort ſuch exorbitant promiſes from him, without any real intention to perform them. However, whether through reſentment or diffidence, *Jonathan* choſe rather to enter into an alliance with his competitor, and diſclaimed all future friendſhip with a man who had given them ſo many feeling proofs of his hatred to their nation. So that from this time they ſtuck cloſe to *Alexander*'s intereſt [t], and it was lucky for them that they did ſo, ſince *Demetrius* was ſoon after defeated and killed by him, as we have ſeen in a former volume *.

Suſpected of inſincerity.

The new monarch, however, having by that deciſive battle made himſelf maſter of the *Syrian* crown, forgot not to expreſs his gratitude to the *Jewiſh* chief; he invited him ſoon after to his nuptials, to which *Jonathan* went with a numerous retinue, and was received with great marks of friendſhip and eſteem. During his ſtay at *Ptolemais*, where they were celebrated, ſome diſaffected *Jews* came to exhibit ſome accuſations againſt him: but the king, reſolved not to hear any thing againſt his friend, cauſed a proclamation to be made through the city, expreſsly forbidding any ſuch complaint to be brought before him. To mortify his enemies the more, he cauſed him to ſit by him cloathed in purple, confirmed all his former grants to him, and made him generaliſſimo of *Judæa*, and gave him ſome other titles and government in his kingdom (S); all which did caſt ſuch a damp upon his accuſers,

Year of the Flood, 2849. Before Chriſt, 150.

Jonathan's *reception at* Ptolemais

[t] Iid. ibid. * Vol. VIII. p. 602.

(S) The book of *Maccabees* ſays, that he made him one of the *Malabarchas*, which our verſion after the vulgate renders *a duke*, ſome critics *lord high ſteward*, others *lord chief ſewer*; which offices, and ſome others of the like nature, are ſtill held by the electors of *Germany*. But it is more likely, as *Grotius* in another place ſeems

fers, that they ſneaked away for fear of further miſchief. *Jonathan*, on the other hand, having made ſome conſiderable preſents to the king and queen, and to their court, returned into *Judæa* [u], highly ſatisfied with his reception, and much more with his choice of ſuch an ally. From this time the *Jewiſh* nation became more and more conſiderable, not only in *Judæa*, where they enjoyed every branch of liberty, whether religious or civil; but in other countries alſo, and particularly in *Egypt*; where *Ptolemy Philometor* and his ſiſter and wife *Cleopatra* raiſed many of them to conſiderable poſts both at court and in the army, intruſted them with the keeping of their principal fortreſſes, and had given the command of their army to *Onias* and *Doſitheus*. Theſe two, if we may believe *Joſephus* [w], ſeem to have wholly ingroſſed the king's favour during his whole reign. But *Onias* could not be ſatisfied with it, whilſt he ſaw himſelf deprived of the dignity of the *Jewiſh* high-prieſthood, and of the pleaſure of performing the functions of that ſupreme dignity, which his birth intitled him to. Since therefore there were no hopes that *Jonathan* would ever yield to him that of *Jeruſalem*, he had no other way to make himſelf amends for it, but by ſetting up a new one in *Egypt*; and his great credit with the king and queen did eaſily procure him the liberty of doing it. But as this tranſaction did no further concern the *Jews* of *Judæa*, to which we confine ourſelves, than as it made a great ſchiſm with them, we ſhall relate it in the margin (T).

Jews *in* Egypt *highly eſteemed.*

A Jewiſh temple built in Egypt.

By

[u] 1 Maccab. ibid. ver. 59. ad 66. Antiq ubi ſupra. [w] Antiq ubi ſupra, c. 6. Cont. Apion. l. ii. See alſo, Vol. IX. p. 106.

ſeems to have proved it (12), that it meant ſome higher place than an office in the king's houſe, *viz* the government of ſome tribe or province in the kingdom.

(T) This edifice which was built after the model of that of *Jeruſalem*, but neither ſo large nor ſo ſumptuous, the reader may ſee deſcribed in *Joſephus* (1). It was ſurrounded with a very ſtrong ſtone wall, and had the altar of incenſe and burnt offerings, &c. like that in *Judæa*; only, inſtead of the ſeven-branch candleſtick, *Onias* contented himſelf with a ſtately golden lamp, which hung from the roof by a chain of the ſame metal.

The place he pitched upon was the ruins of an antient *Egyptian* temple, within the nome of *Heliopolis*; which being therefore pol-

(12) *Comment in Matth.* xix. 23. (1) *Antiq. l.* xiii. c. 6. *l.* xiv. c. 14. *l.* xviii. c. 20. *Bell. Jud. l.* vii. c. 30.

luted

By this time *Alexander* having, partly by his negligence and debaucheries, and partly by the tyranny and cruelties of his favourite *Ammonius*, as it were, invited young *Demetrius* out of his retirement in *Cnidos*, to come and recover the crown from him †, *Apollonius*, then governor of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, revolted to him, whilſt *Jonathan*, rememebring his late alliance and obligations, ſtuck cloſe to *Alexander*'s intereſt. *Apollonius*, therefore, having got a conſiderable army together, marched againſt him as far as *Jamnia*; but not daring to advance farther into the mountainous parts of *Judæa*, for fear of loſing the benefit of his cavalry, he ſent him a daring meſſage to come and fight him in the plain Year of the Flood, 2851. Before Chriſt, 148.

† See Vol. VIII. p. 603, & ſeq.

luted, gave no ſmall ſcandal to the *Jews* there, who were moreover very ſtrenuous againſt the ſetting up any temple againſt that of *Jeruſalem*, as being expreſsly contrary to the *Moſaic* law. To remove theſe two ſcruples, *Onias* trumped up a prophecy out of *Iſaiah* (2), importing, that an altar ſhould be ſet up unto the Lord in the midſt of the land of *Egypt*, and alluding to the times of the goſpel, which he applied to this new edifice he was about to build; and whereas one of the *Egyptinn* cities there mentioned is called הַחֶרֶס עִיר, *hair hacheres* in the text, which ſignifies the *city of the ſun*, though the *keri* or margin reads it עִיר הַהֶרֶס, *hair heres*, *the city of deſtruction* (3); *Onias* took it in the former ſenſe, and ſo is ſuppoſed to have made choice of the territory of *Heliopolis*, as if it had been alluded to by the prophet (4). Though the laſt quoted author adds another reaſon, *viz.* his being governor of that diſtrict, and having built a city in it, which he had peopled with *Jews*, and called by his name *Onion*.

When he had once removed theſe two difficulties, he did not want for prieſts and levites to officiate under him, ſo that the divine ſervice was afterwards performed in this new temple in the ſame manner as it was at *Jeruſalem*, till both were deſtroyed by the ſame *Roman* emperor (5).

However, thoſe prieſts, who had once officiated in the *Egyptian*, were never ſuffered to do ſo in the *Jewiſh*, but were, if we may believe the talmudiſts (6), looked upon as guilty of the ſame ſchiſm with thoſe who had ſacrificed on the high places, and as ſuch were only admitted to the very loweſt ſervices. They received their elemoſynary ſtipends out of the revenue of the temple, but were excluded from eating any of its holy things.

(2) *Iſaiah* xix 18, 19. (3) *Vid. Munſter in loc.* (4) *Scaliger. in Chronol Euſeb. Prid Connect ſub an* 149. (5) *Vid. Joſeph. Bell Judaic. l.* vii *c.* 30. (6) *Vid. Miſhn. tract. Minchoth, c* 13.

Jonathan *challenged by* Apollonius.

country. *Jonathan* readily accepted the challenge, and marched from *Jeruſalem* to *Joppa* at the head of ten thouſand men, and in his way was met by his brother *Simon* with a reinforcement. The town being gariſoned by the troops of *Apollonius* ſhut their gates againſt the *Jewiſh* general, and obliged him to take it by ſiege, which he quickly did, and almoſt in full ſight of the enemies army. As ſoon as *Apollonius* perceived it, he came againſt him with eight thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, leaving a thouſand more of theſe behind to ſurprize the *Jews* on the rear, whilſt he atacked them in front, and ſo made a feint, as if he was marching with the former ſouthward towards *Azotus*. *Jonathan* came out as he expected, and he, facing about, fell upon him, not doubting but his ſtratagem would gain him a complete victory. But he ſoon found his project diſcomfited by the experienced *Jewiſh* general; for having drawn up his army in the figure of an oblong ſquare, not unlike the *Macedonian* phalanx, his brave troops bore the brunt of the battle on both ſides with unuſual firmneſs till the evening, when *Jonathan*, obſerving the enemies horſe to be quite ſpent, ruſhed on the ſudden upon the foot which was now deſtitute of their cavalry, and totally routed them. The greateſt part of them fled to *Azotus*, and ſheltered themſelves in the temple of *Dagon*, whither the *Jewiſh* army purſued them; and having made themſelves maſters of the town, ſet it on fire temple and all. The number of the ſlain, whether by the ſword, or the flames, amounted to eight thouſand. From *Azotus Jonathan* went and plundered ſome other neighbouring towns; only that of *Aſcalon*, which met him with preſents and compliments of ſubmiſſion, was ſpared, after which they returned to *Jeruſalem* loaden with rich plunder. *Alexander*, ſoon after hearing of *Jonathan*'s faithfulneſs and victory, ſent him a preſent of a rich buckle or claſp, ſuch as thoſe only of the royal family uſed to wear, and which faſtened their purple mantle to the ſhoulder: he gave him moreover the city and territory of *Ecron*, and ſome other marks of his eſteem [x].

Defeats him.

Alexander's *gratitude to him.*

On *Philometor*'s coming with his army into *Paleſtine*, on pretence to ſuccour his ſon-in-law, but in reality to diſpoſſeſs him of his kingdom, whether to ſeize it for himſelf, as the author of the *Maccabees* pretends [y], or, which is more likely from the ſequel, in favour of young *Demetrius*; ſome of the enemies of the *Maccabees* tried to render them odious to him, by ſhewing him the devaſtations they had lately made, particularly

[x] Maccab. ibid. ver. 74. ad fin. [y] Ibid. c. xi. 1. & ſeq.

larly the the ruins of *Azotus* and of the temple of *Dagon*, and the carcaſes of thoſe they had ſlain, and which were ſtill ſtinking above ground. But that prince, whatever his reaſons were, could not be induced to ſhew any reſentment againſt them for it. On the contrary, he laid all the blame of it upon *Apollonius*; and when *Jonathan* came to pay him a viſit at *Joppa* with a numerous retinue, he met with a kind reception from him, accompanied him to the river *Eleutherus*, and returned to *Jeruſalem* [z].

THE reader may remember, how this prince, having given the kingdom of *Syria* and his daughter *Cleopatra* from *Alexander* to young *Demetrius*, ſurnamed *Nicanor*, died of the wounds he received in the laſt battle, before he could well ſettle him on his throne. *Jonathan* therefore took this opportunity, *Egypt* being then imbroiled in a civil war about the ſucceſſion, and neither able nor inclined to aſſiſt the new *Syrian* king, to begin the ſiege of *Acra*, which was ſtill gariſoned by *Syrian* troops, and was a great check to, and always ready to annoy, the *Jews*, going to and from *Jeruſalem*. He wanted neither forces nor engines to form it in the beſt manner; but in the height of the ſiege, complaint having been made of it to the young king, he was forced to leave it to appear before him at *Ptolemais*. However, he gave orders that it ſhould be carried on with the ſame vigour, as if no ſuch ſummons had been ſent to him; and taking with him ſome of the moſt conſiderable prieſts and elders of his nation, came to the court, where he pleaded his cauſe ſo well before that prince, and backed it with ſuch rich preſents, that he was received into his favour and friendſhip, and quite diſcomfited his accuſers, who were ſent away with diſgrace. After this, *Nicanor* confirmed him in his pontifical dignity, inrolled him in the higheſt place among his friends, and, for the annual tribute of three hundred talents, releaſed, not only *Judæa*, but alſo the three toparchies of *Lydda*, *Apharema*, and *Ramatha* (U), from all future taxes whatſoever [a].

Jonathan beſieges Acra.

Jonathan

[z] 1 MACCAB. xi. 4, & ſeq. See Vol. VIII. p. 606, & ſeq.
[a] 1 MACC. Ibid. ver. 20, & ſeq JOSEPH. Ant. lib. xiii. c. 8.

(U) Theſe three with their territories had been diſmembered from *Samaria*, ſome time before, and joined to *Judæa*; and the late *Demetrius*, in his courting letter to *Jonathan*, confirmed to him the poſſeſſion and immunities of them (13); and now the preſent king renews the ſame grant, and allots the revenues of it towards

(13) *Vid.* 1 *Macc* x. 30.

Jonathan upon his return to *Jeruſalem* doubled his ſtrength and vigour againſt the fortreſs; but finding that it was like to hold out long and to coſt him dear, he bethought himſelf of procuring an order from the king for the evacuation both of that and ſome other places, from which he complained to him the gariſons were ſtill annoying the *Jews*. He choſe a lucky juncture for ſending this requeſt: for *Demetrius* having a little before diſbanded his troops, had given occaſion to that revolt which *Tryphon* raiſed at *Antioch*, and ſpoken of in a former volume *. He was therefore glad to grant it to him, upon condition he ſhould aſſiſt him with ſome of his forces to quell the rebels; and we have ſeen there, how effectually the three thouſand men, which he ſent him, did it, and at the ſame time retaliated to the *Antiochians* the many cruelties which thoſe of their own nation had formerly ſuffered from the *Syrians*, both in *Judæa* and out of it [b]. *Demetrius*, however, inſtead of performing his promiſe to *Jonathan*, broke even thoſe which he had made to him at *Ptolemais*, and began to inſiſt on his paying all the taxes and cuſtoms which he had remitted to him at that interview. But it was not long before a new inſurrection, in which he was driven out of his kingdom by *Antiochus*, the ſon of *Alexander*, made him repent of his perfidy to the *Jews*, and of his tyranny to his own ſubjects.

Demetrius's treachery to the Jews *puniſhed.*

Antiochus *mounts the* Syrian *throne.* Year of the Flood, 2857. Before Chriſt, 144.

THE new king did not forget to ſecure the *Jewiſh* general to his intereſt; he confirmed to him all the former grants, and added ſome others to them; and among them he made his brother *Simon* general of all his forces, and governor of all the ſea-coaſts, from the ladder of *Tyre* to the frontiers of *Egypt*, upon condition, that thoſe two brothers ſhould declare for him. *Jonathan* was eaſily prevailed upon to forſake his old treacherous ally, and to accept of the offers of the new one: he ſent him immediately an embaſſy to thank him for his favours,

* See Vol. IX. p 8, & ſeq. [b] 1 Macc. xi. ver. 41, & ſeq.

the maintainance of the ſervice of the temple, and of the prieſts in duty (14).

The reader may ſee the letter which he ſent to *Laſthenes* in favour of the *Jews* in the place laſt quoted. He there ſtyles that *Cretan* general his father, becauſe he had aſſiſted him in the recovery and preſerving of his crown; and commands him to ſend a copy of his letter to the *Jewiſh* general, to be ſet up on ſome eminent place of the temple, to be peruſed by all comers.

(14) *Ibid. xi. 22. ad 30. Ant. l. xiii. c. 8. ad fin.*

vours,

vours, and to assure him of his best services. In pursuance of which, having obtained a commission for raising a good army, the two *Jewish* generals put themselves at the head of it, crossed the *Jordan*, and defeated *Demetrius*'s troops that were sent to make a diversion in *Galilee*. In this expedition, *Jonathan* was in imminent danger of being cut in pieces by the enemy: he had incamped his army near the lake of *Geneza-reth*, and was advancing early one morning towards *Azor*. In his march he fell unexpectedly into an ambush, which had been placed among the defiles of the mountains to surprize him. As soon as he perceived his danger, he disposed his men the best he could for a brave defence; but the greatest part of them, being seized with a panic, forsook him and fled; so that he was left with only fifty resolute fellows, and two of his commanding officers, *Mattathias* and *Judas*. With these he faced about, and fought so desperately, that the enemy began to give way; which being perceived at a distance by his runaways, they rallied again to him, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that they gained a complete victory, and pursued the *Demetrians* to their very camp at *Cadesh*. They killed of them about three thousand men [a]; after this *Jonathan* sent his brother to go and besiege *Bethzura*, which had till then been garisoned by heathens and renegado *Jews*, whilst himself went and secured some of the principal cities of that province; particularly that of *Ascalon*, which opened its gates to him; that of *Gaza*, which he forced to surrender, and, in a word, all the towns from thence to *Damascus*. *Simon* on his side, having made himself master of *Bethzura*, freed that neighbourhood from the continual insults of that garison, and returned to *Jerusalem*, whither his brother came also presently after.

Jonathan falls into an ambush.

Fights desperately and beats the enemy.

THESE successes of the two brothers abroad, had cast such a damp on their enemies at home, that they found all things in quietness at their return. However *Jonathan* did not think fit to trust to the gratitude of the new king, to whom he had done such signal services; but set about means of preserving the peace and liberty of his nation, on the foot he had so happily established it. To this end he sent a new embassy to *Rome* to renew his alliance with the senate, which was done with great readiness on their part. In their return, his embassadors were ordered to do the same with the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Grecian* states, with whom they were in friendship, which they did with the same ease and success. In their letter to the *Lacedæmonians*, the substance of which the rea-

Alliance with Rome renewed.

And with Sparta.

[a] Ibid. ver. 67, & seq. JOSEPH. ubi supra, c. 9.

der

er will find in the margin (W), they reminded them of their letter formerly sent to their high-priest (*Onias* III.) by *Arius* their king †, and inclosed a copy of it with their own. But whilst these alliances were transacting, news was brought to him, that the *Demetrian* generals, whom he had lately defeated, were advancing towards him with a more numerous army. To prevent therefore their entering into *Judæa*, he marched out with utmost expedition at the head of his forces, resolved, if possible, to attack them in their own territories. He made such good speed, that he reached *Amathis*, a place on the frontiers of *Syria*, and incamped over-against them. Their design it seems was to surprize his camp on the following night, but *Jonathan* having timely notice of it, kept his men under arms all that night, ready to receive them; which being perceived by the enemy, they retired immediately into their camp; where having lighted a good number of fires, to

† See Vol. VI. p. 403, & note.

(W) *Jonathan*, high-priest, with the elders and priests of the *Jewish* nation, unto the ephori, senate, and people of *Lacedæmon*, their brethren, greeting:

" Whereas we have found, among our records, a letter long " since written by *Arius*, one of your kings, to *Onias*, formerly " high-priest of the *Jews*, wherein he expressed your friendship " and affinity to our nation, which affinity we acknowledged with " greater honour, because we find it confirmed by our sacred " books: We have sent these our deputies unto you to renew the " said alliance and brotherly union with you, lest we should be " thought unmindful of it, by reason of the long interval which " has elapsed since the receipt of it.

" Be it therefore known unto you, that we have had you al- " ways in our minds, both in our solemn festivals and in our pray- " ers and sacrifices, as our brethren and allies, rejoycing at your " successes, and beholding with pleasure the prosperity and " splendor of your republic. As for us, though we thought our- " selves honoured by your friendship and alliance, yet have hi- " therto forborn to be chargeable or troublesome to you during all " the grievous wars and persecutions which we have been exposed " to from our tyrannous neighbours; but now, since heaven has " blest us with better times, we have thought fit to send to you " *Numenius* and *Antipater*, our late deputies to the *Roman* senate, " with fresh offers of our best services to you, not doubting but " they will be as heartily accepted of by you, as they are tender- " ed by us (15)".

(15) *Vid. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c* 9.

conceal

conceal their flight, they forſook it, and marched off unperceived. When the riſing morning gave the *Jews* notice of their flight, *Jonathan* ſtrove in vain to purſue them; they were already got far enough beyond the *Eleutherus*, before he could reach that river. To make himſelf therefore ſome amends for his diſappointment, he fell upon ſome *Demetrian Arabs*, whom he defeated, and carried off a conſiderable plunder, and from thence paſſing through *Damaſcus*, making ſtill ſome excurſions all the way, he arrived at *Jeruſalem* [d].

WHILST theſe things were doing, *Simon*, who had been left to take care of *Judæa* and *Galilee*, kept a watchful eye over thoſe places he had lately ſecured to *Antiochus* in the laſt of thoſe provinces. He went and took a review of the gariſons of *Aſcalon*, and other fortreſſes in that neighbourhood; and being told that the citizens of *Joppa* were inclined to receive a *Demetrian* governor and ſome *Syrian* forces, he went and took it, and put a ſtrong gariſon of his own in it, and returned to join his brother at *Jeruſalem*. Here they called a council, wherein it was reſolved, that all the forts and ſconces of *Judæa* ſhould be forthwith repaired; that new ones ſhould be erected where they were wanted; that the wall of the city ſhould be rebuilt; and a new one be raiſed between mount *Sion* and the reſt of the city, of ſuch a height, as might effectually cut off all communication between them; to the end that the gariſon of *Acra*, being thereby deprived from all future ſupply, might be the ſooner either forced to ſurrender, or be ſtarved in it. All theſe wholeſome reſolutions were immediately put in execution; *Jonathan* undertook to overſee the work within the city, and *Simon* that without. A ſtrong and high wall was accordingly built by the former, which reached quite cloſe to the old one that was then repairing, and made up that place which was called *Chaphenatha*, towards the eaſt of the city, near the brook *Cedron*. This did ſo effectually incloſe that mount, that the gariſon was not long after forced to ſurrender. *Simon* on his part went and repaired all the old forts, and added to them that of *Adiba*, or *Adiaba*, in the region of *Sephala*, weſtward of *Eleutheropolis*. By all which *Judæa* was now in a better condition for defence, than it had ever been ſince their return from captivity [e].

Jeruſalem *new fortified.*

BY this time *Jonathan* had governed the *Jewiſh* ſtate near ſeventeen years, with great wiſdom and ſucceſs, when he

Jonathan *treacherouſly murdered by* Tryphon.

[d] 1 MACC. xi. 62, ad fin. Antiq l. xiii, c. 9.

[e] 1 MACC. xii. Antiq. ibid.

was

was unwarily decoyed into the perfidious *Tryphon*'s power, and ſoon after murdered by him. That traitor knew but too well how vain it would be to attempt to wrench the crown from the young monarch, whilſt he had ſo faithful and powerful an ally; and therefore ſpared neither promiſes, oaths, nor any other treacherous means to perſuade him to diſband his numerous army, now become, as he pretended, uſeleſs and burdenſome. *Jonathan*, too eaſily prevailed upon to take that deſtructive ſtep, was ſoon after as unhapply decoyed into the city of *Ptolemais*, attended only by one thouſand of his men, who were all treacherouſly murdered by his orders, and their chief only ſpared till the villain had obtained a large ſum from *Judæa* under the name of a ranſom, and cauſed him to be maſſacred as ſoon as he had gpt it into his hands *. So that *Jonathan* died as much a ſacrifice to his too generous credulity, as to his unſhaken fidelity to *Antiochus*. As ſoon as the news of his being ſeized, and kept priſoner, and of the murder of his men, reached *Jeruſalem*, the whole city was in the utmoſt conſternation. They doubted not, but the perfidious murderer would ſoon be at their gates, and be joined by all the heathens and apoſtate *Jews*, whom the bravery of their late leader had ſuppreſſed hitherto; and indeed their fears were but too well grounded; for *Tryphon* was making great preparations to march into *Judæa*, with a full reſolution to extirpate, if poſſible, the whole nation; and all their enemies who had been till now kept in awe, but had received a kind of new life at the news of *Jonathan*'s being in his hands, had began to expreſs an impatient deſire to ſee the land once more invaded, and threatened the *Jews* with a ſevere retaliation.

Simon was now the only one of the ſons of *Mattathias* that was left, and the courage and conduct which he had ſhewed hitherto made him looked upon as the only fit perſon to ſucceed his brother. An aſſembly was therefore called at the outer court of the temple, in which he was by their unanimous conſent deſired to take the command upon him; which he readily did, not only as he was the next in ſucceſſion, but that he might find ſome means, either of releaſing, or, at the worſt, of revenging his worthy brother. To diſſipate, therefore, as much as poſſible, that fear which he obſerved in their countenances, he addreſſed himſelf to them in words to this effect: You are not ignorant how bravely my father, brothers, and I, have fought in the defence of our laws and religion, our temple and our nation. They have

Simon *ſucceeds his brother.*

* See Vol. IX. p. 7, & ſeq.

already

already ſacrificed their lives for that glorious cauſe, and I am now the only ſurviving one to maintain it. God forbid I ſhould value my own more than they did theirs, as long as I ſee you groaning under any oppreſſion. Behold me then as ready and willing as they to undertake the defence of our nation and temple, of our wives and of our children. This ſpeech was received with univerſal applauſe, and the people, having in great meaſure recovered their drooping ſpirits, proclaimed him their commander and high-prieſt (X), promiſing at the ſame time to follow him through all difficulties and dangers in defence of their religion and country [g].

As ſoon as he was inſtalled in his new dignity, his firſt care was to finiſh the fortifications of the city with all ſpeed, and to get together an army ſufficient to make head againſt that of *Tryphon*, who was in full march againſt him. But when that traitor came to find the *Jews* in ſuch a brave condition of defence, he contented himſelf with ſending him word that he had ſeized his brother for a debt of a hundred talents, which he owed him; and that, if he would ſend them to him, and his two ſons as hoſtages, their father ſhould be immediately releaſed. *Simon* eaſily ſaw through this treacherous pretence, but dared not refuſe his demand, for fear of bringing ſome unjuſt ſuſpicion on himſelf, as if he was the cauſe of his brother's detention. In the mean time the *Syrian* gariſon, being ſorely preſt for want of proviſion, found means to ſend *Tryphon* word, and to beg his aſſiſtance; and he, having increaſed the number of his forces, was coming to their relief, but was prevented with a deep ſnow, and forced to withdraw into winter quarters; ſoon after which, he cauſed both *Antiochus* and *Jonathan*, with his two ſons, to be murdered (Y), as

Tryphon's *treachery.*

[f] 1 MACC. xii. 39, & ſeq. Antiq. xiii. 10. [g] 1 MACC. xiii. paſſ. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra. c. 11.

(X) It ſeems as if the aſſembly, however, had ſome ſcruple about the regularity of this election to the pontifical dignity; and therefore we find a kind of an apology made for it in the enſuing chapter (16); where, having recapitulated all his glorious deeds and his lineal deſcent from *Joarib*, they add, that they had choſen him their governor and high-prieſt, and intailed thoſe dignities on his poſterity, *until there ſhould ariſe a faithful prophet* (17), who might ſet them to rights about it

(Y) The text ſays, that it was at *Boſcama* that he cauſed the three laſt to be put to death and buried; but it is not eaſy to find the ſi-

(16) 1 *Macc. xiv.* 26, & *ſeq.* (17) *Jer.* 41.

Jonathan *buried at* Modin. Year of the Flood, 2856 Before Christ, 143.

as we have elsewhere related, and returned to *Syria*. As soon as he was gone, *Simon* ordered their bones to be fetched from that place, and to be deposited in the sepulchre of his fathers at *Modin*, with the solemnity suitable to his rank, and then caused a stately monument to be reared over it [h] (Z).

Alliance with Rome *and* Sparta *renew'd.*

His next care was to send an embassy to the *Roman* senate to notify to them the treacherous murther of his brother, his succession to his office, and to renew his alliance with them. They were to do the same with the *Lacedæmonians*, and in both places they were received with great honour. Both nations shewed an uncommon resentment at *Tryphon*'s treachery, and chearfully renewed their friendship with *Simon*, to whom they sent back letters of congratulation on his accession to the *Jewish* high-priesthood and government, together with the ratification of their alliance engraved on copper. All which being received, *Simon* caused them to be read before their great assembly; and then set about fortifying afresh both *Jerusalem* and other places of *Judæa*, and to raise new forces against any future invasion [i]. Having thus far strengthened himself by alliances, and the land with men, arms, and other necessary stores, he sent an embassy to *Demetrius*, whom *Tryphon* had by this time stripped of almost his whole kingdom; and in his letter to him, offered to ac-

[h] 1 Macc. xiii. 20, & seq. Ant. ubi supra. [i] Id. ibid.

tuation of that place; only one may conjecture, that it was in the land of *Gilead*, where he is said to have taken his winter quarters. *Josephus* calls the place *Basca* [18].

(Z) This noble piece of architecture stood on an eminence, which commanded the whole country round about; and, being in itself raised to a great height, was seen at a great distance at sea, and served for a land-mark. It was made of white marble, curiously carved and polished. *Simon* caused also seven pyramids to be built round it. *viz* two for his father and mother, and four for his four brethren, and the last for himself. The whole was surrounded with a stately portico, whose arches were supported by marble pillars, each of a whole piece. The top of it was adorned with shields, armour, ships, and other such embellishments curiously carved. All which were still to be seen, not only in *Josephus*, but in *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom*'s time (19)

(18) *Ant l. xiii. c.* 11. (19) *Ibid. Euseb.* περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν ονομάτων. *Hier. Loc. Hebr.*

knowledge

knowledge him king of *Syria*, and to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom from the usurper, upon condition that he confirmed him in all his dignities, and his country in all their privileges and immunities. He backed his offers with a rich crown of gold and some other presents; and *Demetrius*, glad at heart to accept the conditions, sent him a letter under the royal signature, by which he granted all his demands, together with a general amnesty and oblivion for all past hostilities, and constituted *Simon* sovereign prince of the *Jewish* nation, and freed his land from all foreign yoke. From this time *Simon* took upon him the name and authority of prince and high-priest of the *Jews*, which dignities having been confirmed to him and to his descendants on the next year, by an act of the sanhedrin, all public acts were ordered from thenceforward to be made in his name (A).

Simon's

(A) In pursuance, and by virtue, of this grant the *Jews* from that time ceased to date their contracts and other instruments, as formerly, by the reigns of the *Syrian* kings, and dated them by the years of *Simon* and his successors (20). This change was made by the general assembly of the *Jews*, both priests and elders, wherein the supreme government and high-priesthood were bestowed on *Simon*, upon account of his great exploits and extraordinary merit, which are there enumerated (21); and with this further addition, that those dignities should be intailed on his posterity, as we observed in a late note. Moreover a copy of the grant, which was inscribed, *King* Demetrius *unto* Simon *the high-priest, and friend of kings, and to the elders and nation of the* Jews (22). was ordered to be engraven on tables of brass, and to be hung up in the sanctuary, and the original to be deposited among the archives of the nation.

This grant, which continued some generations in his family, was dated on the eighteenth day of the month *Elul*, answering in part to our *August*, in the hundred and seventy second year of the *Seleucidæ*, and the third of *Simon*'s pontificate It is said to be given at the general assembly held at *Saramael*, which the margin of our *English* version supposes, with *Vatablus* and others, to mean *Jerusalem*, by transposition of the letters. The vulgate reads it *Asaramel*, which, if right, may be properly enough supposed to be put according to the *Greek* way of writing *Hebrew* words and names, for *chazar-mello*, or *the court* or *porch of* Millo. *Millo* was the deep valley between old *Jerusalem* and the city of *David*, which that monarch, and after him *Solomon*, caused to be filled up at a vast

(20) 1 *Macc. xiv.* 27, *& seq.*
(21) *Ibid. ver.* 4, *& seq.*
(22) *Ibid. cap. xiii.* 36.

Simon *fortifies* Judæa.

Simon's main business now was to strengthen himself in this new dignity, to which end he set about repairing and fortifying all his garisons afresh, especially that of *Bethzura*, which, being on the confines of *Judæa*, had been formerly made the chief magazine of the enemy, and was like to be one of the first places they would attempt. He therefore took care to secure it with good walls, towers, and ammunition, and with a garison of the stoutest *Jews*. About the same time he sent *Jonathan* the son of *Absalom* with a good army to besiege *Joppa*, which being taken, he drove out all its inhabitants, filled it with men of his own nation, repaired its fortifications; and, liking the situation of it, built himself a house, and settled there. The place from this time became the head sea-port to *Jerusalem* and all *Judæa*, being distant about forty miles from *Jerusalem*, and opening a trade to all the *Mediterranean* coasts and islands. *Strabo* [1] tells us, it was a port of the *Jews* in his time, and it has continued so ever since, notwithstanding its being a dangerous one, by reason of the great rocks that lie before it [m]; though, in other respects, very pleasant, being situate on a beautiful plain, and having *Jamnia* on the south, *Cæsarea* on the north, and *Ramah* on the east [n]. About the same time *Simon* went with another army, to reduce the city of *Gaza*, or, as some more probably guess, that of *Gazara* (B), which had revolted ever

Takes Joppa.

[1] Geogr. l. xvi. [m] Josephus. Bell. Jud. l. iii c. 15. [n] Vid. int. al. Rel. Palæst. illust.

labour and charge, and was therefore called by that name from the *Hebrew* root, which signifies *to fill*; but whether this conjecture be right, or what the meaning of *Saramael* or *Asaramel* is, is hard to guess.

(B) Dean *Prideaux* justly suspects the former to have slipt in by the inadvertency of the *Greek* transcriber, instead of the latter (23), which is the *Gazer* or *Gezer* often mentioned by the sacred historians (24); and was likewise called *Gader*, *Gedara*, *Gaderoth*, and by *Strabo Gadaris* (25), who places it, as the book of *Maccabees* (26) doth *Gazara*, near *Azoth*, or *Azotus*, and *Eusebius* about two miles from *Nicopolis* (27).

For, first, as the learned dean above-mentioned rightly observes, *Gazara*, and not *Gaza*, is mentioned among the towns taken by *Simon* (28). Secondly, *Gazara* is often mentioned, as in the hands

(23) *Connect. sub an.* 143. note (X). (24) *Vid. int. al* 2 *Sam.* v. *ver. ult.* (25) *Geogr. ubi supra.* (26) xiv. 34. (27) *Ubi supra.* (28) 1 *Macc.* xiv. 7, 34.

of

ever ſince *Jonathan's* death. He battered it ſome conſider- *And* Ga-
able time with his engines, and was juſt on the point of za.
ſtorming it, when the inhabitants appeared on the walls, men, women, and children, with their cloaths rent, and implored his mercy with ſuch doleful cries, as prevailed upon him to ſpare their lives, and to ſend them away to ſhift for themſelves where they could. He entered the town, and purified it of all its idolatrous monuments, put a ſtrong garriſon of *Jews* in it, and cauſed a houſe to be built for himſelf, to which he often retired, either for relaxation, or to keep the neighbourhood in order [o].

On the next year the fortreſs of *Acra*, which had been inveſted, as we hinted above, near two years, without any ſupply from without, being now reduced by famine, began to capitulate, after it had been held by the *Syrians* about twenty five years, to the great nuiſance of the *Jewiſh* nation. *Simon*, who wanted to be rid of them at any rate, gave them leave to march out peaceably, whilſt he and his troops entered it with palms in their hands at the ſound of their trumpets and other inſtruments, accompanied with ſongs and other demonſtrations of joy. At firſt he ordered it to be luſtrated, and cleanſed from all the heathenith idols, and other ſuperſtitious traſh, intending probably to put a *Jewiſh* garriſon in it. But having thought better on it, he called a grand council, and propoſed to them the demoliſhing of both it and of the hill on which it ſtood. He reminded them, among the other miſchiefs it had cauſed hitherto, of its having been a conſtant refuge for all the diſcontented and renegado *Jews*, and of the danger of its becoming ſo again, in caſe it ſhould be taken from them [p]. This propoſal met with a general approbation; the work was immediately ſet about, and carried on with indefatigable aſſiduity, during the ſpace of three years, every man taking his turn in it, till the mountain was brought down to the level of that of the temple, that it might

Year of the flood, 2857. Before Chriſt, 142. *Acra ſurrendered.* *And is demoliſhed.*

[o] 1 MACC. xiii. & xiv. paſſ. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra. [p] Id. ibid ad fin.

of *Simon* in this and the foregoing chapter; but *Gaza* only in this place. Laſtly, he is ſaid to have built him a houſe in that town (29), after he had taken it; and yet we find his ſon dwelling in *Gazara*, and made governor of it (30); ſo that upon the whole, it is moſt likely, *Gaza* was only a ſlip of the pen.

(29) *Ibid.* xiii. 48. (30) *Ibid. ver. ult.*

never

never more be in a condition to annoy it (C). All this while *Simon* employed another set of hands in repairing and fortifying the outer wall, and other parts of the temple, building of new apartments, particularly a palace for himself, where he dwelt from thenceforth. In memory of the surrender of that fortress, *Simon* ordered a festival to be kept yearly; and that he might the more fully vacate on the religious and civil affairs of the nation, appointed his son *John* general of all his forces, and ordered him to fix his residence at *Gazara* [q], as was observed in a late note. It was in this year that the great sanhedrin, and the whole assembly of the *Jews*, confirmed to him all his dignities, and intailed them on his posterity, in consideration of the eminent services he had done to his country; which are therefore recapitulated in the preamble to their decree (D), which we have had occasion to mention a little higher.

We

[q] 1 Macc. xiii. 49. ad fin.

(C) This circumstance of demolishing the fortress and the hill, which we have mentioned out of *Josephus*, and those who have followed him, is not only omitted, but seems even contradicted by the first book of *Maccabees*, which affirms (31), that *Simon* fortified and garisoned it with *Jews*; and, in the very next chapter, that *Antiochus* sent *Simon* a challenge to surrender it to him (32), which was three years after.

However, since that fortress was actually demolished, and the hill itself lowered to the level of the temple, it is likely that *Josephus* has only antedated it by some years.

(D) Among other things that are there mentioned to his great honour, it was not a small one, that *Judæa* enjoyed a perfect peace during the whole time of his government, whilst *Syria* and other neighbouring kingdoms were almost destroyed by the wars which were there raised by competitors to their crowns, by traytors, and hostile depredations; so that it is there observed, that the *Jews* lived quietly every man under his vine and fig-tree, enjoying without fear the fruits of their labours, and beholding with pleasure the flourishing state of their country; their trade increased by the reduction of *Joppa*, and other maritime places; their territories inlarged; and their religion and liberties secured; their towns and other fortresses well garisoned; their army under good discipline; the land free from heathen enemies and *Jewish* apostates; their friendship courted by all the nations about them, and even by the *Romans* and *Greeks*, and themselves free from all foreign yoke, and from danger of invasion (33).

(31) *Cap.* xlv. 36, 37. (32) *c.* xv. 28. (33) *Ibid.* xiv. 4, & *seq.*

His

WE have seen in a former chapter *, how *Demetrius*, driven from his dominions, had been taken and kept prisoner by the *Parthians*, whilst *Tryphon*'s tyranny caused a general defection from him to *Cleopatra*. This princess, despairing ever to recover her captive husband, sent to invite his brother *Antiochus* out of his retirement, to make a push for the *Syrian* crown. Upon his coming therefore to her, he sent a very obliging letter to the *Jewish* high-priest, in which he confirmed to him all his dignities, revenues, and authority, and to his nation all the freedom and immunities which had been formerly granted to them by his brother, or which they were now in actual possession of. To this he added, besides many great promises, a power of coining their own money in *Judæa*, which *John* immediately made use of (E). But when

Year of the flood, 2859. Before Christ, 140.

* Vol. IX. p. 10, & seq.

His panegyrist adds, that he was no less zealous for the service of God, in exterminating apostacy, superstition, idolatry, and every thing else that was contrary to his laws; that he was a great protector of the true *Israelites*, and a friend to the poor; that he restored the service of the temple to its antient splendor, and multiplied its sacred utensils; so that we need not wonder, if the *Jewish* sanhedrin thought no dignity or honour too great for a man of such uncommon merit

The *Jewish* chronologers tell us moreover, that in his days, and about this time, flourished those two great lights of their synagogue, *Simeon Ben Shetach* and *Jehuda Ben Tabai*, directors of the divinity-schools at *Jerusalem*; and that the former was president, and the latter vice president, of the sanhedrin (34).

(E) Several pieces of this *Jewish* coin are still preserved by the curious; the inscription of some of them is, *The shekel*, or *half-shekel of Israel*; in others, the first or second, &c. year of the deliverance of *Israel*, of *Sion*, of *Jerusalem*, &c Others again are inscribed, *Simon prince of Israel* What is remarkable in these inscriptions is, that they are not in the new *Assyrian* characters, adopted by *Ezra*, but in the old *Samaritan*; for which no other reason can be assigned, if they be authentic †, except that *Simon* was willing to preserve the antient form of those that had been coined before the captivity, as well in the character, as the metal, and figure, and weight.

Accordingly these, like the old ones, have on the one side a cup or pitcher, supposed to have been the pot of manna, and on the other a branch, or the budding rod of *Aaron*, or a palm

(34) *Seph. Juchasin Shalshel*, &c. † *See what has been said, Vol. III. p.* 408, & *seq.* & 411, *sub note.*

branch

Alliance renewed with Rome, &c.

when that prince had eſtabliſhed himſelf on his throne by the marriage of *Cleopatra*, and the death of *Tryphon* *, *Simon*, whether he ſuſpected the ſincerity of his late promiſes, or was willing to make his friendſhip to him appear more conſiderable, ſent a freſh embaſſy to *Rome*, to renew and ſtrengthen his alliance with that nation. Among other valuable preſents which he ſent, one was a ſhield of gold, which weighed a thouſand *Minæ*, amounting, according to the loweſt value of the *Attic* mina, to ſixty thouſand pounds of our money. His deputies were received with the uſual honours, and procured letters from the ſenate to the kings of *Syria*, and *Egypt*, *Pergamus*, *Cappadocia*, and other ſtates, to notify their alliance with the *Jews*, and to threaten them with an immediate war, who ſhould venture to commit any hoſtilities againſt them, and ordering them, if any *Jewiſh* criminals, apoſtates, or other *Jewiſh* out-laws, had ſheltered themſelves in their dominions, to ſend them bound to the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, if demanded by him.

Antiochus's ingratitude to Simon.

THAT to the king of *Syria* was indeed directed to *Demetrius*, it being written before that prince's falling into the hands of the *Parthians*; but had it been directed to *Antiochus*, it is likely he would have had as little regard to it, as he had to that which he had ſent to the *Jewiſh* chief. For even whilſt he was beſieging of *Tryphon* in *Dora*, whither *Simon* had ſent him two thouſand choſen men, with warlike ſtores, engines, and other ammunition, inſtead of accepting of them, he ſent them all back, together with a threatening meſſage to *Simon*, inſiſting upon his ſurrender of *Joppa*, *Gazara*, and the citadel of *Jeruſalem*, which he ſaid did belong to the crown of *Syria*, or elſe to pay him five hundred talents for each, and five hundred more for the ravages which the *Jews* had done in his dominions. *Athenobius*, one of that monarch's favourites, was the perſon who was diſpatched upon that errand, and came accordingly to *Jeruſalem*, and beheld with wonder the richneſs and ſplendor of the high-prieſt's court, at the ſame time that he informed him of his maſter's

Athenobius ſent to Jeruſalem

* Ibid. p. 11, & ſeq.

branch; ſome a vine, others a bunch of grapes, or a wheat-ſheaf; ſome have two doves, others two towers, or the front of an edifice, ſuppoſed to be that of the temple.

Thoſe we have left of him are all of ſilver; whether he coined any in gold, is not certain; the king's letter mentions neither metal, but permits him in general to coin his own money.

demands

demands (F). *Simon* nothing terrified at this meſſage, anſwered him coolly, that he was in poſſeſſion of nothing, but what was the inheritance of his anceſtors; except indeed the fortreſſes of *Joppa* and *Gazara*, which he had been forced to ſeize, to ſuppreſs the continual ravages and devaſtations they made in *Judæa*: that for theſe therefore he was willing to pay the king a hundred talents; but as to the fortreſs of *Acra*, he could by no means think that he had any right to demand it from him. *Athenobius* did not ſtay to make any reply, but went off abruptly and returned to *Antiochus*, who was ſtill carrying on the ſiege of *Dora*, and to whom he returned the anſwer which the *Jewiſh* pontiff had given him. He likewiſe related to him the pomp and grandeur of his houſhold, the great quantity of ſilver and gold veſſels uſed at his table, and other ſuch marks of the *Jewiſh* wealth, which he knew would not fail to incenſe that monarch againſt him; for, as *Joſephus* obſerves, he was very covetous, and conſequently ungrateful, and could not fail envying him ſo much riches and grandeur; and juſt ſo it happened. *Antiochus*, forgetting at once his letter and *Simon*'s ſervices, ordered *Cendebeus*, one of his nobles, to invade *Judæa* with a powerful army, whilſt himſelf went with another in purſuit of the traitor *Triphon**.

Cendebeus, having received the government of all the coaſts of *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtine*, and being at the head of a powerful army of horſe and foot, began his expedition with fortifying the town of *Cedron*, or, as the vulgate perhaps more properly calls it, *Gedor*[r], a place advantageouſly ſituated, and putting a ſtrong gariſon in it. In the mean time he himſelf marched towards *Jamnia* and *Joppa*, from whence he made many inroads into *Judæa*, took a great number of priſoners, and laid waſte all that part of the country[s]. The news of it Judæa *invaded*. Year of the Flood, 2860. Before Chriſt, 139.

* 1 MACCAB. xv. 38, & ſeq. Antiq l. xiii. c. 12, & 13. [r] De hac vid. JOSHUA xv. 58. [s] 1 MACCAB. ibid. 40, & ſeq. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra.

(F) Thus ſays the book of *Maccabees* (35); but *Joſephus* who takes no notice of this meſſage by *Athenobius*, relates the ſtory ſomewhat otherwiſe, and tells us (36), that *Antiochus* having writ to *Simon* to ſend him men and proviſions for the ſiege, did alter his mind before they were come, and ſent *Cendebeus* preſently after to invade *Judæa*.

(35) *Ch.* xv. 28, & *ſeq.* (36) *Antiq. l.* xiii *c*, 12, & 13.

ſoon reached *John*, who, as we hinted above, was made general of the *Jewiſh* forces, and kept his reſidence at *Gazara*. He went immediately to *Jeruſalem* to acquaint his father with it; and *Simon*, being by this time too old to head his *Jewiſh* troops, called his two brave ſons, *viz.* this *John* and his brother *Judas*, to whom he committed the command of them, charging them on his bleſſing, to imitate the valour of their brave uncles, and to venture their lives in defence of their religion and liberties (G). On theſe two ſetting out, at the head of twenty thouſand choice foot, beſides ſome horſe, they encamped on the firſt night at *Modin*; and on the morrow, as they advanced towards the plain, they came in ſight of the enemy, and drew ſo near each other, that only a brook parted the two armies. That of *John* at firſt expreſſed ſome reluctancy to croſs it; but he aſhamed to ſee their backwardneſs, flung himſelf firſt into it, and moved forward; which ſo animated his men, that they immediately followed him. As ſoon as they were got over, he ranged them in order of battle, with his cavalry in the centre. An obſtinate onſet immediately enſued, in which the enemy, being ſeized with a ſudden fright at the ſound of the ſacred trumpets, did immediately give way. Many of them were killed and wounded, and the reſt fled, ſome to the ſconces, which they had in the plains of *Azotus*, where about two thouſand of them periſhed in the flames, *John*, now ſurnamed *Hyrcan* (H), having

(G) Here again *Joſephus* (37) differs from the book of *Maccabees*, and makes the good old prieſt to forget his age, and to ſally out at the head of his troops, with as much vigour and reſolution, as if he had been but in his prime; ſo fond is he to raiſe the character of his own anceſtors.

(H) The fourth book of the *Maccabees*, of which we have given an account in a former note †, tells us, that *John* received the ſurname of *Hyrcan* on account of his defeating a famous general of that name, and killing him with his own hand, which ſome think may be the *Cendebeus*, whom he here defeated, who might be alſo ſurnamed *Hyrcanus*, either becauſe he was a native of *Hyrcania*, or on ſome other account (38).

Joſephus Bengorion ſays, it paſſed from the eldeſt ſon of *Simon*, who was called *Hyrcan*, to this brother *John* (39). Others think he had it given him on account of his beating the *Hyrcanians* (40), all without any certainty; ſince neither the firſt book of *Maccabees*,

(37) *Ibid* † *Vol. IX p.* 589 *in fin. note* (Q) (31) *Calmet. Hiſt. V. T. ſub. A. M.* 3869. (39) *l.* iv. *c.* 2. (40) *Euſeb. in Chron. S. Sever. hiſt l.* ii *& al.*

nor

having cauſed them to be ſet on fire. The reſt with *Cendebeus* fled as far as *Cedron*, the place lately fortified by him, and *John* purſued him all the way thither; after which he faced about, and came and rejoined his brother *Judas*, who, having received ſome wound in the action, had been forced to ſtay behind. The two brothers, having by this defeat cleared thoſe parts from the *Syrian* troops, led their victorious army back to *Jeruſalem*, without any conſiderable loſs [t]. After this *Judæa* continued quiet and free from invaſion, till the murder of their worthy high-prieſt, which happened about three years after, and brought *Antiochus* again with an army againſt that metropolis. The manner in which this perfidious act was perpetrated, is as follows.

Simon had then a ſon-in-law named *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Abadus*, whom he had made governor of *Jericho* and its territories, and who was grown exceeding rich in that government; but ſuch was his ambition, that nothing leſs could ſatisfy him, than his being maſter of all *Judæa*. This wretch took the opportunity of *Simon*'s taking a progreſs about the country with his two ſons *Judas* and *Mattathias*, to invite them to his caſtle of *Dog*, where he had prepared a ſumptuous entertainment for them. The old pontiff, who ſuſpected nothing leſs than what was deſigned againſt him, was eaſily perſuaded to accept of the invitation; but after they had feaſted and drank pretty freely, ſome ruffians, whom he had privately poſted, ruſhed upon the three gueſts and murdered them. His deſign was to have cut off *Hyrcan* alſo, who was then at *Gazara*; and to this end he diſpatched ſome meſſengers to invite or bring him to him: but happily for him, one of his father's retinue had eſcaped the ſlaughter, and brought notice to him of what had paſſed; ſo that *Hyrcan* was beforehand with him, and cauſed his meſſenger to be taken and put to death (I). *Hyrcan*, thinking himſelf now no longer ſafe there,

Simon *treacherouſly murdered.*

[t] MACCAB. xvi. 1. & ſeq.

nor *Joſephus*, give us any reaſon for it; beſides we have ſeen that all the ſons of *Mattathias* had their particular ſurnames; ſome of them more uncommon, and as little to be accounted for as this of *Hyrcan*.

(I) Thus far goes the firſt book of the *Maccabees*, which concludes its epocha of forty years with this eſcape of *Hyrcan*, and refers us for the remainder of his life and actions to a book of chronicles (41) long ſince loſt; ſo that we muſt now fill up the ſe-

(41) *Cap. ult. ver. ult.*

there, made the beſt of his way to *Jeruſalem*, whither *Ptolemy* arrived as ſoon as he. Both offered themſelves at different gates and demanded admittance; but *Hyrcan* was received

quel of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory for the moſt part out of *Joſephus*; in the following of whom care ſhall be taken to diſcover ſuch errors of his, as are either accidental or otherwiſe, by comparing him with himſelf or other hiſtorians, till we come to the ſacred ones of the New Teſtament; ſo that whatever we find in him, either that bears not an authentic face, or claſhes, or has been confuted by other authors, will be either thrown into the margin, or if of ſmall moment, quite ſet aſide.

To begin then with ſome of the improbabilities with which he continues the hiſtory of this high prieſt, he tells us, (42), that as ſoon as he was inſtalled in his new dignities, he put himſelf at the head of the *Jewiſh* army, and went and beſieged *Ptolemy* in his caſtle of *Dog* or *Dagon*, where he ſtill kept alive *Simon*'s wife and his two ſons, contrary to the book of *Maccabees*, which ſays, that he aſſaſſinated the two latter with their old father, and mentions nothing of the wife.

He goes on, and tells us, that, as *Hyrcan* went on with the ſiege, *Ptolemy* cauſed his mother and two brothers to be brought upon the walls of the caſtle, and there had them ſeverely ſcourged, threatening at the ſame time to caſt them headlong down, if he did not deſiſt; and that the old lady, obſerving her ſon to relent at the ſight of her danger and cruel uſage, made ſigns for him to go on with the ſiege, and to take no thought of her ſafety or life; and that her ſon, being unable to ſee them ſo cruelly tortured, did as often ſlaken his hand.

At length, continues he, the *ſabbatic*, or ſeventh, year being come, which was a year of reſt as well as the ſeventh day, and *Hyrcan* upon that account being obliged to raiſe the ſiege, gave the murderer an opportunity to eſcape beyond *Jordan*; ſo that having put to death his three priſoners, he retired to *Zeno* ſurnamed *Cotylas*, who had uſurped the government of the city of *Philadelphia*.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* tells us much the ſame ſtory, and only differs in two circumſtances from *Joſephus*. The firſt is, that *Gaza*, and not *Jeruſalem*, was the place where *Hyrcan* was received and preferred to the aſſaſſin; and the ſecond, that the feaſt of the tabernacles, and not the ſabbatic year, obliged that pontiff to repair to *Jeruſalem* to perform the function of his office; during which ſolemnity *Ptolemy* found means to eſcape far enough out of his reach.

This account, did it not contradict the firſt book of the *Maccabees*, which expreſly ſays, that the father and the two ſons were mur-

(42) *Antiq l. xiii. c. 1 14, & 15. & bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 2.*

dered

ceived out of respect to his worthy father, whilst his murderer, and the men that came with him, had the mortification to be repulsed. *Hyrcan* was immediately declared prince and high-priest in his father's stead, and put himself at the head of his army, fortified himself in the mountain of the temple, and provided every way for his own safety, and for that of the city and country. On the other hand, *Ptolemy*, seeing himself disappointed of his designs on *Hyrcan* and *Jerusalem*, and having in vain endeavoured to bribe some of the heads of the *Jews* over to his interest by sumptuous promises, was at length reduced to the necessity of writing to *Antiochus*, to acquaint him with what he had done, and to beg of him to come to his assistance; promising him at the same time to reduce all *Judæa* under him, provided he made him governor of it. *Antiochus*, whom the late defeat of *Cendebeus* had still more exasperated against the *Jews*, did easily embrace his offer, and was actually coming with a powerful army to his assistance; but whether through fear, or whatever other reason, the rebel did not think fit to stay till his arrival, but fled to *Zeno*, tyrant of the city of *Philadelphia*. What became of the wretch afterwards, we cannot find. The author of the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds to what we observed in the last note, that after he had killed the mother and two brothers of *Hyrcan*, he fled, and retired into some place where he could not be come at, whilst *Hyrcan* was detained at *Jerusalem* to perform the priestly function, it being then the feast of tabernacles. All that we know is, that no further mention is made of him, either by *Josephus* or the first book of the *Maccabees*, since his flight into *Philadelphia*.

Antiochus, allured into *Judæa*, partly at the news of the brave *Simon*'s death, and of the riches of his successor, and partly by the fair offers which the traitor *Ptolemy* had made

dered at the same time (43), would be much more probable than that of *Josephus*, at least with regard to the suspension of the siege; since there is no law that obliged the *Jews* to abstain from war, especially a defensive one, during the sabbatic year; if there had, how could they have continued a nation without a miracle? And yet *Josephus* not only affirms it to have been the cause of *Hyrcan*'s raising the siege of *Dagon*, but of *Antiochus*'s taking the advantage of it to invade *Judæa* and besiege its metropolis. This siege of *Dagon* is therefore justly called in question by several learned men (44).

(43) *Cap. ult ver* 16. (44) *Vid int. al. Salien. annal. sub. A. M.* 3919, & 3920. *Vide & Usser sub A. M.* 3809.

to him, entered *Judæa* on the enſuing year with a powerful army, and went directly to beſiege *Jeruſalem*, driving *Hyrcan* all the way before him, till he had ſhut himſelf up with his men into that metropolis. To incloſe him the more effectually, *Joſephus* tells us [u], that he cauſed two deep and ſpacious trenches to be dug round the city, and divided his army into ſeven camps; ſo that all poſſibility of ingreſs or egreſs was intirely ſtopped. He reared likewiſe one hundred towers; the fourth book of the *Maccabees* ſays one hundred and thirty, which were three ſtories high, upon which he placed his men to annoy thoſe that defended the walls, whilſt he was battering them from below. *Joſephus* adds, that his army ſuffered ſome time for want of water, and was at length relieved with a good laſting rain. On the other hand, the beſieged made a vigorous defence, and, by their frequent ſallies, did greatly annoy the beſiegers (K). As therefore no relief could be expected from without, either of men or proviſions, *Hyrcan* bethought himſelf at firſt of a way of ridding himſelf of all uſeleſs mouths, by putting them out of the city; by which means they, being pent up between the wall and the enemies ditch, muſt infallibly have been ſtarved in a little time, had they not been taken in again. What raiſed the compaſſion of thoſe within the walls was the approaching feaſt of tabernacles, which was uſually ſolemnized with great joy and feaſting, and could not but have been very much diſturbed by the cries of their periſhing brethren without. *Hyrcan* then ſent to *Antiochus* to deſire a truce of ſeven days, that they might quietly celebrate that feſtival; which was not only readily granted, but that prince, being thereby ſtirred up to ſome ſenſe of religion, ſent them a conſiderable number of victims, with their horns gilt, together with ſeveral rich veſſels of gold and ſilver [w], filled with precious perfumes, and ſome money and other neceſſaries, which were, by *Hyrcan*'s orders, thankfully received by the prieſts

Jeruſalem *beſieged.*

Antiochus's *piety.*

[u] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. [w] Idem ibid. Vide & PLUT. in Apophtheg.

(K) To what we have related of this ſiege out of *Joſephus*, the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that as *Antiochus* was ordering the ſapping of the walls, he obſerved, that the foundations were of timber, upon which he cauſed them to be ſet on fire, which ſoon brought down a great part of the wall; but that the beſieged coming inſtantly to defend the breach, not only hindered the beſiegers from entering the town, but drove them back, and made a ſtout ſally after them, in which, beſides a great number of the *Syrians*, which they killed, they deſtroyed moſt of the enemies towers.

at

at one of the gates of the city, and thence conveyed into the temple (L). This unexpected inſtance of the king's piety and liberality gave him ſome hopes, that a peace might probably be obtained from him with the ſame eaſe. He was not miſtaken, and *Antiochus*, whether tired with the brave and conſtant defence of the beſieged, which is not unlikely, if the account we have juſt now given in a note out of the fourth book of the *Maccabees* is not exaggerated, or moved by ſome other reaſon, granted it to him, upon the conditions following:

Grants peace to the Jews.

THAT the *Jews* ſhould deliver up their arms; that the city wall ſhould be demoliſhed; and that *John* ſhould pay him a certain tribute for *Joppa* and other towns he held out of *Judæa*. The king inſiſted hard upon two other conditions, namely, that they ſhould receive a *Syrian* gariſon into their metropolis; and ſecondly, that the fortreſs of *Acra* ſhould be rebuilt. The firſt of theſe they bought off at the price of five hundred talents, three hundred of which were to be paid inſtantly, and the reſt at ſome diſtance of time. They likewiſe engaged to put into the king's hands a ſufficient number of hoſtages to ſecure him of their future allegiance, that they might be wholly free from any commerce with ſtrangers. As for the ſecond, *Hyrcan*, who remembered what a grievous thorn in their ſide the late fortreſs had been to them, would by no means agree to the building of a new one; and the king, according to his uſual clemency, remitted this alſo. And yet *Joſephus* tells us, that when this peace was tranſacting, the city was reduced to the laſt extremity, having quite exhauſted all their proviſions; and, which is ſtill more ſurpriſing, that the beſiegers were ſo well informed of it, that they earneſtly preſſed the king to make uſe of ſo favourable an opportunity to deſtroy and extirpate the whole *Jewiſh* nation, which they traduced to him in the bittereſt terms, as the peſt of mankind, and ſworn enemies of all other nations; ſo that, all things conſidered, it ſeems as if providence had interpoſed in their behalf, and had mollified that monarch's heart towards them, and as the then author owns * with *Joſephus*, that it was owing to his ſurpriſing goodneſs and gene-

* DIODOR. SICUL. Bibl. l. xxxiv. & apud Phot. cod. 244.

(L) In this, and the following particulars relating to the peace, *Joſephus* and the fourth book of *Maccabees* agree, tho' they ſeem to differ in thoſe which relate to the ſiege and the defence made by the beſieged.

roſity,

rosity, that the whole nation had not then been intirely destroyed, and that they obtained a peace upon such easy terms.

However that was, the peace was signed on both sides, and the proper hostages sent to *Antiochus*, among whom was *Hyrcan*'s brother; the city was dismantled; the money paid; and the siege raised: but *Hyrcan* was forced to make use of a strange expedient to procure the three hundred talents stipulated. It seems their treasury was then at so low an ebb, that it could not furnish him with that sum; so that *John* was forced to open a hidden treasure, which had been laid up by some of the kings of *Judah* [y]; *Josephus* says the tomb of *David* [z], from which he took out three thousand talents; a thing which had never been attempted before by any of his predecessors, nor was after him by any, except by *Herod* (M). With this fresh supply he paid *Antiochus*, and undertook

[y] Lib. 4 Maccab. [z] Ubi supra ad fin. & bell. Judaic. l. iv. c 2, & alib.

(M) The story of a hidden treasure, whether laid up by *David*, or by any of his successors, is justly suspected by the judicious, as a fable invented by those two authors, without any foundation; only that of the *Maccabees* delivers it as a common report; whereas *Josephus* affirms it both of *Hyrcan* and *Herod* without hesitation.

That both *David* and *Solomon* heaped immense riches, we have formerly seen; but that they caused any part of them to be hidden under ground, much less in their own tombs, is no-where said, either by the sacred or apocryphal writers; but the contrary may be fairly deduced from them. For, if they had left any such hidden treasure, is it likely, that their wicked successors, who made no scruple to rifle the temple of its sacred utensils and ornaments (45), would have left it untouched? Is it likely, that good king *Hezekiah* would have chosen to take all the silver and the gold vessels of the temple, and even tear off the gold with which the gates, pillars, and other parts of that sacred building were covered (46), rather than to break into this immense, but useless, treasure?

Again, is it probable, had there been any such depository, that so many *Assyrian* and *Chaldean* monarchs, as had formerly rifled both city and temple, would not have got some knowledge of it, and gutted it of all its riches? And if they had till then been preserved by some kind of miracle (for nothing less could do it how should *Hyrcan* dare to break in upon them, and not rather, like the good king above-mentioned, have rifled the temple of some of its valuable ornaments, which, by what we have seen hitherto, were

(45) *Vide int. al* 2 *Kings xvi.* 8, & *seq* 7, 18. (46) *Ibid. xviii.* 15,

by

took, what had never been done before, to take a number of foreign troops into his ſervice. This peace was followed with an alliance with *Antiochus*, after which that monarch was invited into *Jeruſalem* with his chief officers, where he was received and feaſted in a ſumptuous manner, and, after mutual aſſurances of friendſhip and aſſiſtance, the king ſet out for *Syria*, and *Hyrcan* about repairing the breaches and damages which had been made during the ſiege. This peace was made on the ninth month after *Simon*'s death (N). *Hyrcan* was punctual in his promiſes to that prince for ſome years after, and did him ſeveral ſignal ſervices in his war againſt *Phraartes*, ſpoken of a little higher *, and bore a great ſhare in the Year of the Flood, 2868. Before Chriſt, 131.

* Vol. IX, p. 16.

by this time grown very numerous and coſtly, by the generoſity not only of his predeceſſors, but of foreign princes?

We have lately ſeen, that there was a treaſury or bank in the temple, part of which conſiſted of donatives for the ſupport of the poor, partly of the portions and dowries of the fatherleſs and widows, and partly of the ſubſtance of the richer ſort, who depoſited their wealth there for ſecurity *, beſides that which was allotted for the maintenance of the divine ſervice (47). Now, if we conſider, that they were ſo continually harraſſed with wars, invaſions, and oppreſſions, it is not improbable, that they kept theſe riches in ſome proper ſubterranean places, known but to a few truſty men at the head of affairs, and kept the whole as much a ſecret as poſſible; if therefore *Hyrcan* was now hard put to, to raiſe money, is it not more probable that he borrowed it out of this bank, till better times enabled him to repay it?

But when *Herod* did totally rifle it for his own uſe, if ever he really did it, might he not trump up this plauſible ſtory, that it had been depoſited there by *David*, or his ſucceſſors, againſt times of need? And might not that cunning monarch colour this wicked deed with the ſpecious pretence, that *Hyrcan*, a perſon of unexceptionable character, had done the ſame thing upon the like emergency †?

(N) *Joſephus* (48) tells us, that, in the firſt year of *Hyrcan*'s pontificate, a prieſt of the family of *Joarib*, named *Matthias Aphlias*, was married to a daughter of the late *Jonathan*, by whom he had *Matthias Curtus*, who begot *Joſephus*, who was his grandfather.

In the ſecond year of the ſame *Hyrcan*, came from *Jeruſalem* into *Egypt*, *Jeſus* the ſon of *Sirac*, a learned *Jew*, who there tranſlated the book of *Wiſdom*, written by *Jeſus* his grandfather, into *Greek*, for the uſe of the helleniſtical *Jews* (49). We have already ſpoken of that work and its author in a former note, to which we refer (50).

* *Vol. IX.* 595. & 2 *Maccab. iii* 10. (47) *Ibid. ver.* 6. † *Vide Salien. Uſſer. & Prid* (48) *In vita ſua.* (49) *Vide prolog. in eund.* (50) *Vol. IX p.* 605, *note* (F).

victories which that prince gained againſt him. Some authors think [a], that it was in this war that *John* got the name of *Hyrcan*, on account of ſome ſignal victory he gained over the *Hyrcanians*. However that be, *Joſephus* tells us [b], on the authority of *N. Damaſcen*, that *Antiochus* ſhewed him ſo much regard, as to halt two days on account of the feaſt of pentecoſt, becauſe it beginning that year on the day immediately following the ſabbath, it was not lawful for the *Jews* to march on theſe two days. *Antiochus* was ſoon after defeated and killed, as has been elſewhere related †; and *Hyrcan*, in his return to *Jeruſalem*, took *Aleppo*, and laid it under a tribute [c]. After this, finding that the kingdom of *Syria* was rent with inteſtine diſturbances, and their cities naked and defenceleſs, he marched thither with a good army, reſolved to ſeize upon ſuch of them as lay moſt convenient for him. The firſt he took was that of *Madeba*, which coſt him a ſix month's ſiege. From thence he went to that of *Samega*, which he ſubdued, with ſeveral others both in *Arabia* and *Phœnicia* [d]. From this time we may date the total deliverance of the *Jews* from the *Syrian* yoke; for neither he nor any of his deſcendants paid either hom age or obedience to thoſe monarchs ever afterwards, but lived free and independent from them [e]. From thence he turned his arms againſt the *Samaritans*, and took *Shechem* and mount *Garizim*, and the temple formerly built by *Sanballat*, and demoliſhed it, after it had ſtood two hundred years; together with all the edifices, altars, and monuments which had been built there by *Jezabel*, and put ſeveral of the *Samaritan* prieſts to death (O). The following year *Idumea* was likewiſe conquered by him [f], where he cauſed proclamation to be made throughout that province, obliging all thoſe that would not be circumciſed to depart out of the land; but the *Idumeans* chuſing rather to

Antiochus's *death*. Year of the Flood 2859 Before Chriſt 130.

Hyrcan *ſhakes off the* Syrian *yoke*.

His conqueſts.

[a] Euseb. in Chron. Sulp. Sever. & al. [b] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. † Vol. IX p. 16. [c] 4 Maccab. [d] Idem, Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. Strabo, Geogr. l. xvi. [e] Justin. ex Trog. l. xxxvi. c. 1. [f] Joseph. ubi ſupra, & l. xv. c. 11. Strabo, ubi ſupra. See alſo Vol. II. p. 147.

(O) Theſe two laſt particulars, which we have out of the fourth book of the *Maccabees*, *Joſephus* ſays nothing of; but only mentions the demoliſhing of their temple, which was from that time never attempted to be rebuilt; however, the *Shechemites* built themſelves an altar there, on which they offered their ſacrifices, according to the *Moſaic* law, and have continued to do ſo ever ſince.

forſake

forſake their old idolatry than their country, ſubmitted to his conditions, and were from that time incorporated into the *Jewiſh* commonwealth (P).

IN the year following *Hyrcan* ſent *Simon* the ſon of *Doſitheus* and *Apollonius* the ſon of *Alexander*, on an embaſſy to the *Roman* ſenate, to renew the alliance they had lately made with *Simon* his father, and ſent ſome valuable preſents by them (Q). Theſe met with an honourable reception at Rome. Hyrcan *renews his alliance with Rome*,

(P) From that time downward to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the *Romans*, they continued in the *Jewiſh* religion; ſo that the word *Idumean* ſignified no more than incorporated *Jews*, in contradiſtinction to thoſe that were ſo by natural deſcent (1); and from their total diſperſion, the former name has been intirely abſorbed in the latter.

With reſpect to theſe *Idumean* proſelytes, it will be proper to obſerve here, that *Herod*, who obtained afterwards the kingdom of *Judæa*, was of that race. From his reign therefore the *Jewiſh* writers began to ſtyle it מלכות הגרים *malkuth hagerim*, *the kingdom or reign of proſelytes or ſtrangers*; which not being obſerved by *Scaliger* and *Munſter*, they have tranſlated it the kingdom of the *Hagarens*; but our learned *Uſher* has ſufficiently confuted that miſtake (2); and we ſhall further ſhew, when we come to the reign of that prince, that he was really one of theſe *Idumeans*, incorporated into, and thereby intitled to all the privileges of a natural *Iſraelite*. There was indeed to be this difference in the true *Edomites*, that they could not intermarry with them till the third generation, according to the law of *Moſes* (3); but as we have ſhewn theſe *Idumeans* to be of a different race, or rather a mixture of other nations, how that matter was regulated by the ſanhedrin, we know not.

We have heretofore obſerved †, that the word *Edomite* and *Idumean*, which often occurs in the rabbinic writings, is not that of any nation, but the name by which they call the *Chriſtians*, againſt whom they write, and is indeed one of the civileſt; but they oftner uſe thoſe of *goi*, *heathen*, and *Nozri* or *Nazarite*, and ſometimes that of *Samaritan* and *Cuthean*; which caution we here repeat, to prevent thoſe that read them being miſtaken by any of thoſe feigned names.

(Q) Among theſe the fourth book of *Maccabees* mentions a large diſh and a ſhield, amounting to fifty thouſand pieces of gold. That author mentions ſome other particulars, which are not in *Joſephus*; ſuch as, that the ambaſſadors were made to ſit down

(1) *Vide Prid. connect. ſub ann* 129 *note* t. & *Buxorf. lexic. Rabbin. ſub voce* אדום. (2) *Sub A. M.* 3855 (3) *See Vol.* II. *p.* 147 & *Vol.* III. *p.* 294. *Vide & Deut. xxiii.* 7, 8.
† *Vol.* II. *p.* 147, *note.*

Rome, and a ready compliance with all their demands. The ſenate, beſides the renewing of the alliance, granted the *Jews* the poſſeſſion of *Joppa*, *Gazara*, and ſome other places, which *Antiochus* had taken from them, and ordered the ambaſſadors a ſum out of the public treaſury, to defray their charges homewards. They likewiſe ſent letters to all the governors of the provinces through which they were to paſs in their return, to ſee them treated with all the marks of honour due to their character. The ſenate likewiſe ordered, that all the complaints they had exhibited againſt the *Syrians* ſhould be redreſſed; declared null and void all that *Antiochus* or his ſucceſſor had done, or ſhould do, contrary to their late league with the late *Jewiſh* high-prieſts; that the *Syrians* ſhould reimburſe to them all the loſſes ſuſtained by them, and appointed commiſſaries to come and ſee the purport of their decree fully executed. The embaſſadors had likewiſe deſired letters from the ſenate, directed to all the princes and free ſtates with whom they were in alliance, to recommend the *Jewiſh* intereſt to them; but there being at that time other important matters on the tapis, the affair was deferred for further deliberation; and they returned to *Jeruſalem* highly ſatisfied with what they had.

A ſecond embaſſy ſent to Rome.

This embaſſy having ſo well ſucceeded, *Hyrcan*, on the next year, ſent a new one with freſh preſents, to thank the ſenate for their laſt favour, and to obtain a ratification of all their former decrees in their behalf; all which was readily granted, and the embaſſadors returning, brought this new act, which the reader may ſee at full length in *Joſephus* (R). By theſe alliances *John* ſaw himſelf more and more ſtrengthened with the *Roman* conſul; that they were allowed the free exerciſe of their religion; and that the letter which they brought from the ſenate to *Hyrcan*, did give him the name and title of king, which that pontiff took upon him, and bore it from thenceforward. The letter is there related at full length; but as it contains nothing particular except that inſcription, we ſhall refer the reader to that book for it.

(R) Here *Joſephus* has again committed a manifeſt blunder, by inſerting this decree in the wrong place (4), and inſtead of another then granted by the ſenate upon another occaſion, and at the recommendation of *Julius Cæſar*, to *Hyrcanus* the ſecond. This has been fully proved by ſeveral learned men, whom the reader will

(4) *Antiq. l. xiv. c.* 16.

find

ened in his dominions, whilſt the kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt* were ſtill troubled with continual wars. *Alexander Zebina* having by this time mounted the *Syrian* throne *, was

* See Vol. IX. p. 22, & ſeq.

find in the margin (5); and he may further convince himſelf, by comparing the contrariety between the decree itſelf and the occaſion upon which the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian there quotes it, with reſpect to the following particulars:

1. He ſays it was obtained for the rebuilding of the city wall demoliſhed by *Pompey*; but there is not a word in the decree about the wall, but only of renewing and confirming the former alliances. 2. The decree was dated on the ninth year of *Hyrcanus*, who could not be the ſecond of that name; for if it had been obtained to this laſt by *Julius Cæſar*, it muſt have fallen in the ſeventeenth, not of his reign, for that he had been diſpoſſeſſed of by *Gabinius*, but of his prieſthood, which was all the dignity that was left to him, as *Joſephus* himſelf owns in another place (6): and if his reign were to be dated, not from his reſtauration by *Pompey*, but from the death of his mother, it muſt have been the twenty third, and not the ninth of his reign.

Again, there is a manifeſt difference between the dates of the preamble to and the decree itſelf. The one dates it the ninth of *Hyrcan*, in the month *Panemus*, anſwering to our *July*, and the other the *ides* (or thirteenth) of *December*. From all which it is evident, that *Joſephus* has, by a miſtake, inſerted here one decree for another; and that this belonged not to any year of *Hyrcanus* the ſecond, but to the ninth year of *Hyrcanus* the firſt.

Another ſtrong proof of this is; *Numenius* the ſon of *Antiochus*, who is mentioned in the decree as one of the embaſſadors ſent by *Hyrcan* to procure it, is the ſame who had been ſent about ſeventeen years before, on the like errand, to *Rome* by *Jonathan*, as we have lately ſeen; he might therefore be ſtill young enough to be ſent on this new embaſſy in the ninth year of *Hyrcanus* the firſt; but muſt have been long dead and rotten before the decree obtained by *Cæſar* in favour of *Hyrcanus* the ſecond, there being near eighty years diſtance between them. To all this may be added, that the decree here inſerted is that of an alliance made by proper embaſſadors between the *Roman* ſenate and a free ſtate, ſuch as the *Jewiſh* was in *Hyrcan* the firſt's time; whereas that obtained by *Cæſar* for *Hyrcan* the ſecond, was not an alliance by embaſſy, but a favour conferred on the *Jews*, in conſideration of the ſervices they had

(5) *Scalig. animad. in Chron. Euſeb. num.* 1971. *Uſſer. annal. ſub A. M.* 3877. *Salien. ſub A. M.* 4007. *ſect.* 36. *Prid. connect. ſub ann.* 127. (6) *Antiq. l. xiv. c.* 10.

done

was glad to make him his friend; but being ſoon after killed, and ſucceeded by *Antiochus Grypus*, this laſt did ſo reſent it, that he was preparing himſelf to invade *Judæa*; but was happily prevented by his brother, who was then levying an army at *Cyzicum*, and coming againſt him. *Hyrcan* left them to fight it out between them, without concerning himſelf on either ſide, chuſing rather to enjoy his ſovereign authority peacefully, which gave him an opportunity of heaping up immenſe treaſures, by the tributes which he received both from his own now flouriſhing land, and from thoſe countries which he had lately ſubjected to his dominions. At length ſome hoſtilities, which the *Samaritans* committed againſt the *Mareſſans* (S), who were then in friendſhip with him, gave him a fair handle for renewing the war, which he had lately begun againſt thoſe of the city of *Shechem*. He went therefore with his two ſons *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus*, at the head of a powerful army, and with all the proper engines for the ſiege of *Samaria*, which had been ſince rebuilt and fortified (T). Theſe encompaſſed the city with a wall and a deep ditch, of about eighty furlongs, or four thouſand paces circuit; by which they ſoon reduced the city to ſuch ſcarcity of proviſions, that they began to eat all manner of unclean beaſts, ſuch as cats, dogs, and other carion. In this extremity they found means to ſend and implore the aſſiſtance of

done the *Roman* general in the *Alexandrian* war; at which time they were no longer a free, but a conquered, nation, as the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſoon ſhew.

(S) The city of *Mareſſa*, or *Mareſa*, which ſtood at about two miles diſtance from *Eleutheropolis*, had been ſome time before taken by him, and ſince retaken by the *Syrians*, under whom it now was; but ſtill in alliance and friendſhip with the *Jews* (7).

(T) It will be proper here to remind our readers, that theſe *Samaritans* were not now of the old race and ſect ſo much hated by the *Jews*, for theſe, we have ſeen a little higher, had been either deſtroyed, or driven out of that metropolis, by *Alexander the Great*, for the murder of his favourite *Andronicus*; immediately after which he repeopled the place with *Syro-Macedonians*, or a mixture of *Syrians*, *Macedonians*, and *Greeks*.

Theſe being ſettled there did incompaſs the town with a double high wall, a deep ditch, and other fortifications; thoſe therefore are miſtaken, who think, that the *Jewiſh* hatred againſt the former ſort of *Samaritans* was the occaſion of this war; for theſe were all heathens, and conſequently ſtrangers to the diſputes and intailed enmity between thoſe two.

(7) *Vide antiq l. xiii c. 17.*

Antiochus

Antiochus Cyzicenus, who was now on the *Syrian* throne *, and who came accordingly with a great army to their relief [g].

IN the mean time, the grand expiation day being at hand, *Hyrcan* was obliged to go to *Jeruſalem* to perform the office of it, and left his two ſons to carry on the ſiege. Upon their hearing that *Antiochus* was coming againſt them, *Ariſtobulus* was diſpatched with part of the army to meet him. A bloody engagement enſued, in which the *Syrians* were totally routed, and purſued as far as *Scythopolis*; and *Antiochus* eſcaped with great difficulty. After this defeat, the ſiege was renewed with ſuch vigour, that *Antiochus* was again applied to; but he not caring to hazard a ſecond battle, contented himſelf with ſending ſix thouſand men to make a diverſion in *Judæa*, in hopes to oblige the *Jews* to raiſe the ſiege; neither were theſe his own troops, but ſuch as he had with ſome difficulty obtained from the king of *Egypt*. We have already ſeen the ill ſucceſs of this expedition in a former volume, as well as the betraying of *Scythopolis* to *Hyrcan* by *Epicrates*, and the ſurrender and utter demolition of *Samaria* †. From this time *Hyrcan* became more and more powerful, and made himſelf maſter not only of all *Paleſtine*, but added alſo unto it the provinces of *Samaria* and *Galilee*; all which he enjoyed to the end of his life, without any moleſtation from without, or diſcords from within his dominions. His reign was no leſs remarkable on the account of his great wiſdom and piety at home, than his conqueſts abroad. Never did the *Jewiſh* religion or commonwealth appear in greater luſtre ſince the return from captivity; but that which raiſes his glory, above any of his predeceſſors or ſucceſſors, was, if we may believe *Joſephus* [h] and the fourth book of *Maccabees* [i], his enjoying three dignities, which never all met in any but him; namely, the royal dignity, the high-prieſthood, and the gift of prophecy. Of the laſt of theſe we ſhall give two or three inſtances out of thoſe authors in the margin (V); but the ſecond, or high-prieſthood,

Samaria *beſieged*. Year of the Flood, 2889. Before Chriſt, 110.

* See Vol. IX. p. 29. [g] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. † See Vol. IX. p 28. [h] Antiq. ubi ſupra, & bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 3. [i] Cap. vii.

(V) *Joſephus* affirms him to have had very extraordinary viſions and revelations, more particularly about his own children. He tells us for inſtance, that on the day in which his forces defeated thoſe of *Antiochus*, himſelf was then offering up incenſe in the moſt holy place, where he heard a voice telling him of the victory gained by his ſons.

As

prieſthood, tho' he had exerciſed it in ſuch a manner as ought to have rendered him doubly venerable, yet in the end proved the ſource of ſuch perſecutions from the proud and hot-headed *Phariſees*, as quite embittered the latter end of his reign, if not ſhortened his days. It is under his reign that this ſect, as well as thoſe of the *Sadducees* and *Eſſenians*, of which we have already ſpoken ſomething, are ſuppoſed to have ſtarted up. This therefore may be thought a proper place of ſpeaking of them more at large, as well as of that of the *Caraites*, which ſprung up afterwards; but as each of thoſe four ſects had many favourite tenets, quite oppoſite to the ſpirit and doctrine of the goſpel and its divine author, and proved ſo many invincible obſtacles againſt its reception, we ſhall defer ſpeaking of them, till we come to that glorious epocha. By this means the reader will have them ſo freſh in his mind, and, as it were, in one view; that inſtead of wondering at the *Jews* rejecting ſo univerſally the perſon and doctrine of the *Meſſiah*, he will rather look upon it as a kind of miracle, that ſo many of that blind and prepoſſeſſed nation ſhould ſo readily embrace them.

But, to return to our ſubject, *Hyrcan* had always ſhewed himſelf a zealous ſtickler for the *Phariſees*; they had hitherto monopolized his favours, and enjoyed the moſt conſiderable poſts under him, whilſt the other two were deſpiſed and kept under by him. But an untimely piece of condeſcenſion towards them, or perhaps rather of vanity, from which the beſt of men are not always exempt, gave one of the heads of that imperious ſect, named *Eleazar*, an opportunity to caſt a reflection againſt him, which touched him in the moſt ſenſible part. It was no leſs than calling in

As he was very fond of thoſe two brave youths, he was no leſs importunate with heaven to know which of them was to ſucceed him; but, to his great mortification, he ſaw in a viſion a third ſon, not yet born, who was pointed at as his ſucceſſor. This grieved the good old man ſo much, it ſeems, that when *Alexander* was ſoon after born, he ſent him to be privately brought up in *Galilee*; but this did not hinder the viſion being verified by the ſequel; of which he was made, however, ſo ſenſible before he died, that he foretold the reigns of his two eldeſt ſons *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus* to be but ſhort, after which *Alexander* would ſucceed them.

There are ſome other ſingularities related of him, which have ſtill more the air of fables, and therefore not worth mentioning; only this one is very remarkable, if true, that the ſtones of the breaſt plate and the carbuncle on his ſhoulder quite loſt their luſtre after his death, and never recovered it ſince.

queſtion

queſtion his legitimacy, at leaſt as being leſs pure and undefiled than the *Moſaic* law requires in a high-prieſt; and this he did by pretending, that his mother had been formerly a ſlave, intimating thereby, that either ſhe was not of *Jewiſh* extraction, or elſe, that being ſo, ſhe had been taken captive by the enemy, and forced to proſtitute herſelf for a maintenance. The ſtory being, as *Joſephus* aſſures us, abſolutely falſe, and only trumped up by that proud *Phariſee* to mortify the good old prelate, we ſhall throw it in the margin (W), and only add, that *Eleazar*'s baſe ſuggeſtion, and the partiality

(W) *Hyrcan*'s deſire to ingratiate himſelf ſtill farther to this imperious ſect, which he obſerved to grow daily more and more the darling of the people, by reaſon of their ſpecious pretence to a greater degree of ſanctity, made him one day, after he had given ſome of the heads of them a moſt ſumptuous entertainment, aſk them, if they had any thing to object or to find fault with againſt his government, that he might rectify it; ſince he had always made it his chief ſtudy and delight to act with the utmoſt regard to God, and according to the rules and maxims of their ſect.

Whilſt therefore the reſt of the company were extolling his piety, zeal, valour, and conduct up to the ſkies, the ſurly and turbulent *Eleazar* ſtarted up, and, with his wonted ill nature, told him, that if he was really deſirous to deſerve the praiſes which his brethren had ſo laviſhly given him, he ought to diveſt himſelf of his high-prieſthood, and be content with the civil government of the nation. Being aſked the reaſon of ſo ſtrange a propoſal, he anſwered him, That they were well aſſured, upon the teſtimony of ancient perſons ſtill living, that his mother had been taken captive in the wars, which rendered him incapable by the law of *Moſes* † to ſucceed to the pontifical dignity

This malicious ſuggeſtion, it ſeems, was reſented by all the company; but much more by the old pontiff, who thereupon reſolved to take ſome ſignal ſatisfaction for the calumny caſt on his mother and himſelf. He had then a favourite friend named *Jonathan*, a zealous *Sadducee*, who took occaſion from it to intimate to him, that *Eleazar* was but the tool and mouth of the *Phariſaic* ſect; but that the ſlander muſt have been concerted by the whole party. To convince him of it, he adviſed him to conſult the brotherhood concerning the puniſhment of the calumniator, and he would ſoon find, either by their lenity or ſeverity towards him, whether they had any hand in the calumny.

Hyrcan took his advice, and asked the heads of that ſect, What puniſhment they thought *Eleazar* deſerved for raiſing ſuch an impi-

† *See what has been ſaid of theſe marriages, Vol.* III. *p.* 235

partiality of his brotherhood in aſſigning him a condign puniſhment, did ſo exaſperate the high-prieſt againſt the whole ſect, that from that time he gave himſelf up wholly to that of the *Sadducees*, who were not a little glad to aggravate the affront as hatched againſt him by the whole *Phariſaic* body, tho' one only of them had had the courage to blab it out. From thenceforth therefore there grew the bittereſt enmity between him and that revengeful ſect, who ceaſed not to raiſe troubles and ſeditions againſt him during the ſhort time he lived, and againſt his ſons after him. *Hyrcan* was then in the twenty-eighth year of his pontificate when this quarrel happened, and he died in the very next year, greatly lamented by all but the *Phariſaic* crew, who left no ſtone unturned to blacken his memory, and to get into the ſame credit and authority they had formerly enjoyed under him [k] (X).

Hyrcan

[k] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18.

ous and unjuſt ſlander on the prince and high-prieſt of their nation? expecting, no doubt, but they would have condemned him to death; but, to his ſurpriſe, they told him, that as calumny was no capital crime, the ſevereſt puniſhment he could inflict on him, was that of ſcourging and impriſonment

There wanted no more to convince the pontiff of the truth of what *Jonathan* had ſuggeſted to him; ſo that from that time he became an irreconcileable enemy to the whole ſect, forbad, under ſevere penalties, the obſervance of their commandments and traditions, and became a zealous patron of the oppoſite ſect of the *Sadducees* On the other hand, the *Phariſees* became mortal enemies not only to him and his family, but to the whole *Sadducean* party, and never ceaſed plotting againſt them till they had gained the ſaddle again; which they did in ſome few years after, as the ſequel will ſhew.

(X *Joſephus* is very inconſiſtent in the years of this prelate's reign, if there be not ſome error crept into the copies we have of him, and in the *Latin* verſion of *Ruſinus*; for in one place (8) he gives him thirty three, and in two others (9) thirty one; yet *Euſebius* out of him gives but twenty nine (10), and ſo doth St *Jerom* in his *Latin* verſion of him, and elſewhere (11), and rightly too; for, as the learned *Uſher* obſerves in the place laſt quoted, *Simon*, *Hyrcan*'s father, died in the 177th year of the *Grecian* kingdom, and in the

(8) *Bell Judaic l.* i. *c* 3. (9) *Antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 18. & *l.* xx. *c* 8. (10) *In chronic.* & *demonſt Evang. l.* viii. *c.* 2. (11) *Comm. in* ix. *Dan. Vide* & *Uſſer. annal. ſub A. M.* 3896.

11th

Hyrcan is affirmed by *Josephus* to have built the stately tower, or rather castle, of *Baris* (Y), the same which served afterwards for a palace for the *Asmonean* princes, and was some time after rebuilt, inlarged, and fortified by *Herod*, and called by him *Antonia*, in honour of the emperor *Marc Antony*. This castle was built upon a steep rock, fifty cubits high from the valley that ran beneath it to the top on which the building stood, and was inaccessible on all sides, except that towards the temple, with which it was even. It was of a square figure, two furlongs in compass; that is, half a furlong, or three hundred feet, on every side. The rock stood without the outer square of the temple, and upon the same mountain with, and on the north side of it, running parallel with its outer wall, but incompassed with that which *Simon* had built to stop the communication between the temple and the fortress of *Acra*. Here *Hyrcan* built an apartment, where he deposited his pontifical robes and ornaments, whenever he divested himself of them to vacate on his other affairs; which method was afterwards observed by his successors. Here he kept his court, and spent most of his time; and so did they after him [1], till *Herod*, observing the strength of its situation, turned it into a fortress; in which, however, the

[1] Bell. Judaic. l. vi. c. 5. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. Vide & Lightfoot's view of the temple, c. 7.

11th of month *Sebat* (12) answering to the 4579th of the *Julian* period; and his wife *Alexandra*, who reigned after his sons, died, as the sequel will shew, in *December* 4644 of the same period; so that the distance is 65 years, and about 9 months; from which if we subtract the 37 years which *Josephus* allows to her and her sons, the remainder will be 28 years and 9 months.

(Y) St. *Jerom.* in his comments on those sacred books, which were written after the *Babylonish* captivity, such as those of *Daniel*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*, and on some other prophets (13), observes the word *Baris* to be of *Chaldee* extraction, peculiar to *Palestine*, and to signify a *house* or *castle inclosed on every side* In the same sense the *Septuagint* have used it likewise; and as that word in the plural is Βαρεις, which likewise signifies *heavy*, their interpreters have sometimes taken it in the latter sense without any reason, and puzzled thereby several places of scripture, which were plain enough in the former signification, particularly the ivory palaces mentioned by the psalmist (14).

(12) *Vide* 1 *Maccab* xvi. 14. (13) *Vide & comm in Jerem.* xxii. & *Hos.* ix. (14) *Psal.* xlv, 8. *Vide Calm. sub voce Baris.*

prieſtly attire was ſtill kept, even after the *Jews* were ſubdued by the *Romans*, and under the cuſtody of the commander of that gariſon, called by St. *Luke the captain of the temple* [m]. This officer kept them in his cuſtody under lock and ſeal, and delivered them up to the high-prieſts upon all ſolemnities in which they were required; immediately after which they were put into his hands again, as we ſhall ſee in the next ſection.

Hyrcan left three ſons, according to the fourth book of *Maccabees* (Z), or five, according to *Joſephus* [n], who gives us, however, the names but of four of them; namely, *Ariſtobulus*, who was alſo called *Judas*, and ſurnamed *Philellen*, by reaſon of his fondneſs for the *Greeks*; 2. *Antigonus*; 3. *Alexander*, and *Abſalom*, who was the youngeſt. What was the name of the fourth he no-where tells us. *Ariſtobulus* ſucceeded his father in all his dignities in right of primogeniture, according to the *Moſaic* law; and having a great affection for his brother *Antigonus*, he admitted him to ſhare the government with him for ſome ſhort ſpace; after which, upon ſome ſuſpicion or diſlike, he cauſed him to be put to death. The other three he kept cloſe priſoners during his ſhort reign, which laſted but one year, which he yet ſtained with his own mother's blood; for that princeſs having claimed a right to the ſovereignty, by virtue of *Hyrcan*'s will, her unnatural ſon not only ſhut her up in a priſon, but there barbarouſly ſtarved her to death. Soon after this he aſſumed the title of king, and began to wear the royal diadem, which, if we may believe *Joſephus*, had never been done by any of his predeceſſors [o], who had till then

Ariſtobulus *ſucceeds* Hyrcan. Year of the Flood, 2892. Before Chriſt, 107.

His cruel reign.

[m] Acts xxi. 31. & ſeq & alib. [n] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 19. & l. xiv c. 8. bell. Judaic l. i. c. 3. [o] Antiq. l. xiii c. 19 & bell Judaic ubi ſupra.

(Z) This author adds (15), that *Hyrcan* was ſo exceſſively fond of his two eldeſt ſons, that he would name neither to the ſucceſſion, but left it wholly to providence to direct it. On the other hand he bore as great an averſion to *Alexander* who had been pointed out to him as his ſucceſſor in a viſion, of which we have ſpoken in a late note, but yet without attempting any thing againſt him to prevent it

Joſephus, on the contrary, tells us, that he left the government to his wife during her life, tho', by the cruelty with which her eldeſt ſon uſed her, one would rather think, that ſhe had forged ſome ſuch will againſt him.

(15) *Cap.* vii.

contented

contented themſelves with the title of governors, or at moſt with that of prince (A). As ſoon as he had ſettled his affairs at home, he marched at the head of his army to invade *Iturea*; but being taken ill in the midſt of his ſucceſſes, he was forced to be brought back to *Jeruſalem*, and to leave his brother to complete the conqueſt of that province (B); which he ſoon after did, cauſing all the *Itureans* either to be circumciſed and incorporated with the *Jews*, or elſe to depart into ſome other country [P].

Invades Iturea.

WHILST he was carrying on this ſucceſsful war, there wanted not thoſe at court, who, envying his happineſs, endeavoured to prepoſſeſs the ſick king with ſtrange ſuſpicions againſt him. The queen more particularly ſeemed to have conceived ſome irreconcileable hatred againſt that prince, and to have been the chief engine of his ruin; which happened ſoon after, when *Antigonus* innocently furniſhed her with the means of working it more effectually. For as ſoon as he had finiſhed the conqueſt of *Iturea*, he marched directly to *Jeruſalem*, it being then the feaſt of tabernacles; and being in haſte to repair to the temple, to offer up his thanks for his ſucceſs, and his vows for his brother's recovery; he went directly thither in his armour, without ſtaying to ſhift his cloaths, and accompained with a number of his men. This was immediately interpreted to the timorous king as a

Antigonus *murdered.*

[P] Id. ibid. c. 20.

(A) We have ſeen, however. in a late note *, that *Hyrcan* took the royal name and dignity upon him long before *Strabo* ſays (16), that it was *Alexander*, *Ariſtobulus*'s ſucceſſor, who firſt took that title upon him

(B) This province was ſo called from *Itur* the ſon of *Iſhmael*, whom our *Engliſh* and ſome other verſions wrongly call *Jetur*. It was ſituate on the other ſide of *Jordan*, on the north ſide of the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, be tween that and the territories of *Damaſcus*; ſo that it made one part of *Cœle-Syria*, and did lie on the one ſide of *Judæa*, as *Idumæa*, formerly conquered in the ſame manner, did lie on the other It had the province of *Battanea* on the eaſt, and the *Trachonitis* mentioned by St. *Luke* (17) on the ſouth (18). The *Reubenites*, *Simeonites*, and *Manaſſites*, are ſaid in the chronicles to have invaded theſe territories (19), and to have ſubdued the *Itureans*.

* *Supra*, p 76. *in fin not.* (Q). (16) *Lib.* xvi. (17) c iii. 1. (18) *Vide Reland. Palæſt. l.* i. *c.* 22. (19) 1 *Chron.* v. 19.

manifeſt

manifeſt attempt upon his life, to which he gave but too eaſy credit. However, to ſatisfy himſelf more fully about it, he ſent him orders to put off his armour, and to come immediately to him, which, if he complied with, would ſufficiently juſtify him; but if not, would fully prove his treaſonable intent. The king was then at his caſtle of *Baris*, mentioned a little higher, where he ordered ſome of his guards to be privately poſted in the ſubterranean gallery, through which *Antigonus* was to paſs, and who were charged to murder him, if he preſumed to come armed to him. But the miſchievous queen corrupted the meſſenger, and made him go and tell the young prince, that his brother having heard his armour highly commended, deſired to ſee him in it immediately; ſo that when *Antigonus* came to paſs through the gallery, the guards fell immediately upon him and killed him (C). The king, however, was ſoon undeceived, and could not think upon his brother's murder without reflecting on the more cruel one, which he had lately committed on his own mother; the remorſe of which increaſing his diſeaſe, he fell into a violent vomiting of blood. A ſervant happening ſoon after to ſpill ſome of that blood, which he was carrying away in a baſon, upon the very ſpot where that of his brother *Antigonus* was ſtill to be ſeen; ſome of the by-ſtanders, thinking he had done it wilfully, gave a great cry, which was heard by the king. He ſent

(C) The gallery here ſpoken of was, it ſeems, under one of the towers of the caſtle, called upon ſome account or other *Straton*'s tower; and ſo verified, according to *Joſephus*, the prediction of one *Judas*, of the ſect of the *Eſſenians*, concerning this prince's death. This man, who was then at *Jeruſalem*, had foretold, ſome time before, that *Antigonus* ſhould be killed on that very day at *Straton*'s tower; but as he underſtood it of another more famed on the ſea-coaſt, and at a diſtance from this, he was not a little ſurprized to ſee that prince come to the temple, looking upon it as a demonſtration of the falſhood of his prediction, ſince, the day being already far advanced, it was impoſſible for him to reach it, it being above ſix hundred furlongs from *Jeruſalem*.

This threw him into ſuch a fit of raving, that he vented his complaints for the ſuppoſed deluſion in a very indecent manner, and, *Jonas* like, cried out, it had been better for him to have been dead, before he had been found a falſe prophet. Whilſt he was in the height of his murmuring, news was brought of *Antigonus*'s murder, and the name of the tower convinced both him and the reſt of the truth of his prediction (20).

(20) *Antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 19. *Bell. Jud. l.* i *c.* 3.

to aſk the meaning of it, and found them unwilling to acquaint him with it; which made him ſtill more deſirous of knowing it. At length he forced the fatal ſecret from them, which threw him into an exceſs of grief and deſpair, which he vented in words to this effect: Since the privacy of the place could not hide from God's all-ſeeing eye the deteſtable deed I have committed, but muſt now vomit up my own blood, as it were, by drops, to atone for that which I have ſo inhumanly ſhed, would not a ſpeedy death be much more deſirable to me? He gave up the ghoſt ſoon after, having reigned but one year (D), and was ſucceeded by his brother *Jannæus*, or *Alexander*, whom the queen *Salome*, called by the *Greeks Alexandra*, releaſed out priſon with his other two brethren, and cauſed him to be proclaimed king, as being the eldeſt of the three, and of a milder diſpoſition than either of them.

HE was, however, forced to begin his reign with the death of his fourth brother, who had made ſome treaſonable attempt againſt him; but was much kinder to *Abſalom* the youngeſt of all, whom finding contented to lead a private life under him, he took under his protection as long as he lived; and ſo privately did this prince live, that we hear no more of him, till above forty two years after, when, having ingaged in the war againſt the *Romans*, he was taken by *Pompey* and ſent priſoner to *Rome*. *Alexander* being a ſubtle and warlike prince, and *Syria* being then torn by civil wars between the contending brothers, *Antiochus Cyzicus* and *Antiochus Gypus* *, and therefore in no capacity to oppoſe him, he led an army in the very firſt year of his reign againſt the city of *Ptolemais*; but met with worſe ſucceſs in that ſiege than any of his predeceſſors had done, being forced to raiſe it to ſuccour his own territories, which were invaded by *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, who took from him the city of *Azochis* in *Galilee*, and carried off ten thouſand captives, and gave him ſoon after a dreadful overthrow near the banks of the

Year of the Flood 2895. Before Chriſt, 104.

* See Vol. VIII. p. 26, & ſeq.

(D) *Ariſtobulus* had ſo far ingratiated himſelf to the *Greeks*, of whom he was exceſſive fond, that they were great admirers of him; and *Joſephus* quotes one of their authors (21), who gives him the character of a prince of great equity and beneficence; but the actions of his ſhort reign ſhew him to have been of a quite different diſpoſition.

(21) *Timagen. ap. Strabon. ex Joſeph. Antiq. ubi ſupra.*

Jordan,

Jordan, as we have ſeen in a former chapter †. This defeat, in which he loſt thirty thouſand men, beſides thoſe that were taken priſoners, and which was a juſt reward for his treachery to that prince, would infallibly have opened a way for the latter into *Judæa*, *Alexander* being now in no condition to have ſtopped his progreſs; had not *Cleopatra* come to his aſſiſtance. It was indeed that princeſs's intereſt not to let *Lathyrus* grow too great, and be thereby enabled to come and wreſt the crown from her; but there was another ſpring that moved her to what ſhe did. The *Jews* of *Alexandria* were highly in her favour, and *Chelkias* and *Ananias*, two of the moſt conſiderable, being the ſons of *Onias* the high-prieſt, who built the *Jewiſh* temple at *Alexandria*, were at the head of affairs: and theſe could not behold *Judæa* in ſuch imminent danger from an exaſperated enemy, without uſing all their intereſt with that queen to prevent it. We ſhall not repeat what has been ſaid in a former chapter ** concerning the ſucceſs of her arms againſt that competitor. *Alexander* reaped ſo far the benefit of it, that it obliged *Lathyrus* to ſet aſide the invaſion of *Paleſtine* for ſome time; and *Cleopatra* being come to *Ptolemais*, which had ſurrendered to her, the *Jewiſh* monarch came to acknowledge her favour to him by preſents ſuitable to her dignity. He was received outwardly like a prince in diſtreſs, and who had no other refuge than her friendſhip; but that which ingratiated him moſt to that politic princeſs was, his being an enemy to her ſon *Lathyrus*, who was by that time returned into *Paleſtine*, and had taken his winter-quarters at *Gaza*.

Year of the Flood 2897. Before Chriſt, 102.

Alexander *aſſiſted by* Cleopatra.

During *Alexander*'s ſtay with *Cleopatra*, ſome of her friends adviſed her to take ſo favourable an opportunity to make herſelf miſtreſs of *Judæa*; which would at once increaſe her dominions and ſtrength, and give her a ſuperiority over her competitor. But *Ananias* the *Jew* lately mentioned, who was one of her lead generals, diſſuaded her from ſuch an attempt, alledging, that it would be very ungenerous and unjuſt to diſpoſſeſs of his dominions an ally, who was come to implore her friendſhip and aſſiſtance; that it would leſſen her character in the eyes of the world, and, above all, make her deteſted by all the *Jews*. Theſe reaſons, joined to the influence which that general, who was *Alexander*'s kinſman, had over her, did not only divert her from her deſign, but procured an alliance between them, which was concluded in the city of *Scythopolis*; after which *Alexander* returned

† Ibid. p. 118. ** Ibid. p. 115, & ſeq.

to

to *Jeruſalem*, where, being now pretty ſecure of any danger from *Lathyrus*, he recruited his broken army, and, croſſing the *Jordan*, went to beſiege *Gadara*, and took it at the end of ten months. From thence he marched to *Amathus* another ſtrong fortreſs on that ſide of the river, into which *Theodotus* the ſon of *Zeno*, tyrant of *Philadelphia*, had laid up an immenſe treaſure; and took it in a much ſhorter time than he had that of *Gadara*; and with it all *Theodotus*'s treaſure. But he did not keep it long; that prince, having got together a numerous army, fell ſuddenly upon him, as he was returning from the ſiege, killed him ten thouſand men, routed the reſt, recovered all his wealth, ſeized on *Alexander*'s baggage, and carried off a conſiderable plunder from his men[q]. This defeat however, did not diſcourage *Alexander* from purſuing his warlike views, only it afforded great matter of triumph to the *Phariſees*, his implacable enemies, who took occaſion from thence to vilify him to the people, and to uſe all poſſible means to make his crown ſit uneaſy on him.

Takes Gadara.

Year of the flood, 2899. Before Chriſt, 100.

As ſoon as *Alexander* had recruited his army, he ſtayed not in *Jeruſalem* to quell the *Phariſaic* faction, but left them to make the moſt of his late diſgrace, whilſt he went to vent his reſentment on the treacherous *Gazeans*, who, by inviting *Lathyrus* againſt him and furniſhing him with auxiliaries, had been the cauſe of his late overthrow. He immediately beſieged the towns of *Raphia* and *Anthedon*, ſince called *Agrippias* by *Herod*: theſe two places ſtood at a few miles diſtance from *Gaza*, by which means having in ſome meaſure blocked up this laſt, he on the next year ſet about beſieging it with a powerful army. The city, being then under the command of *Apollodotus*, a man of great valour and conduct, made a ſtout defence againſt him one whole year, and in one ſally were like to have routed him and his army; and much longer it might have held out in all likelihood, had not the brave governor been treacherouſly murdered by his own brother *Lyſimachus*, and the place betrayed by him to the beſiegers. *Alexander* upon his entering it made great ſhew of clemency to the *Gazeans*, but ſoon betrayed his rancour and cruelty againſt them, by abandoning them to the fury of his men; who thereupon made ſuch horrid ſlaughter of them, as was like to have proved a dear revenge to him; for the *Gazeans*, ſtanding deſperately on their own defence, killed him almoſt as many of his men as he did of theirs. Having at laſt glutted himſelf with the blood of thoſe unfortunate wretches, he vented the reſt of his reſentment on that great and antient

Goes againſt Gaza.

His cruelty to the Gazeans.

[q] Antiq. l. xiii. 21.

city, by reducing it into a heap of ruins; after which he returned with his army to *Jeruſalem*[r]. The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds[ſ], that he took afterwards the cities of *Emath* and *Tyre*, but *Joſephus* ſays nothing of it.

But whilſt he had been abroad with his army, the *Phariſees*, who, as we hinted before, bore a mortal hatred to him and his whole family, had taken ſuch means to exaſperate the people againſt him by evil ſurmiſes and ſlanders, which they privately inſtilled into them, that it broke out at laſt into an open affront, which came little ſhort of a rebellion. They choſe the feaſt of tabernacles, on which ſolemnity they go to the temple with palm and other branches in their hands, eſpecially that of a kind of citron, which they call *attrog*, with the fruit upon it (E); and when he was performing the prieſtly office at the great altar, probably on the laſt day of that ſolemnity, they pelted him, not only with thoſe *attrogs* but with the moſt injurious reflections and opprobrious

Alexander *pelted by the people*

Year of the Flood 2904. Before Chriſt 95.

[r] Ibid. [ſ] cap. xxix.

(E) This *attrog*, which the *Jews* imagine to have been the forbidden fruit which our firſt parents eat in paradiſe, very much reſembles a citron or lemon, except that it has on the rind ſome unevenneſſes, (ſuch as we obſerve ſometimes in the *Seville* orange) and which they fondly believe to have been originally impreſt upon it by *Eve*'s planting her teeth upon it, from which time they think that fruit has retained the print of it on both ſides.

Where-ever therefore it is to be had, they carry it during this feſtival in their hands to the ſynagogues, as they did then to the temple, and are very curious in the choice of ſuch only as beſt repreſent that fatal bite; and as our *Jews* here, and in *Holland*, *Germany* &c. are forced to have it from ſome parts of *Greece*, none but the richer ſort are able to purchaſe it; and it ſometimes happens, either through contrary winds, ſhips being taken or caſt away, that there is ſuch a ſcarcity of them, that the price of them advances to a guinea a ſprig Thoſe who are curious enough may ſee them on that feſtival in their ſynagogues, it ſeldom or never happening but ſome quantity is brought over againſt that time. But when it doth, they are forced to ſubſtitute ſome other odoriferous tree inſtead of it; but the poorer ſort content themſelves with branches of willows.

On the ſeventh day, which cloſes the feſtival, they break their branches or throw them away; and we ſuppoſe it was on this day that the mutinous crowd did pelt the high-prieſt with thoſe *attrogs*, they being ſo common at that time in *Paleſtine*, that the meaneſt people might purchaſe them.

language,

language, crying aloud, that ſuch a ſlave as he (F) was unworthy of either the pontifical or regal dignity. This inſolence, which ſeemed the fore-runner of ſomething worſe, did ſo exaſperate the pontiff, that, ſuſpending his office for a while, he ordered his ſoldiers to fall upon the mutinous mob; which they did with ſuch ſpeed and fury, that they killed ſix thouſand of them, and diſperſed the reſt [t]. As ſoon as the tumult was quelled, he cauſed the court of the prieſts to be incloſed with a wooden wall, to prevent ſuch inſults being offered to him for the future, and at the ſame time provided for his further ſafety, by taking into his pay ſix thouſand auxiliaries out of *Piſidia* and *Cilicia*, being afraid to truſt his perſon any longer to the guard of thoſe of his exaſperated nation, who, as he found now to his great grief, were not to be quelled by the greateſt ſeverities, nor mollified by the greateſt lenitives. So that being quite wearied out with their continual clamours, he marched out of *Jeruſalem* at the head of his army, croſſed the *Jordan*, and went and deſtroyed the city of *Amathus*, without meeting with any oppoſition from *Theodotus*, who contented himſelf with carrying off his treaſure and gariſon, leaving the city to his mercy; ſo dreadful was become the name of *Alexander* by this time to all the nations round about. From thence he marched againſt the *Arabians*, whom he ſubdued; after which he laid the *Moabites* and the mountaineers of the land of *Gilead* under tribute. Soon after this, as he was carrying on the war againſt *Obedas* king of the *Arabians*, he fell into an ambuſh near *Gadara*, where he was forced by a large drove of camels into a ſtreight ſo narrow and craggy, that it was with the greateſt difficulty that he eſcaped and regained his own metropolis (G). Here he

Makes war abroad.

[t] Antiq. l. xiii. 21. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3.

(F) By calling him a ſlave, it is plain, they harped upon that ſcandalous ſuggeſtion of *Eleazar* mentioned in a late note, of his mother having been a ſlave But the true foundation of the *Phariſaic* grudge was his treading in his father's ſteps, not only in careſſing the oppoſite ſect, but in continuing the penal laws againſt thoſe who ſhould obſerve the traditions and cuſtoms introduced by the *Phariſees*. This was ſuch a crime againſt them, that nothing but his blood could expiate, and they did not ſcruple to tell him ſo ſoon after, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(G) *Joſephus* mentions theſe wars ſo confuſedly, that it is impoſſible to gueſs at what time they happened, or how long they laſted.

he found to his great mortification, that the news of this laſt defeat had not only reached the place, but had given a new life to his enemies, who began to exclaim louder than ever againſt him. His endeavours to quell them, as he had done before, did now but increaſe the tumult, till it broke out into an open inſurrection againſt him. He was however, too wiſe and brave to be either ſurpriſed or terrified by it, but quickly gathered a number of forces to make head againſt them. A civil war immediately enſued, which laſted ſix whole years, during which above fifty thouſand of the rebels loſt their lives, beſides thoſe he loſt on his own ſide (H), and the innumerable calamities it brought on the *Jewiſh* nation.

The Phariſees *cauſe a rebellion*

Alexander, however, tho' he ſtill got the better of them, was ſo weary with deſtroying both his people and country, that he ſpared no means, no offers or promiſes, to bring matters to a pacification. But as he had to do with a crew of rebels, and they of the *Phariſaic* leaven, every advance he made did but harden them the more. At length being reſolved, if poſſible, to bring them to a better mind, he ſent ſome of his friends to know what would ſatisfy them, promiſing to grant them whatever they ſhould in reaſon and juſtice demand. To this they unanimouſly cried out, that he muſt cut his own throat, telling him at the ſame time, that he ought to think highly of them, if they thought his death a ſufficient recompence for the blood he had ſhed, and the miſchiefs he had brought upon his nation [u]. This anſwer made him loſe all hopes of an accommodation, and look out for ſome more effectual means to ſuppreſs their horrid inſolence, whilſt they, on the other hand, ſent to *Damaſcus*, to beg of

[u] Id. ibid.

It ſeems as if he had lumped them thus together at the fag end of a chapter (22), to ſhew his readers what a warlike prince *Alexander* was, and that his neighbours led but a weary life during his reign. Perhaps it would have been better for him to have continued them longer, ſince his return to *Jeruſalem* proved the cauſe of freſh tumults, which ended at laſt in an open rebellion.

(H) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* tells us, that this inteſtine war was between the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*; and that *Alexander* having declared himſelf againſt the former, had put fifty thouſand of them to death, within the ſpace of theſe ſix years; which did ſo exaſperate the reſt of them, that they would hearken to no accommodation, but ſent to invite *Demetrius* king of *Syria* to come to their aſſiſtance againſt him (23).

(22) *Ant. l.* xiii. *in fin. cap.* 21. & *Bell. Jud. l.* i. *c.* 3.
(23) *Cap.* xxix.

of

of *Demetrius*, ſurnamed *Euchærus*, to come to their aſſiſtance [w].

Demetrius came accordingly into *Judæa*, with an army of three thouſand horſe and fourty thouſand foot, who were partly *Jews* and partly *Syrians*; and *Alexander* came againſt him with another, conſiſting of ſix thouſand *Greek* auxiliaries and twenty thouſand *Jews*; each of them tried for ſome time to gain over the troops of his competitor, *Demetrius* to debauch the *Greek* auxiliaries to forſake the *Jewiſh* king, and this latter to bring over thoſe *Jews* that were in the *Syrian* army. But all their efforts proving vain, they came at length to a deciſive battle, in which *Alexander* was defeated, and forced to flee to the mountains for ſhelter, with the ſmall number of men that ſtuck cloſe to him. This is the account which *Joſephus* gives us of this action, wherein he again claſhes with the fourth book of *Maccabees*, which makes the advantage to have been vaſtly on *Alexander*'s ſide, as the reader may ſee in the margin (I). But be that as it will, the former tells us that he was reduced by this defeat to ſuch a low ebb, that he ſeemed irrecoverably loſt, when an unexpected accident turned again the ballance on his ſide. Thoſe *Jewiſh* troops, whom he could not, with all his art and fair promiſes, withdraw from the enemies army, before the battle was fought, were now, upon his loſing it, taken with ſuch a fit of compaſſion, that they came all over to him; ſo that *Demetrius*, *Relieved.*

Alexander *defeated by* Demetrius.

[w] Ibid. c. 22. Bell. Judaic. ubi ſupra.

(I) This author tells us (24), that *Alexander* defeated the *Syrian* king, and purſued him quite to *Antioch*, where he kept him beſieged three whole years; that at length *Demetrius*, having ventured out with his army againſt him, was killed; and that *Alexander*, after this ſecond victory came back to *Jeruſalem*, where he was well received by the people; that he went afterwards and ſubdued the *Idumeans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Philiſtines*, and *Arabian* mountaineers; but all this ſeems exaggerated, and *Joſephus*'s account perhaps more juſtly preferred to it, who is ſeldom leſs liable to ſuſpicion, than when he ſpeaks againſt his own nation. Yet it muſt be remembered here, that *Joſephus* was a zealous *phariſee*, and *Alexander* an inveterate enemy to, not to ſay in ſome meaſure a proſecutor of, that whole ſect; and how far this conſideration may have ſowered the *phariſaic* leaven in that hiſtorian, and have made him repreſent that prince as leſs ſucceſsful than he really was, and guilty of ſuch cruelties as he was a ſtranger to, may be eaſily gueſſed,

(24) *Chap.* xxix.

metrius,

metrius, fearing left the the defection should still increase, left *Judæa* and mached against his brother *Philip*. This retreat gave *Alexander* an opportunity of getting his army together, with which he marched against the rebellious *Jews*, and beat them in every engagement he had against them; though without being able to bring them to submission, or in the least abate the fury of their resentment against him, till a decisive battle put an end to the war. In this last action *A-*
Year of the Flood, 2913. Before Christ, 86. *lexander* cut off the greater part of their army, and drove the rest, at least the chief of them, to *Bethome*, where he closely besieged them, and on the next year made himself master of the place; and here it was that he began to let loose the reins of his fury against them, in such barbarous manner, as can hardly be read without horror, if our historian has not exaggerated the matter. He caused eight hundred of the principal of them to be carried to *Jerusalem*, and there to be all crucified, in one day and at one place; and as if this had not been punishment sufficient to appease his resentment, he caused their wives and children to be brought and butchered before their faces, whilst they were hanging each upon their cross. But what swells the account of his barbarity almost beyond all credibility is, that he caused a banquet to be prepared for himself and his concubines, near enough to this scene of horror, from whence he might glut his eyes with their sufferings. Hence the historian adds [x], that he had the name of *Tracidas* or *Thracian* given him, that nation being infamous above all others for their horrid barbarities; and was indeed a name rather too good for him, if he was really guilty of all these cruelties.

His cruelty to the rebels.

After this dreadful havock the rebels did quite disperse themselves, and eight thousand of them disappeared on the very night following, and never more molested him during the remainder of his reign, so that from that time forth the *pharisaic* faction never dared to lift up their heads as long as he lived. Soon after this, the king of *Syria*, intending to invade the territories of *Arabia Petrea*, marched his army through part of *Judæa*, which was the only passage he could have to come thither. *Alexander*, who suspected him to have some design against him, endeavoured in vain to obstruct him, by drawing a deep trench twenty miles long, that is, from the town of *Capherſaba*, now *Antipatris*, quite to the sea of *Joppa*, and fortifying it with wooden towers at convenient distances. *Antiochus* forced his way through them and penetrated

[x] Id. ibid.

into

into *Arabia*, where he loſt his life, as we have ſeen elſewhere * ; and *Alexander*, being rid of that fear, marched his army over *Jordan* to recover ſome of thoſe places in *Arabia* and the lands of *Moab* and *Gilead*, which he had formerly taken, but had been forced to ſurrender during the civil wars, to prevent the *Arabian* king's ſupporting his rebellious ſubjects. This brought *Aretas*, now king both of *Arabia* and *Cœle-Syria*, into *Judæa*, where he defeated *Alexander* ; but having ſoon after made a treaty with him, he retired with his forces, and left him to purſue his other conqueſts. *Alexander* accordingly marched againſt the city of *Dion*, and took it by aſſault [y]. *Pella* was taken next [z], after which he went and beſieged *Eſſa*, alias *Geraſa*, into which *Theodotus* had ſecured all his treaſure ; and having built a treble wall about it, took it by ſtorm, and carried off all the rich plunder he found in it. The inhabitants of *Pella* having refuſed to be circumciſed, he forced them, according to the cuſtom of the *Aſmonean* princes, to leave the country, and their city was demoliſhed. *Alexander* marched from thence and took *Gaulana*, *Seleucia*, *the valley of Antiochus*, and *Gamala*, and ſtripped *Demetrius*, who commanded in thoſe places, of his principality, becauſe he had been guilty of ſome foul crimes and malverſations. This expedition took him up three whole years, after which he returned triumphant to *Jeruſalem*, and brought *Demetrius* priſoner with him thither, where his late conqueſts gained him the loud acclamations of his ſubjects [a]. But giving himſelf from thenceforward to drinking and other debaucheries, he was ſeized with an obſtinate quartan ague, which ſtuck to him till the day of his death, which happened about three years after. All this while, neither his diſtemper, nor his pleaſures, which he ſtill purſued, could alleviate his invincible thirſt after conqueſts (K). Perhaps alſo he was in hopes to overcome

His conqueſts.

His death.

Year of the flood, 2920. Before Chriſt, 79.

* See Vol. IX p. 32. [y] Antiq. ibid. c. 23. [z] Bell. Jud l. i. c. 4. [a] Antiq. ubi ſupra.

(K) Witneſs the vaſt number of places he died poſſeſſed of, in *Syri* , *Idumea*, *Phœnicia*, *Arabia*, &c. beyond all his predeceſſors, and which we ſhall here ſubjoin out of *Joſephus*, that the reader may have them all in one view †.

Along the ſea, the tower of *Straton*, the ports of *Apollonia*, *Joppa*, *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Raphia*, and *Rhinocorura*. In the mid land of *Idumea*, *Adora*, *Mariſſa*, and all *Samaria*, with the mountains of *Carmel* and *Itabyr*, and the cities of

† *Antiq. l.* iii. 23,

Scythopolis,

overcome the one by the other; but it happened quite otherwise, and his ſtrength being quite exhauſted by fatigues and debauch, he died in his camp before *Ragaba*, a fortreſs in the territories of the *Geraſens*, beyond *Jordan*, which he was then beſieging, in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign [b].

He left two ſons at his death, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, but bequeathed the government of the kingdom to his wife *Alexandra* during her life, and then to which of her two ſons ſhe ſhould think fit to leave it. The queen, who was then with him at the ſiege, ſeeing him to be paſt recovery, addreſſed herſelf to him, all in tears; and, in a moſt pathetic ſpeech, repreſented to him the extreme danger ſhe and her children were going to be expoſed to, from the inveterate grudge which the *phariſaic* faction did ſtill bear to him, and to all that belonged to him; and who, being the idol of the people, would not fail to make her feel the effects of their bittereſt rancour, by raiſing up new ſeditions againſt her, as they had formerly done againſt him, and perhaps to the total extirpation of his race. As her fears were but too well grounded, they could not but awake thoſe of her dying huſband, who, luckily for her, happened to have ſtill preſence of mind enough to bethink himſelf of an expedient, which would effectually put her out of all danger from that revengeful ſect. Having therefore thought ſome time upon it, he ſpoke to her to this effect: "You know, ſaid he, but too well the cauſe of our mutual enmity; and ſince your ſecurity and happineſs muſt riſe or fall, according as you make them your friends or your foes, when I am dead, be ſure to conceal the ſecret from my army, till they have taken the fort; and then lead them triumphant to *Jeruſalem*, carry my body along with you, and, as ſoon as you are come thither, ſend for the principal leaders of that factious ſect, and lay it before them, and tell them that you wholly ſubmit it to them, either to give it a burial,

His dying advice to his queen.

[b] Ibid. & bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

Scythopolis, *Gadara*, *Gaulona*, *Seleucia*, and *Gabala*. In the land of *Moab*, *Heſhbon*, or *Eſſebon*, *Medaba*, *Lemba*, *Oron*, *Telithon*, and *Zara*. In *Cilicia*, *Aulon* and *Pella*; this laſt and that of *Gaza* were demoliſhed, as we have ſeen before. Beſides thoſe he conquered in *Arabia*, and was forced to ſurrender to *Aretas*, and many more in the land of *Gilead*, and ſome freſh ones in the land of *Syria*, whoſe names our author has omitted; and what a ſubject would there have been here for a lofty panegyric, had the hiſtorian been a *ſadducee*, or the prince *a phariſee!* and how truly is the ſaying verified, *Cedunt arma togæ!*

or

" or to throw it in the high-way, for the injuries I have
" done them. Aſſure them at the ſame time, that, as to
" yourſelf, you are ſo entirely devoted to them, that you
" deſign to place them again at the head of affairs, and that
" you will do nothing without their advice and conſent.
" Give them immediately ſome marks of your favour and
" friendſhip, and then you need not doubt but they will not
" only extol me to the ſkies, and give me a royal burial,
" but will likewiſe ſupport you, and my ſons after you, in
" the peaceful enjoyment of your kingdom." He juſt lived to give her this ſalutary counſel, and then expired in the forty ninth year of his age.

Alexandra was too wiſe not to follow his injunctions, if they were really his, and not a pretence trumped up by that politic princeſs. However, it had the deſired effect; and the *phariſees*, glad to ſee themſelves again at the head of affairs, were beyond meaſure laviſh of their praiſes and honours to the deceaſed king. They extolled him for a great conqueror and patriot, they beſtowed a magnificent funeral on him, and applauded above all his wiſdom in bequeathing the government to his queen. He did certainly right in that, ſeeing his eldeſt ſon *Hyrcanus*, who was then about thirty years of age, was a prince of a ſluggiſh diſpoſition, without ambition or ſpirit. Him therefore the queen thought fit to nominate to ſucceed his father in the pontifical function, not ſo much out of reſpect to his primogeniture, as becauſe he was leſs likely to interfere with the affairs of ſtate than the younger brother; who, being of a more enterprizing genius, was for that very reaſon ſecluded and confined to a private life. But though ſhe had ſo carefully ſecured her prerogative from any attempt from her two ſons, yet was ſhe far enough from enjoying it ſo abſolutely and quietly as ſhe expected. For the *phariſees*, as they grew more and more powerful, grew alſo more and more inſolent and untractable, inſomuch that the fear of their raiſing a new rebellion forced her to conſent to many of their demands, much againſt her will, as well as her intereſt.

THE firſt thing they obtained of her was, a total revocation of all the edicts which *Hyrcan the firſt*, and the late king, had made againſt their conſtitutions and traditional doctrines; the next was, an amneſty for all their faction, together with the releaſe of ſuch of their brethren as had been confined ſince the late civil war; and the third was, the recalling of all thoſe who had been either baniſhed or forced to fly the country ſince the concluſion of it, and their being readmitted into the poſſeſſion of all their forfeited eſtates.

By the first of these, the *pharisaic* traditions grew again into credit, by which means they became more and more numerous; and that sect being at full liberty to impose them on the people at their pleasure, they not only became an intolerable burden to the people, but by degrees quite obliterated the written word, of which they were pretended to be the true sense and explanation; and by the other two decrees, they so increased and strengthened their party, that the queen was now afraid to deny them any thing; whereby they became still more exorbitant in their demands, till they let her see plainly that they designed to leave her only the name of sovereignty, and the power to command her subjects to obey them. She retained indeed six thousand auxiliary troops in her pay, by which she kept at least her neighbours and conquered provinces in awe, and received from time to time fresh hostages from them [c]. But as the *pharisaic* crew looked upon this as the effects of their friendship to her, they claimed all the merit of her peaceful reign to themselves, and soon gave her to understand, that nothing less than the total extirpation of the *Sadducees*, who were the only ones that stuck close to the late king, should purchase the continuance of their friendship and assistance. They began with insisting upon her punishing all those, who had counselled him to crucify the eight hundred rebels lately mentioned, with immediate death. Accordingly *Diogenes*, one of the chiefs of the *Sadducees*, and a confident of *Alexander*, was presently dispatched, and after him a great many others, against whom they laid the same accusation, right or wrong, that is, against as many of that sect as they thought had been too attached to that monarch's service [d].

Year of the Flood, 2922. Before Christ, 77.

Sadducees *prosecuted.*

These prosecutions were continued several years, though much against the queen's mind, who could not but feel some lively remorse to see so many of her husband's most zealous friends daily butchered; but the *pharisees* still insisting, that to put a stop to these severities would be to stop the course of justice, contrary to the laws of God, and the security of every good government; the fear of a new insurrection, the dreadful effects of which she had so lately felt, made her still look upon those executions as the lesser evil of the two. At length some of the most considerable persons of that persecuted party, having got young *Aristobulus* at their head, came to the royal palace, to beseech the queen that

Petition the queen.

[c] Antiq. ubi supra, comp. with l. xx. c. 8. & bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

[d] Id. ibid.

she

ſhe would put an end to their miſery. They reminded her of their great ſervices and invincible loyalty to her late huſband, and that it was in conſideration of it that he had beſtowed on them thoſe marks of his favour and eſteem, which expoſed them now to the fury of their enemies. They conjured her not to ſuffer the late king's beſt and moſt loyal friends to be thus daily ſacrificed to the rancour of his ambitious and bittereſt enemies, in a time eſpecially of a profound peace, and under her government, who had been a witneſs of all the difficulties and hardſhips they had ſuffered with and for him. They concluded with their earneſt prayer, that if ſhe could not ſuppreſs the *phariſaic* rage againſt them, ſhe would at leaſt give them the liberty of ſheltering themſelves from it, either by retiring into ſome foreign countries, or by her placing them in ſuch of her gariſons, where they might be out of the reach of their enemies. *Ariſtobulus* at the ſame time backed their petition in ſuch manner, as ſufficiently ſhewed his diſguſt to ſuch cruel proceedings. The queen, though doubtleſs highly affected with their diſtreſs, dared not grant the firſt part of their petition, for fear of exaſperating the *phariſees*. To grant them the ſecond, that is, to permit them to depart the kingdom, was in fact depriving herſelf of ſo many faithful ſubjects, whoſe friendſhip might one time or other be of ſervice to ſuppreſs the arrogance of that tyrannic ſect. Upon mature deliberation therefore ſhe agreed to the laſt expedient propoſed, of placing them in the ſeveral gariſons of her kingdom, whence ſhe might at any time fetch them when occaſion ſerved, and where they might be either ſafe from their enemies, or at leaſt in a condition to ſtand in their own defence. She excepted, however, thoſe of *Hyrcania*, *Alexandria*, and *Macheron*, in which ſhe had depoſited her moſt valuable treaſures, leſt by ſhewing too great a confidence in them, ſhe ſhould give umbrage to their enemies the *phariſees* (L). How ſhe took her ſon's interceſſion

(L) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (25) takes no notice of their being ſent into gariſons; but only tells us, that ſhe gave them liberty to retire into what cities of *Judæa* they pleaſed; and that the *Eſſenians*, no leſs hated by the *phariſees*, joined themſelves to them.

In this year, our learned *Uſher* obſerves (26), was born *Herod*, ſince king of *Judæa*, of whom we ſhall have a great deal to ſpeak in the ſequel; for he was twenty five years old when he was made governor of *Galilee*, in the year before Chriſt 47.

(25) *Ch.* xxxii. (26) *Sub. A. M Jul. Per.* 4642.

Concerning his father *Antipas*, or, as he grecified his name, *Antipater*, authors have given us various accounts, according as they were well or ill affected towards his ſon. Thus *N. Damaſcen*, who had received great obligations from him, and publiſhed his hiſtory in *Herod*'s life, derives his pedigree from one of the principal *Jews* that returned from the *Babyloniſh* captivity; for which flagrant flattery *Joſephus*, who muſt have been better informed, doth ſharply reprove him, and aſſures us (27), that *Antipater* was of a noble *Idumæan* family, and had been made governor of *Idumæa* by *Alexander Jannæus*, and continued ſo under his queen *Alexandra*; ſo that, according to this laſt hiſtorian, he was of *Idumæan* race, but by religion a *Jew*, the *Idumæans* having long ſince been proſelyted, and incorporated into the *Jewiſh* church and ſtate, as we have ſeen before

But a modern jeſuit (28), who has pretended to prove *Joſephus*'s hiſtory to be a mere forgery, makes *Herod* to have been an *Athenian*; his proofs are, that he is called in ſome medals a benefactor to *Athens*, and that there actually was one of his name in that city in *Cæſar*'s time. He has advanced ſeveral other ſingularities concerning that prince, which we may have occaſion to mention, when we come to ſpeak of his reign.

But none have more debaſed his origin than *Julius Africanus*, who, in his letter to *Ariſtides* mentioned by *Euſebius* (29), makes *Antipater* to have been the ſon of one *Herod*, an *Aſcalonite*, who was veſtry keeper of *Apollo*'s temple in that city; and withal ſo poor, that when his ſon (this our great *Herod*) was taken priſoner by ſome *Idumæan* robbers, he was not able to redeem him, ſo that he was brought up among thoſe banditti, who were, however, of the *Jewiſh* religion; and this notion, it ſeems, was readily adopted by ſeveral of the fathers (30).

One thing ſeems beyond contradiction, namely, that one of the main cauſes of the invincible hatred which the whole *Jewiſh* nation bore againſt that prince, in ſpite of all his grandeur, generoſity, and munificence, was his not being of *Jewiſh* extract; ſo that what *Damaſcen*, and after him the *Arabic* hiſtory, printed at the end of the *Paris* polyglot, affirm of his noble deſcent, from a *Jewiſh* ſtock, muſt be falſe and groundleſs.

His oppoſite pedigree from a ſexton of *Apollo*'s temple, is at beſt founded on a tradition, attributed to Chriſt's kinſmen, according to the fleſh, without the leaſt authority, and ſeems to be trumped up to debaſe the whole *Herodian* family, which was univerſally hated; and can conſequently never outweigh the teſtimony of *Joſephus*, who wanted neither means nor inclination to inform himſelf of his genealogy, and whoſe authority is ſtill univerſally received, in ſpite of all the cavils which the jeſuit above-quoted has raiſed againſt it.

(27) *Antiq. l. xiv c. 2.* (28) *Hardouin. de Numm. Herodian.* (29) *Eccl. Hiſt. l. i. c. 6, & 7.* (30) *Vid. Ambr. Comment. in Luc. c. iii.*

ceſſion

ceſſion on their behalf, our hiſtorian doth not tell us; but intimates, that ſhe ſent him ſoon after with an army into *Syria* againſt *Ptolemy Meneus*, who infeſted all the neighbouring countries, and that he returned ſoon after without effecting any thing worth notice [e].

ABOUT the ſame time news came to her, that *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* was come into *Syria* with an army of fifty thouſand men, and had beſieged *Ptolemais*, and that his deſign was to march from thence into *Judæa*. This news threw the whole kingdom into the greateſt conſternation, it not being in a condition to make head againſt ſuch a powerful invader. She therefore haſtened ſome embaſſadors, laden with the richeſt preſents, to beſeech him to ſpare her dominions, and to grant her his friendſhip. Both preſents and embaſſy were received with marks of the ſincereſt kindneſs and affection, not ſo much out of regard to that princeſs, as to his own affairs, which had by this time taken a different turn; his territories being now threatened with an invaſion from the *Romans*, who had already penetrated into *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, where *Lucullus* was then ravaging all that country. So that he was forced to go and defend his own territories, inſtead of invading thoſe of his neighbours [f].

The queen's ſickneſs.

THE queen was ſcarcely rid of this danger before ſhe fell into new ones. A fit of ſickneſs, which ſeized her about this time, dangerous in its nature, and much more ſo on account of her great age, made her youngeſt ſon believe that her death was near at hand, and that it was therefore high time for him to think of ſecuring the crown for himſelf, which his elder brother was unfit for. To this end he went out of *Jeruſalem* one night, accompanied by one ſingle confident, with a deſign to go and bring over to his intereſt thoſe friends of his father, who had the cuſtody of the ſeveral fortifications, of which we have lately ſpoken. This ſecret he intruſted with none but his own wife, whom he left behind with her children, till he came to the caſtle of *Agaba*, where *Gabeſtus*, one of his father's chief confidents, who commanded there, received him with no ſmall joy. He immediately declared to him the deſign of his coming, and the reaſons he had to fear, leſt, if his mother died before he had made ſure of the crown, not only he and his whole family, but all their friends in general, ſhould again fall under the tyranny of the *Phariſaic* ſect, through the indolence and ſtupidity of his elder brother, who would doubtleſs ſuffer himſelf to be wholly governed by them. As his fears were but too well grounded, he eaſily

[e] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 24. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4. [f] Id ibid.

gained

Ariſtobulus *ſecures the crown.*

gained *Gabeſtus*, whoſe example was ſoon followed by all the governors of the other fortreſſes, who all declared for him. The queen miſſed her ſon from the firſt night, but did not ſuſpect him of any deſign, till the alarmed *Phariſees* brought her word, that theſe fortreſſes were gone over to his intereſt, by which means he had got in ſome meaſure the whole ſtrength of the kingdom into his hands. As to the army, and even the people who were heretofore ſo ready to idolize their ſect, they were ſenſible they had uſed them of late with ſuch ſeverity and inſolence, that, inſtead of expecting any ſupport from them, they had great reaſon to fear they would upon the very firſt occaſion go over to *Ariſtobulus*, and embrace the milder government of the *Sadducees* [g].

They had brought *Hyrcan* with them to the queen, when they came to acquaint her with the diſmal ſituation of their affairs, and both he and they were very preſſing with her to adviſe them what to do in ſuch a dangerous caſe. The queen, who found herſelf dying, had juſt ſtrength enough to tell them, that her condition would not now permit her to think of their ſafety, and that ſhe left it wholly to them to ſee to it themſelves. She added, that they wanted neither ſoldiers, arms, nor money to make head againſt her other ſon, and that ſhe appointed *Hyrcan* her ſucceſſor. She expired immediately after, in the ſeventy third year of her age, and the ninth of her reign, to the inexpreſſible grief of the *Phariſaic* faction, who now could expect nothing elſe but a ſevere retaliation for all their cruelties to the late king's friends; but to the great joy of all the reſt of the kingdom, who now hoped to ſee an effectual end put to the *Phariſaic* tyranny, by her brave ſon *Ariſtobulus* (M).

The queen's death.

Whilst

[g] Ant. l. xiii c ult. Bell Jud. l. i. c. 4.

(M) This defection from *Hyrcan*, whom ſhe had nominated her ſucceſſor, to her younger ſon, who was in ſome meaſure in open rebellion againſt her, did not proceed from any diſreſpect the people had for her; for ſhe appears to have been a princeſs of great wiſdom and conduct; and could ſhe have ſuppreſt the *Phariſaic* tyranny, would have left an unblemiſh'd character behind her; and even this circumſtance of her giving too much way to it, appears to have been rather her misfortune than her fault.

Some authors (31) have abſurdly confounded this queen with *Salome* the wife, and afterwards the widow, of *Ariſtobulus*, the el-

(31) *Capel. & al Vid. Prid. Connect. ſub A.* 70.

der

WHILST therefore the hopes of such a happy change brought daily both army and people over to him, the *Pharisees* found no other expedient to provide for their own safety, than seizing on his wife and children, and confining them in the castle of *Baris*, to be kept there as hostages against him; but when they found that this did not stop his progress, but that he took the royal title and state upon him, and daily gained strength, they raised an army against him; and *Aristobulus*, who desired nothing more than a decisive battle, well knowing the valour and fidelity of his army, and that he had little to fear from that of his brother, soon gave him an opportunity of joining issue with him. A battle was accordingly fought near *Jericho*, in which most of *Hyrcan*'s forces went over to his brother, so that he had no way left but to retire to *Jerusalem*, and to shut himself up in the same castle, where they had confined *Aristobulus*'s wife and children. The few forces that stuck by him followed his example, and took sanctuary within the verge of the temple, where they had not been long, ere they came over to his victorious brother. Things being brought to this desperate state, *Hyrcan* was glad to accept of a peace upon any terms; and *Aristobulus* granted it to him, upon condition that he divested himself of his regal and pontifical dignity, and wholly resigned them to him, and contented himself with a private life, with the enjoyment of his private fortunes. *Hyrcan*, who, as we have observed more than once, was a man without ambition or spirit, made no difficulty to yield to those conditions, and to divest himself of a government he could keep no longer, after a three month's troublesome possession of it [h] (N).

THIS

[h] Ant. l. xiv. c. 1, 2, 3. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

der brother of the late *Alexander*, and who, as we observed a little higher, out of *Josephus*, was also called *Alexandra*; so that they have supposed her to have been the same person, and that being left a widow, *Alexander* the next brother had been obliged, according to the *Mosaic* law, to marry her, and to raise up seed to his brother.

But this has been fully confuted by our learned *Prideaux* in the place above quoted, since *Hyrcan*, who is every where allowed to have been the son of *Alexander*, is there proved to have been five years old before *Aristobulus* died; for *Hyrcan* being according to *Josephus* above eighty years of age when he died, which happened in the year before Christ 30, eighty one years will carry us back to the year before Christ 111, whereas *Aristobulus* did not die till the year 106.

(N) So says the text in *Josephus*; but our excellent *Usher* has clearly

THIS depoſition did not, however, hinder *Hyrcan*'s retaining ſtill a powerful party, which conſiſting chiefly of *Phariſees*,

clearly ſhewn from the ſix years which elapſed between the conſulate of *Q. Hortenſius* and *Q. Metellus*, in which *Hyrcan* began his reign, and that of *C. Antonius* and *M. T. Cicero*, in which his brother *Ariſtobulus* was depoſed by *Pompey*, that there muſt be an error crept into *Joſephus*, who allows but three months reign to the former, and three years and ſix months to the latter

But the learned prelate has not ſo well ſucceeded in correcting that miſtake, by ſuppoſing that *Hyrcan* reigned three years and three months (32), and that the former of the two numbers had been dropped by the careleſſneſs of the tranſcribers; but this ſeems quite contrary to the tenor of *Joſephus*, who makes his reign and depoſition to have followed much cloſer, than this ſuppoſition will admit of.

Another great antiquary (33) has taken a different way to ſolve the difficulty, by ſuppoſing that *Hyrcan* was diveſted of his regal dignity after the firſt three months; but that he preſerved the high-prieſthood three years longer, that is, till his flight to *Aretas*, of which we ſhall ſpeak by and by; and that the three years and ſix months allowed to his brother by the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian are to be reckoned only from the time that he aſſumed the pontifical dignity. But this is again contradicted by *Joſephus*, who makes *Ariſtobulus* to have diveſted his brother of both dignities, and to have taken them upon himſelf at one and the ſame time, and *Hyrcan* to have been reduced to a private ſtate.

Dean *Prideaux*, in the place above quoted, ſuppoſes therefore, that the original had ſix years and ſix months, it being more reaſonable that a numerical letter ſhould be changed by the careleſsneſs of the ſcribe, than a whole word, that is, that he ſhould miſtake a three for a ſix, rather than a month for a year, as in the ſuppoſition of archbiſhop *Uſher*.

From the objection, that *Joſephus* in another place (34) gives him but three years reign, and that not in numerical letters, but in words at length, which might be therefore looked upon as a confirmation of the former; the ſame judicious author rather confirms his own hypotheſis in as clear a manner as the ſubject can admit of. To give his anſwer at length would ſwell this note too much; we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with hinting at the main ſtreſs of his argument.

He obſerves, that this laſt place has *three years, and the ſame number of months*, whereas the former has three years and ſix months; from whence he ſuppoſes, that ſome critic, finding this difference between thoſe two places, and not ſuſpecting this laſt to

(32) *Sub A. Jul per.* 4647. (33) *Petav. ap Prid. ubi ſupra.* (34) *Antiq. l. xx. c. 8. a fin. Conf. eund. l. xiv. c. 11. & bell. l. i. c. 9.*

have

riſees, who had nothing to hope for, but a great deal to fear, from his ſucceſsful brother, were ſtill buſily plotting to raiſe up their old idol over him. This was gladly obſerved by *Antipater* the father of *Herod*, whoſe nation and pedigree we have ſpoken of in a late note. This perſon, tho' in all likelihood indifferent as to the diſtinction between *Phariſee* and *Sadducee*, being, as we there obſerved, an *Idumean* proſelyte, was in as great danger of feeling the reſentments of *Ariſtobulus*, as any of the former ſect. His peculiar ſkill and addreſs, backed by an unmeaſurable ambition, had long before recommended him to the favour of the late king *Alexander* and of his queen *Alexandra*, who had beſtowed the government of *Idumea* upon him; and as he ſtill looked upon *Hyrcan* as their ſucceſſor, the hopes of advancing himſelf ſtill higher under that ſoft prince, had betrayed him into a more than ordinary zeal for him. So that when he came to ſee his brother on the throne, he had all the reaſon in the world, not only to deſpair of further advancement, but to dread his reſentment. This determined him to join with the diſcontented *Phariſees*, whom from that time he ſtill took care to fill with fears and jealouſies from that prince, whom he ſtyled an uſurper; and who, he told them, would never think himſelf ſecure, till he had cut off his brother, and with him all that had been in his intereſt. By theſe inſinuations he ſoon drew them into his deſign to dethrone him, and ſet up his brother again; but his great difficulty was to prevail upon *Hyrcan* to join with them. That prince being of an eaſy and indolent diſpoſition, could not be perſuaded that his brother would attempt any thing againſt his life; neither had he any ambition to recover his loſt dignities, or, if he had, it was eaſily cooled by the danger of attempting it, which he viewed in the moſt diſmal light. When therefore *Antipater* perceiv- Antipater *cabals with the* Phariſees.

have been corrupted, that is, three to have been put inſtead of ſix years, has altered the other place according to it, in order to reconcile the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian; and ſo inſtead of ſix years and juſt as many months, as he found it written, he made it three years and as many months as he found it corrupted in the other place.

This ſuppoſition, which cannot but appear very probable to thoſe who are acquainted with manuſcripts, and with the inadvertency of tranſcribers, as well as the boldneſs of critics in correcting them, takes away at once all the difficulties, reconciles *Joſephus* to himſelf, and fills up the ſix years ſpace between *Hyrcan*'s reign and *Ariſtobulus*'s depoſition, according to the conſulates under which each of them happened according to the ſame hiſtorian (35).

(35) *Conf. ant. l xiv. c.* 1, *et* 8.

ed that fear was his predominant paſſion, he raiſed ſuch a battery againſt it, by repeated aſſurances that his life was in manifeſt danger, and that he muſt reſolve either to reign or die; that the weak prince was at length wrought upon to ſeek for ſafety and aſſiſtance from *Aretas* king of *Arabia*.

Carries Hyrcan *into* Arabia.

As ſoon as he had gained his conſent, he offered himſelf to go and negotiate that affair; which he did with ſuch privacy and diſpatch, that he came back very ſoon after, took *Hyrcan* with him in the night, and by long journies brought him to *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia*, where he preſented him to the king. It is likely that *Antipater*, at his firſt interview with *Aretas*, had only engaged him to protect *Hyrcan* againſt his brother; but now they were both at his court, he began to open to him the other part of his deſign, and to convince him how much it would be his intereſt to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his kingdom, by aſſuring him that he ſhould have all the places reſtored to him, which had been heretofore taken from him by the *Jewiſh* kings, which were very conſiderable (O), and which he muſt never hope to recover, as long as *Ariſtobulus* was on the throne. He told him moreover, that *Hyrcan* had ſuch a powerful party in *Judæa*, ready to join with his forces, that he looked upon the dethroning of the uſurper as a very eaſy taſk. *Hyrcan* was eaſily perſuaded to confirm all his miniſter had ſaid, and to ratify all the engagements he had made to the *Arabian* king, who came ſoon after with them into *Judæa*, at the head of an army of five thouſand men, where he was joined by thoſe of *Hyrcan*'s party. *Ariſtobulus* marched againſt him, and an obſtinate fight enſued, in which he was totally defeated, and forced to flee into *Jeruſalem*. *Aretas* purſued him thither, and entered that metropolis without oppoſition, drove him and his few men, moſt of them prieſts, into the precinct of the temple, and there cloſely beſieged him, whilſt the reſt of the people declared for the conqueror.

Aretas *invades* Judæa.

Ariſtobulus *defeated.*

Beſieges the temple.

The temple being thus beſieged, and the approaching feaſt of the paſſover thereby likely to be wholly obſtructed, many of the chief of the the *Jews* retired into *Egypt* to celebrate

(O) Theſe were *Medeba Nebalſa*, probably *Abela*, *al Arbela*, and *Abel of the vineyards*; and *Rabbah*, once the capital of the *Ammonites*; *Livias Agalla*, perhaps the ſame with *Gallim*; *Therabaſa*, *Athone*, *Zoara*, probably *Segar*; *Oronæ*, or *Oronaim*, on the dead ſea; *Mariſſa*, *Rydda*, *Luſa*, and *Oryba* (36).

(36) *Ibid. cap.* ii. *ad fin. De his vid. Euſeb. loc. Hebr. Bochart &c.*

it

it there. On the other hand, the beſieged having neither lambs nor other victims for the ſacrifices of that ſolemnity, *Ariſtobulus* applied himſelf to the beſiegers to ſupply them with a competent number of them; which thoſe at firſt promiſed, upon condition that they payed them a thouſand drachms of ſilver for every head, and had the money delivered before hand. But when the ſum ſtipulated was let down to them by a rope from the top of the wall, they refuſed to ſend the victims; upon which the prieſts went to the altar, and inſtead of them, offered up their prayers to God, that he would ſpeedily puniſh their perfidious contempt of his religion. To this guilt the beſiegers added another, neither of which went long unpuniſhed.

THERE was at that time in *Jeruſalem* one *Onias*, a man in high eſteem for his ſanctity; and who was thought to have ſaved the land from a famine, by obtaining from heaven a comfortable rain, after a long and grievous drought. This good man, ſeeing his unhappy country involved in a civil war, had retired into ſome of the neighbouring deſerts, and hid himſelf there. Him they found out, and brought by main force to the ſiege, and would have obliged him to curſe *Ariſtobulus* and his adherents. He reſiſted a long time, till conſtrained at length by their threats, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and addreſſed it in words to this effect: *O Lord God, ſovereign Governor of the world, ſince theſe that beſiege thy temple are thy people, and thoſe that are beſieged in it are thy prieſts, I beſeech thee to hear the prayers of neither ſide.* He had ſcarce pronounced theſe words, before the exaſperated multitude let fly on him ſuch vollies of ſtones as put an end to his life. This double crime brought a double puniſhment very ſpeedily upon them: a vehement ſtormy wind did ſhortly after deſtroy all their fruit and grain, inſomuch, that a meaſure of wheat ſold for eleven drachms, and other proviſions in proportion[1]. But the moſt dreadful of all was, their falling preſently after under the yoke of the *Romans*; a yoke which they never more could ſhake off, but groaned under the ſevere weight of it, till the utter deſtruction of their city and temple, and their total diſperſion throughout the world, as will be ſeen in the next ſections.

Onias's murder puniſhed.

[1] Ibid & ſeq.

SECT. IV.

The History of the Jews *from their being subdued by the* Romans *to the reign of* Herod the Great.

The Romans *invited by* Aristobulus.

Year of the Flood, 2934. Before Christ, 65.

ARISTOBULUS being thus straitly besieged by the *Arabian* king, and forsaken by all his party, was forced to have recourse to the *Romans*; for *Pompey*, having by this time overcome *Tigranes*, was retired into the *Lesser Armenia*, and from thence had dispatched *Gabinius* into *Judæa*; and this last having received three hundred talents from *Aristobulus*, was gone back without acting for or against him. *Scaurus* came next from *Syria* into *Judæa*, and in his way was met by some embassadors from the two contending brothers (P), each to implore his friendship and alliance, for which they offered him four hundred talents. *Scaurus*, who knew *Aristobulus* to be the more liberal and the braver of the two, suffered himself to be gained by him; besides, as he rightly judged, it would be the easier task to restore him, since he need but oblige *Aretas* to raise the siege and to depart out of *Judæa*, and *Hyrcan* would soon be abandoned by his party. He therefore wrote a threatening letter to *Aretas*, in which he told him, that if he did not forthwith withdraw his troops, he should be declared an enemy to *Rome*, and oblige *Pompey* to turn his army against him. *Aretas*, who had no mind to exasperate the *Roman* general, did readily obey, and led his army out of *Judæa*, *Scaurus* returned to *Damascus*, and *Aristobulus* being thus timely relieved, gathered up what forces he could, and pursued after the *Arabian* king. He overtook him and his brother *Hyrcan* at a place called *Papyrion*, and gave him a great overthrow, in which he killed seven thousand of his men, and amongst them *Cephalion* the brother of *Antipater* [a]. Much about the same time, *Pompey* being come to *Damascus*, received embassadors from all the neighbouring states, especially those of *Judæa*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*. These three last being but a kind of usurpers, were extremely desirous to bring the *Romans* over to their interest, and endeavoured to gain their general by most magnificent presents. *Aristobulus* for his part sent him a golden vine, upon a square

Aretas *defeated by* Hristobulus.

[a] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

(P) The fourth book of *Maccabees* says (37), that only *Aristobulus* sent presents to *Scaurus*, and that *Hyrcan* omitted it, which determined the *Roman* general in favour of the former, and made him come to his assistance; but that he retired as soon as he heard that *Aretas* had raised the siege.

(37) *Cap.* xxxvi.

mount,

mount, with the fruit on it, and deer, lions, and other beasts about it, all of the same precious metal. This curious piece had been formerly made by *Alexander Jannæus*, and was now sent by his son to *Pompey*, who conveyed it to *Rome*, where it was deposited, in the temple of *Jupiter*, in the capitol. *Strabo* tells us [b], that he saw it there, and that it was reckoned worth five thousand talents. However, the senate, not being willing to acknowledge *Aristobulus* for king of *Judæa*, caused the present to be inscribed to his father *Alexander*, king of the *Jews*.

The two brothers send presents to Pompey.

SOON after this the two contending brothers sent a separate embassy to *Pompey*, on his coming into *Cœle-Syria*, each to implore his friendship and patronage against the other; *Antipater* in behalf of *Hyrcan*, and *Nicodemus* in behalf of *Aristobulus*. Both were heard with seeming equanimity, and dismissed with fair promises, and the two brothers ordered to appear in person, and to plead their causes before him, and, after a full hearing, he engaged to decide the controversy as justice should direct. Unfortunately for *Aristobulus*, his embassador took it into his head to complain of *Scaurus* and *Gabinius*, for having received the former four hundred, and the latter three hundred, talents from his master, by which he made those two generals, who had a great influence on *Pompey*, to become his enemies [c]; and the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that the *Roman* general did accordingly promise him to decide in favour of *Aristobulus*, but did underhand act in favour of his brother [d].

Send a second embassy.

EARLY on the following year, *Pompey* came again into *Syria*, where he deposed several petty tyrants, took several fortresses, particularly that of *Lysiad*, of which *Silas* a *Jew* had made himself master, and came at length to *Damascus*. Here he found the two brothers, who were come to plead their cause and pretensions before him, and had brought a great number of witnesses to their respective pleas. But, besides these, there came also another set of *Jews*, to plead against them both, alledging, that their nation had been for a long time governed only by the high-priests of the God of *Israel*, without the regal dignity; and that, though the two brothers were of the sacerdotal race, they had governed them contrary to their antient laws, by taking the power and title of kings, and thereby reducing the *Jewish* nation into a state of slavery. *Hyrcan* spoke next, and complained, that, being the elder brother, he had been unjustly deposed by *Aristobulus*, and by him forced into a private state, with only the in-

Plead their cause in person.

[b] STRAB. ap. JOSEPH. ubi supra. Vid. & PLIN hist. l. xxxvii. c. 2. [c] Ant. l. xiv. c. 5. [d] c. xxxviii.

come

come of a few paternal lands, whilſt he, not contented with the revenues of the whole kingdom, committed continual depredations on his neighbours both by ſea and land. For proof of all which he brought a thouſand of the principal *Jews*, who had been gained by *Antipater*, to witneſs what he had alledged. To this *Ariſtobulus* replied, that he had indeed turned his brother out of the government; but that it was, becauſe he was incapable of holding of it, and not from any ambitious views of his own; that *Hyrcan* was a perſon of ſuch unactive and ſluggiſh diſpoſition, and ſo deſpiſed by the people, that he had been forced to wreſt the power out of his hands, leſt it ſhould be transferred into another family. He added, that as to the royal title, it was no other than his father *Alexander* had bore before him. The witneſſes he brought to juſtify his pretenſions were, a numerous ſet of young gentlemen ſo ſumptuouſly cloathed, that they rather diſcredited him, and ſeemed to have been introduced to expoſe his vanity more than to back his cauſe. However, *Pompey*, after a full hearing of all parties, wiſely deferred giving his ſentence, leſt *Ariſtobulus*, againſt whom he deſigned to declare, ſhould obſtruct his intended expedition againſt the *Nabatheans*, and contented himſelf with diſmiſſing them with a promiſe, that, as ſoon as he had ſubdued *Aretas*, he would come himſelf into *Judæa*, and there determine their controverſy. *Ariſtobulus*, who looked upon this delay as an ill omen, and did not perhaps care to ſee *Pompey* in *Judæa*, went away in a huff, firſt to *Delion*, and thence into *Judæa*, without ſo much as taking leave of him [c].

This proceeding highly offended the *Roman* general againſt him, who thereupon ſent for his troops, which he had in *Syria*, and with thoſe which he deſigned againſt the *Arabians*, and the legions which he had with him, marched ſtrait againſt *Judæa*. *Ariſtobulus* had not been idle, but had got a good army under him, and was himſelf at the caſtle of *Alexandrion*, a place of no ſmall ſtrength (Q), when *Pompey* entered *Judæa*. As ſoon as this laſt

[c] Antiq & bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

(Q) This fortreſs had been built by his father *Alexander Jannæus*, and was from him called *Alexandrion*; it was ſituate on a high mountain, in the very entrance into *Judæa*, near to the town of *Coreæ* (38), which was the firſt place in *Judæa* on the *Samari-*

(38) *Vid. Joſeph antiq. l.* xiii. *c. ult.* xiv. 6. *& alib.*

tan

laſt had reached *Corea*, he ſent for *Ariſtobulus* to come to him; who would have willingly excuſed himſelf from it, but was at length prevailed upon by thoſe that were about him to obey the ſummons, and prevent thereby a war with the *Roman* general. He came accordingly, more than once or twice, to him, and conferred with him about the diſpute between his brother and him, ſparing neither compliments, promiſes, nor preſents, to engage him on his ſide. *Pompey* as often diſmiſſed him with a ſhew of friendſhip, and ſuffered him to return to his caſtle. At length he propoſed to him that he ſhould put all his fortreſſes into his hands, and ſend orders to all his governors to reſign them to him without heſitation. It was eaſy then for him to ſee now that the *Roman* general was in his brother's intereſt, and wanted only to put it out of his power to maintain himſelf againſt him. But tho' he had been long before ſuſpecting this partiality, and had taken all poſſible methods to ſecure himſelf againſt it, yet was he forced, tho' much againſt his will, to comply with the propoſal, being now in that general's hands. But as ſoon as he was got away from him, he fled with all ſpeed to *Jeruſalem*, with full reſolution to defeat his deſign [f].

Pompey was not long in following him thither, and upon his encamping in the plain of *Jericho*, received the agreeable news, that *Mithridates* had killed himſelf, and that his treacherous ſon had ſeized upon the kingdom; and in ſuch haſte was the army to know it, that the general, for want of a tribunal to communicate it to them, according to cuſtom, cauſed one to be raiſed by laying a number of ſaddles one upon another, from which he acquainted them with the *Pontic* king's death, and received their congratulations with the uſual ſignals of joy [g]. He purſued his march on the next day towards *Jeruſalem*, whence *Ariſtobulus*, repenting now of what he had done, came out, and went to throw himſelf at his feet, and to beg of him to forbear any hoſtilities againſt the *Jewiſh* nation, promiſing him a conſiderable ſum of money upon

Pompey *comes againſt* Jeruſalem.

[f] Ant. ubi ſupra, c. 6. Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra. [g] PLUTARCH. in vit. Pomp.

Pan ſide, and upon the road to *Jericho*, on the frontiers of *Judah* and *Benjamin* (39). *Alexandrion* was afterwards the burying place of the *Jewiſh* kings, ſo that, though it was demoliſhed by the *Romans*, it was rebuilt by *Herod*, and his ſons ſent thither to be buried, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(39) *Ibid. & bell. Jud. l.* v. *c.* 4.

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that condition. The general agreed to it, and, keeping him in his camp, ſent *Gabinius* with ſome troops to receive the money; but he was repulſed by the gariſon, who ſhut the gates againſt him, and refuſed to perform the agreement. This diſappointment ſo exaſperated *Pompey*, that he ordered *Ariſtobulus* to be clapt in chains, and marched directly with his whole army againſt the city (R). We have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak of the ſtrength of this place, both with reſpect to its excellent ſituation, and of its other fortifications; ſo that being now ſo well gariſoned and provided, it might in all likelihood have found the *Roman* general work enough to have taken it by ſiege; but unfortunately for it, thoſe that ſhould have defended it were divided into two parties; that for *Ariſtobulus* were for ſtanding out to the laſt againſt a general, who dared to keep their king in chains; but that for *Hyrcan*, which were the more numerous, were on the contrary for opening the gates to him, and prevent thereby the ſad effects of a ſiege and deſtructive war. The prieſts declared for the former, but the generality of the people were for the latter; ſo that *Ariſtobulus*, finding himſelf overpowered, was forced to retire with his men within the precinct of the temple, breaking down all the bridges between that and the city, that were over the deep valley, which parted thoſe two places; before *Pompey* could be admitted into the latter.

Beſieges it.

HE was accordingly invited ſoon after, and ſent *Piſo*, one of his generals, with a number of troops, to ſecure the place and the royal palace, whilſt thoſe that were in the temple were buſy in fortifying every part of it, that could be of ſervice to them to hold on the ſiege. *Pompey* at firſt ſent to them ſome propoſals of peace, but finding them reſolved to ſtand it out, he ſet himſelf immediately to beſiege them in form. He be-

(R) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* differs a little from *Joſephus*, and mentions nothing of this ſubmiſſion of *Ariſtobulus* to the *Roman* general; but tells us (40), that *Pompey* marched directly againſt *Jeruſalem*, where, obſerving the ſituation of the place, the ſtrength of its walls, towers, &c. he reſolved to try to gain *Ariſtobulus* by fair means; that he invited him to come to his camp, and promiſed him all the ſafety he could deſire; that he came accordingly, and promiſed that general to deliver up all the treaſure of the temple, if he would declare for him. But that the prieſts having refuſed to ratify their king's promiſe, made the diſappointed general lay ſiege to the temple.

(40) *c.* xxxvi.

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gan with inclosing the place with a ſtrong wall, to prevent either their flight, or their receiving any help from without; *Hyrcan* gladly furniſhing him with all neceſſary things to carry on the work. Battering rams and other engines of war being brought to him from *Tyre*, he ordered the attack to be made on the north ſide of the temple, which was the weakeſt, though incloſed with ſtrong walls, high towers, and other fortifications, and had a large deep ditch and a ſpacious valley beneath it. As for the other ſides of it, they were in a manner inacceſſible, after the bridges had been broken down, by reaſon of their craggineſs and ſteepneſs. The battering engines were accordingly raiſed on mounds and plat-forms, and began to play in earneſt againſt the place, and to fling large ſtones into it, whilſt the beſieged were as induſtrious in levelling the one and diſmounting the other as faſt as they were raiſed by the beſiegers. The ſiege had already took him up three months, and might in all likelihood have laſted much longer, if not perhaps been raiſed, had not the beſieged been ſeized again with their old and fatal ſuperſtition about the breach of the ſabbath, which hindered them from making ſuch a defence as they had formerly, and ſhould now have done. *Strange ſuperſtition of the* Jews

WE have had occaſion heretofore to ſhew how deſtructive that notion had been to their forefathers, and how wiſely it had been condemned by the brave *Maccabees*, ſo that from their time they had made no ſcruple to take up arms againſt an offending enemy; but now they were, it ſeems, taken with a qualm of conſcience, that though it was lawful to ſtand in their defence on the ſabbath, when an actual aſſault was made upon them, it did not therefore follow, that they might do any thing on that day towards preventing thoſe preparatives which the enemy made towards ſuch future aſſaults. This ſcruple had ſuch an effect upon them, that they never moved a hand on that day to hinder either mounds and batteries being raiſed, or breaches being made on their walls; which being at laſt perceived by the beſiegers, they took the advantage of getting all things ready for an aſſault on that day, without throwing either ſtones or any miſſive weapons that might force them on their own defence, ſo that the beſieged let them go on with their other works without the leaſt oppoſition; and ſuch was their zeal for the divine ſervice of the temple, that no annoyance from the enemy could obſtruct it from being performed, with the ſame regularity and calmneſs, as in time of the profoundeſt peace. By theſe means the beſiegers made at length ſo deep a breach by playing down one of their towers, which in its fall brought down a conſi-

derable part of the wall (S), that they eaſily maſtered the place. *Cornelius Fauſtus*, the ſon of *Sylla*, at the head of a number of troops, mounted one end of the breach, *Furius* the other end, and *Fabius* in the middle. A horrid ſlaughter immediately enſued, in which no leſs than twelve thouſand of the beſieged were killed by the *Romans*, beſides many more, who died by their own hands; in this action the *Jews* of the contrary faction acted with greater fury and cruelty againſt them than the heathen.

The city taken. Year of the Flood, 2935. Before Chriſt, 63.

WHAT was moſt ſurpriſing, during this horrid ſcene of action, was the conſtancy of the prieſts, who never intermitted one moment the divine ſervice of the temple, but continued to offer up their uſual prayers, praiſes, and ſacrifices, with the ſame calmneſs and aſſiduity, as if no ſuch ſlaughter had been then acting in the ſacred place; and at laſt ſuffered themſelves to be butchered before the altar, with as much meekneſs and conſtancy, as the victims they were then offering upon it (T). *Pompey*, though ſurpriſed at their religious conſtancy, cauſed all the priſoners that were found to have been moſt zealous againſt him to be put to death (U), whilſt a great number

Admirable conſtancy of the prieſts.

(S) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (41) ſays, that ſome of the *Jews*, who were on *Pompey*'s ſide, ſcaled the wall, and, having ſlain all the prieſts that oppoſed them, opened the temple gates to him.

(T) It is obſervable, that the city was taken on the very day on which the *Jews* were keeping a ſolemn faſt in memory of its having been formerly taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, viz. on the 28th of the month *Ciſleu*, anſwering to our *December*, according to the learned *Uſher* (42), who takes the third month here mentioned to have been that of the ſacred year; but it is more probable to have been the third of the civil year called *Thammus*, anſwering to our *June*, as dean *Prideaux* has ſhewn (43). On the ſame day, twenty ſix years after, it was likewiſe taken by *Soſius*, by which the *Jews* became ſubject to the *Herodian* ſceptre (44).

(U) Among theſe is ſuppoſed to have been *Abſalom*, the uncle and father-in law of *Ariſtobulus*. This prince, who was a younger ſon of the famed *John Hircanus*, had led a private life under the protection of his brother *Jannæus*, without meddling with public affairs, till he unfortunately gave his daughter to *Ariſtobulus*. For this marriage having drawn him into his ſon-in-law's party, he was taken priſoner, and in all probability put to death. At leaſt no further mention is made of him from that time (45).

(41) *Ibid.* (42) *Sub A. M.* 3641. (43) *Sub A ant. Chriſt.* 63. (44) *Antiq. l. xiv. c. ult.* (45) *Antiq. l. xiv. c.* 8.

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of the reſt prevented him by a deſperate exit, ſome throwing themſelves down the deepeſt precipices, and others ſetting their apartments on fire, burnt themſelves in it. Theſe were the fruits of *Ariſtobulus*'s ambition, and of the two contending brothers calling in the *Romans*. Theſe new maſters, who, ſeldom, if ever, lent their aſſiſtance but with a view of inſlaving, ſoon altered the face of the *Jewiſh* affairs, according to their uſual method. *Hyrcan* was indeed reſtored to the pontifical dignity, with the ſpecious title of prince, though from thenceforth tributary to *Rome*; but he was wholly diveſted of his regal one, and forbid to reſume either the diadem or royal ſtyle, or to extend his territory beyond the old borders of *Judæa*. All the cities, which had been taken by his predeceſſors in *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, were taken from him, and reſtored to *Syria* (W), of which province *Scaurus* was left governor, at the head of two *Roman* legions, to keep the country in awe, whilſt the conqueror prepared himſelf to return to *Rome*.

Hyrcan *reſtored*. *half*

BUT before he left *Jeruſalem*, he gave the *Jews* a more mortifying ſtroke than any we have yet mentioned. We have had frequent occaſion to mention how jealous they were of having their temple prophaned by ſtrangers, whom they abſolutely debarred not only ſetting a foot into that holy place, but even caſting a diſtant look towards it. But *Pompey* was above humouring them in what he looked upon as a piece of *Jewiſh* ſuperſtition. Reſolved therefore to ſatisfy his curioſity, and to view the moſt ſacred receſſes of that building, he cauſed them to be opened to him; and, attended with a number of his chief commanders, penetrated even into the moſt holy place, into which the high-prieſt alone was permitted to enter once a year, on the grand day of expiation †. He view-

Pompey *enters into the temple.*

† See Vol. III. p. 202, & ſeq.

(W) Theſe were, among many others of leſs note, thoſe of *Hyrcan*, *Scythopolis*, *Pella*, *Dion*, *Samaria*, *Mariſſa*, *Azotus*, *Jamnia*, and *Arethuſa* in the inland, together with *Gaza*, *Joppa*, *Dora*, and the tower of *Straton* on the ſea coaſts. This laſt was afterwards magnificently rebuilt by *Herod*, and by him called *Cæſarea*, as ſhall be ſeen in the ſequel

Among thoſe cities which had been deſtroyed during the wars, that of *Gadara* was rebuilt by *Demetrius*, a native of it, and a freed-man and favourite of *Pompey* (46), of whoſe exceſſive inſolence, *Plutarch* gives us ſeveral inſtances in the life of that general.

(46) *Id. ibid.*

ed with a curious eye the golden table, candleſtick, cenſers, lamps, and other golden veſſels, the great quantity of rich perfumes and ſpices uſed in the divine worſhip; and in the treaſury he found about two thouſand talents. But whether the ſacredneſs of the place inſpired him with an uncommon reſpect for thoſe coſtly things, which he there ſaw, our author tells us, that he not only forbore to touch any of them, but that he immediately ordered the prieſts and officers of the temple to purify it, and to offer up their ſacrifices according to cuſtom (X). But this moderation of his did not hinder the *Jews* from reſenting the indignity he had offered to that holy place, more than all the miſchiefs they had ſuffered from him, and from aſcribing all the misfortunes that befel him afterwards to this ſacrilegious attempt [h]. Many chriſtians have been of the ſame mind, and men are indeed too apt to judge raſhly in matters of this nature; but whatever may have been the cauſe of that great general's misfortunes, it is plain, that this victory over the *Jews* was the laſt he ever gained, and that from this time his affairs went from bad to worſe, as we ſhall ſhew when we come to the *Roman* hiſtory.

Ariſtobulus *carried to* Rome.

Pompey, having thus ſubdued the *Jewiſh* nation, to prevent a future revolt, pulled down the walls of *Jeruſalem*, and

[h] Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 8.

(X) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* ſays, (47), that *Pompey* reſtored the kingdom to *Hyrcanus*, and ſent *Ariſtobulus* in chains to *Rome*. As for *Alexander*, he tells us, that he could not be taken, but continued hid in *Judæa*, till he appeared at the head of a ſtrong party; and as for *Hyrcan*, though he had the title of king, yet he was to pay a yearly tribute and acknowledgment for his crown.

This expedition and ſucceſs of *Pompey* againſt the *Jews* is alſo related by ſeveral heathen authors, and, excepting ſome difference in ſmall particulars, almoſt to the ſame purport with *Joſephus*. *Cicero* highly commends the reſpect that general ſhewed to the ſacred utenſils of the temple (48). *Livy* (49), *Oroſius*, *Eutropius*, *Strabo*, *Lucan*, *Tacitus*, *Florus*, *Dio*, and *Appian*, as well as *Plutarch*, have made likewiſe mention of it. Only *Appian* (50) will have it, that *Pompey* cauſed *Ariſtobulus* and *Tigranes* to be put to death, which is not taken notice of by any other. On the contrary, *Joſephus* and *Dio* tell us, that he ſpared them; and accordingly we ſhall find in the ſequel, that *Ariſtobulus* found means to return into *Judæa*, and to raiſe new troubles there.

(47) *Cap. xxxvii.* (48) *Orat. pro L. Flacc.* (49) *In Syriac. & bell. civil. l. v.* (50) *Lib. xxxvii.*

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left *Scaurus* governor with a ſufficient force. He ſet out for *Rome* ſoon after, and took *Ariſtobulus*, his two ſons, *Alexander* and *Antigonus*, and his two daughters with him, as captives fit to adorn his future triumph. However, they were not, it ſeems, ſo cloſely guarded, but *Alexander* found means to eſcape and return into *Judæa*; where he ſoon drew a conſiderable party after him, which proved the ſource of new and more grievous troubles. As for his father and brother, they were brought to *Rome*, and led in triumph among the many other princes whom *Pompey* had conquered. What became of *Ariſtobulus* afterwards, we have mentioned in the cloſe of the laſt note. Among the rich ſpoils which *Pompey* carried with him, was the golden vine we have ſpoken of in the laſt ſection, the worth of which is ſaid to have amounted to five or ſix hundred talents, and which he dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus* [i].

Alexander returns into Judæa.

As ſoon as *Hyrcan* found himſelf rid of his rival brother, he relapſed afreſh into his indolence, leaving the care of his affairs to *Antipater*, who, like a true politician, failed not to turn it to his advantage and the aggrandiſing of his family. He foreſaw, however, that he could not eaſily compaſs his ends, unleſs he endeared himſelf to the *Romans*; and therefore ſpared neither pains nor coſt to gain their favour. *Scaurus* was ſoon after beholden to him for a ſupply of corn and other proviſion, without which his army, which he had led againſt the metropolis of *Arabia*, muſt have been in danger of periſhing. This ſervice was followed by another, and *Antipater*, who was ſo well known to the king of *Arabia*, went and prevailed on that prince to pay three hundred talents to the *Roman* general [k], and thereby ſave his country from being ravaged by him (Y). It is alſo very probable, that *Antipater* was the perſon who procured thoſe ſervices

Antipater's politics.

[i] Antiq. ubi ſupra See alſo the authors quoted in the laſt note.
[k] Antiq. l xiv. c. 9.

(Y) The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds (1), that *Hyrcan* and *Antipater* accompanied *Scaurus* into *Arabia* with ſome forces, and that during that time *Alexander* took the opportunity of ſeizing on *Jeruſalem*, rebuilding its fortifications, and of raiſing an army, with which he overthrew the high prieſt on his return from the *Arabian* expedition: but if he got ſuch advantages over his uncle, he did not keep them long; for, according to *Joſephus*, we find that pontiff in *Jeruſalem*, and *Alexander* only plundering the countries round about, till ſuppreſſed by *Gabinius*.

(1) *Ubi ſupra.*

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from *Hyrcan* to the *Athenians*, for which, *Josephus* tells us [l], they made that honourable act of their senate, in which the pontiff is styled a great friend and benfactor to all the *Greeks*, and more particularly to the *Athenians*, and for which they decreed him a crown of gold, and a statue of brass, to be placed in the temple of *Demus* (Z) and the *Graces* [m]. Thus did that politic minister lay the foundations for his future grandeur, by securing the friendship of the most powerful states. *Herod* his son followed the same maxims, especially with regard to the *Romans* and *Athenians*, and thereby completed what his father had begun, as the sequel will soon shew.

Alexander *wastes* Judæa.

IN the mean time *Alexander*, having got a strong party in *Judæa*, and an army of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, began to seize and fortify several eminent fortresses, such as those of *Alexandrion* and *Macheron*, situate near the foot of the *Arabian* mountains, and from them made frequent incursions into *Judæa*. *Hyrcan* was not in a condition to suppress him; on the contrary, having endeavoured to shelter himself from him by rebuilding the walls of his metropolis, which *Pompey* had caused to be demolished, the *Romans*, always jealous of their new conquests, had forced him to desist; so that he was forced to call them to suppress this new invader. Accordingly *Gabinius*, who was president of *Syria*, and was lately come into that province, sent *Marc Antony* with some troops against him, whilst himself, and the rest of his army were preparing to follow him. *Antipater* sent likewise such forces as he had

[l] Ibid. c. 10. [m] Id ibid. cap. xvi.

(Z) The original has τὸ Δημε, which some versions render *Demus*, as we have above, though our *English* one render it *of the people*, &c. A learned critic conjectures, that there is an error crept in *Josephus*, and that it probably was the temple of the *Muses* and *Graces*, or perhaps the temple of *Academus* and the *Graces* (2). For we are told by an ancient writer 3), that there was a temple in their academy dedicated to the *Muses*, in which *Plato* did set up the statues of the *Graces*; and we do not read that the *Athenians* had any other temple of the *Muses* besides that.

Archbishop *Usher* places this decree, and presents in the ninth year of *Hircan*'s reign, from the death of his mother (4); he there rectifies an anachronism in *Josephus* concerning it, which the reader may see in that learned author.

(2) *Calmet Hist. v. Test. l. viii. sub A. M.* 3943. (3) *Diog. Laert. in vita Leucip.* (4) *Annal. sub an. ant. Chr.* 63.

raised

raiſed to join the *Roman* general, and theſe being followed by a number of *Jews* in the *Roman* intereſt, with *Pitolaus* at their head, *Alexander* was forced to retire into the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*, where a battle was ſoon after fought, in which he was defeated, and loſt three thouſand of his men, beſides thoſe that were taken priſoners. He was thence purſued to *Alexandrion*, where he had refuged himſelf, and there beſieged by *Gabinius*; but the place being ſtrong and well provided, that general ordered a number of his troops to inveſt the place, whilſt he marched with the reſt into *Judæa*, where he cauſed the cities mentioned in a former note to be rebuilt, according to *Pompey*'s order. That of *Samaria* being one of them, he called it from his own name *Gabiniana*; but *Herod* ſoon after changed it into thoſe of *Sebaſte*[n], as we ſhall ſee in its proper place. Whilſt *Alexander* was cloſely beſieged, he ſent to deſire peace of the *Roman* general, promiſing to ſurrender that fortreſs, and that of *Macheron* and *Hyrcanion*. About the ſame time his mother, a wiſe and diſcreet woman, whoſe huſband (*Ariſtobulus*) and her children were ſtill kept priſoners at *Rome*, came to the *Roman* general; and, partly by her addreſs, and partly by her ſervices to him, did inſinuate her ſelf ſo much in his favour, that ſhe procured the peace offered by her ſon to be accepted, and him to be diſmiſſed with pardon and impunity for what he had done. After this *Gabinius* ordered the three fortreſſes delivered up to him to be demoliſhed, that they might be no longer an occaſion of future revolts; and then led *Hyrcan*, who had, it ſeems, aſſiſted him in the ſiege, to *Jeruſalem*, where he reinſtated him afreſh into his pontifical dignity. He then divided the province into five ſeveral diſtricts, in each of which he erected a ſeparate court of judicature; the firſt at *Jeruſalem*, the ſecond at *Gadara*, the third at *Amath*, the fourth at *Jericho*, and the fifth at *Sephoris* in *Galilee*[o]; by which the government was changed from a monarchy into an ariſtocracy, and the *Jews*, who had been till then governed by their own monarchical pontiffs, fell under the ſubjection of a ſet of domineering lords (A).

Defeated.

Beſieged.

Change of the Jewiſh *government.*

In

[n] Vid. SYNCEL. ap. USSER. ſub A. M. 3979. [o] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 10. Id. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 6.

(A) The *Jews* had till now been governed by two ſorts of councils or courts of judicature under their ſovereign. Theſe councils or ſanhedrins were of two ſorts, the inferior conſiſting of twenty three, and the greater one of ſeventy two perſons; and this latter was

Ariſtobulus *eſcapes into* Judæa.

In the mean time *Ariſtobulus*, towards the latter end of the year, found means to eſcape out of the priſon, into which he had been remanded after *Pompey*'s triumph, and to return into *Judæa*, with his ſon *Antigonus*. Here he was ſoon joined by a conſiderable number of *Jews*, and, among the reſt, by *Pitolaus*, who had till then been a chief leader of the *Roman* party. But a great number of them coming to him without arms, he was forced to diſmiſs them, and only reſerved eight thouſand ſtout men, with whom he went to ſecure and rebuild the caſtle of *Alexandrion*, which had been demoliſhed by *Gabinius*; but this laſt ſent *Siſenna*, *Mark Antony*, and *Servilius* againſt him, who, in ſpite of the bravery of his ſmall army, defeated him, killed five thouſand of his men, and forced him to fly into the ruinated caſtle of *Machæron*, with only a thouſand men he had left, the reſt having taken their flight where they could. The *Romans* did not give him time to fortify himſelf, but came and beſieged him, and, after a two day's ſtout reſiſtance, took him by aſſault, covered with wounds, and ſent him and his ſon priſoners to *Rome*, where he was conveyed into his old priſon. But *Gabinius* wrote ſoon after to the ſenate, and informed them of the promiſe he had made to *Ariſtobulus*'s wife, upon the delivery of the *Jewiſh* fortreſſes; whereupon the reſt of his family were ordered to be ſet at liberty, and

He ſented ſent to Rome priſoner.

was emphatically called the grand ſanhedrin. Of the leſſer ſort there was one in every city, and two at *Jeruſalem*, where there was a greater concourſe of people and buſineſs. The grand one ſat only at *Jeruſalem*, and had a place appropriated to them in the temple. We have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak of this laſt in ſeveral parts of this hiſtory; and ſhall only add here, that it was the laſt reſort to which all other inferior ones might appeal, and from whoſe ſentence there could be no appeal. Both ſorts were aboliſhed by *Gabinius*, who erected in lieu of them a court in each of the five diſtricts independent of each other, and endowed them with the ſovereign power, from which no appeal could be made but to *Rome*.

The talmud, however, tells us (5). that they retained a kind of council of three to decide all their controverſies about bargains, ſales, and other ſuch private matters; each of the contending parties choſe a judge from among themſelves, and theſe two choſe a third, and the three uſed to decide thoſe controverſies among them; which was perhaps done chiefly to avoid the charge, trouble, or rather injuſtice and arbitrarineſs of the courts erected by the *Romans*.

(5) *Tract Sanhedrin.*

he

he only was kept prisoner during the rest of his life [p]. *Gabinius* being the next year invited into *Egypt*, to assist *Ptolemy Auletes* in the recovery of his kingdom, as has been related in another volume †, *Hyrcan*, or rather *Antipater*, proved very serviceable to that general, not only by furnishing him with necessary provisions of corn, arms, and money for his army; but also by writing to the *Jews* of *Onion* near *Pelusium*, which was the key of that part of *Egypt*, to forward the *Romans* to the best of their power. By this means *Gabinius* and *Marc Antony* easily succeeded in this expedition, which might otherwise have proved too hard for them. The fourth book of the *Maccabees*, in the place last quoted, tells us, that *Gabinius* having sent to desire *Hyrcan* to come and join him in *Egypt*, the high-priest sent his favourite *Antipater* with an army to him, who helped him to beat the *Egyptians*, and restore the king; after which, they returning into *Judæa*, the *Roman* general renewed his alliance and friendship with the *Jewish* pontiff, and then returned to *Rome*.

Gabinius *goes into* Egypt. Year of the Flood 2943. Before Christ 56.

DURING this *Egyptian* expedition, *Alexander*, taking the advantage of *Cisenna*'s weakness, a rash unexperienced youth, whom *Gabinius* had left to command in *Syria* with a small number of troops, had got a considerable army, and was entered *Judæa*, which was by this time filled with banditti and free-booters, who plundered every-where without controul. He fell on the *Romans* where-ever he met them, and killed a great number of them: the rest retired to mount *Garizim*, where he came soon after, and closely besieged them. The news of this having brought *Gabinius* into *Judæa*, the first thing he did was to send *Antipater* to try by fair means to withdraw the revolters from *Alexander*'s party; and this consummate politician acted his part so well, that he brought back a considerable number of them. But all his address could not persuade *Alexander* to come to any terms. On the contrary, this last, inraged to see such a defection of his men, resolved with the thirty thousand he had left, to put it to the issue of a battle. It was accordingly fought near mount *Tabor*, and he totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men killed on the spot, and the rest put to flight. *Gabinius* after this victory returned to *Jerusalem*, where he settled the *Jewish* affairs according to *Antipater*'s mind, and left *Judæa*,

Alexander *raises new troubles.*

Defeated by Gabinius.

[p] Id. ibid. 4 MACCAB. cxl.

† See Vol. IX. p. 137, & seq.

and ſoon after the government of *Syria* (B), and was ſucceeded by *Craſſus* [q].

This laſt upon his coming into his new government, found the whole province, and particularly *Judæa*, in peace, ſo that he was at leiſure to purſue his favourite deſign of invading the *Parthians*; for which expedition he had obtained, though with ſome difficulty, a decree from the ſenate [r]. As avarice was the chief paſſion that puſhed him to it, he began with plundering the temple of *Jeruſalem*, not only of the two thouſand talents which *Pompey* had left there untouched, but of every thing he found valuable in it, to the ſum of eight thouſand *Attic* talents more. Among theſe there was a large beam of maſſive gold, covered with another hollow beam, which went acroſs the partition, which divided the holy from the moſt holy place. The veil that ſeparated thoſe two rooms was faſtened to it, and over it they threw all the old veils, whenever they hanged a new one; ſo that this valuable piece, which weighed three hundred *Hebrew* minæ (C), was ſo well

[q] Joseph. 4 Maccab. Dio Cass. ubi ſupra. [r] Dio lib. xxxix. Vid. & Plutarch. in Craſſ.

(B) We ſhall not ſo far anticipate the *Roman* hiſtory as to enter into the merit of this general, and the cauſes of his being deprived of his government. It will be ſufficient here to obſerve, that though he was accuſed to the ſenate of great corruptions, extortions, and ſuch like crimes, yet *Joſephus* (6) gives him a quite different character, and ſpeaks of him as of a perſon who had filled that poſt with great exactneſs, honour, and applauſe. But *Pompey* and *Craſſus* were then conſuls, and the latter, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, had got an invincible itch after the province of *Syria*, ever ſince he had heard what treaſures the former had left untouched at *Jeruſalem*. Thoſe riches he thought would come in a good time to help him forward in his *Parthian* expedition. In all this he only followed the motions of his inſatiable avarice; and what crimes might not ſuch a man trump up againſt *Gabinius*, in order to diveſt him of that government?

But whether the latter was really ſuch as *Joſephus* has repreſented him, or had really given cauſe for thoſe accuſations preferred againſt him, two thing are ſure; 1. that he was grown exceeding rich; and, 2. that he was forced to diſgorge all his wealth, to bribe his judges and ſave his life, as the ſequel will ſhew.

(C) The mina amounted to about two pounds and a half of our weight, ſo that the whole bar or beam weighed about ſeven hundred and fifty pounds. The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that

(6) *Antiq. l. xiv. c.* 11,

all

well concealed, that none knew of it but the treaſurer of the temple. A prieſt named *Eleazar*, then in that poſt, and being appriſed of *Craſſus*'s plundering deſign, was imprudent enough to endeavour to ſave all the reſt of the coſtly temple furniture at the expence of this; but did not diſcover it to him, till he had made him ſwear that he would ſpare the reſt; but the greedy governor made no ſcruple to break his oath, and to plunder that holy place of every valuable thing he could lay his hands on, without ſparing the moſt ſacred utenſils belonging to it. The whole amount of this ſacrilegious plunder was ſo great, that *Joſephus*, fearing it would ſcarcely be credited by other nations, is forced to appeal to the writings of *Strabo* of *Cappadocia*, and other records not now extant [r]. What we have ſaid at the end of the laſt note will further confirm his account, and the immenſe treaſures of which that rapacious governor ſtripped that ſacred place, though it amounts to above two millions of our money.

Craſſus's *treachery and ſacrilege.*

We have ſeen, in the laſt volume *, the ill ſucceſs of his expedition againſt the *Parthians*. That general having been defeated and killed, *Caſſius* brought the ſhattered remnant of his army into *Syria*, to ſuppreſs the incurſions which the now elated *Parthians* made into that province; and here he gave them ſo many overthrows, that he ſoon forced them to ſend home for a freſh ſupply of troops. From thence he marched into *Judæa*, where he beſieged *Tarichæa*, a city on the ſouth ſhore of the lake *Genezareth*, where *Pitolaus* had ſhut himſelf up with the few remains of *Ariſtobulus*'s faction; and having taken it, carried away thirty thouſand *Jews* priſoners. *Pitolaus* was put to death by the advice of *Antipater*, to prevent his raiſing new troubles in favour of *Ariſtoblus* (D). As for *Alexander*, *Caſſius* contented himſelf

Caſſius's *ſucceſs in* Syria. Year of the Flood, 2947. Before Chriſt, 52.

[r] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. * page 356.

all the old veil's which were taken down when a new one was hung up (and which were all extremely rich and beautiful), uſed to be thrown over it (7). Beſides theſe and other coſtly utenſils and ornaments of the temple, we may add the continual offerings ſent to it by the *Jews* from all parts of *Aſia* and *Europe*; but eſpecially thoſe which were preſented to it, not only by the *Jewiſh* monarchs, but by thoſe of other nations, of which we have given ſome inſtances in a former ſection out of the books of the *Maccabees* (8).

(D) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* adds (9), that *Caſſius*

(7) *Ubi ſupra.* (8) *Cap.* xli. (9) *Ibid.*

himself with forcing him to be quiet, whilst he marched towards the *Euphrates* to stop the incursions of the *Parthians* [t].

THREE years after, *Julius Cæsar* having made himself master of *Rome*, and thinking that *Aristobulus* might be of service to him against *Pompey*, released him out of his prison, and sent him into *Palestine* [u], with two legions under his command, to keep *Syria* in awe; but those of *Pompey*'s party found means to poison him, and thereby frustrated the designs of that crafty general. His body was afterwards embalmed by some of *Cæsar*'s partisans, and kept in honey in a coffin, till they could convey him into *Judæa*, there to be interred with his ancestors [w]. His son *Alexander* did not meet with better fate; the news of his father's return into *Judæa* had made him raise forces there, to join him on his arrival; but *Pompey*, who kept a watchful eye over him, sent orders to his son-in-law *Q. Metellus Scipio*, formerly his collegue in the consulship and now president of *Syria*, to put him to death. *Scipio* caused the unhappy prince to be seized, and brought before his tribunal at *Antioch*, where he condemned him, and caused his head to be struck off. *Ptolemy Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis*, hearing of their death, sent to *Alexandra* the widow of *Aristobulus*, who was then retired to *Askalon* and offered to take her son *Antigonus* and her two daughters under his care, who sent them to him accordingly. His son *Philippion* married one of the daughters, named also *Alexandra*; but some time after, either for some misbehaviour, or perhaps out of love to that princess, *Mennæus* caused him to be put to death, and married her himself soon after [x].

Aristobulus *poisoned.*

Alexander *beheaded.*

[t] JOSEPH. Antiq l. xiv. c. 12. Bell. Jud. l. i. c 6.
[u] DIO, lib. xli. [w] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13. Bell. Jud. l. i. c 7. [x] Id. ibid. Vid & PLUTARCH. in Pompei. DIO, ubi supra. CÆSAR. Bell. Civil. l. iii. & Comment. lib. 1.

came afterwards to *Jerusalem*, and there reconciled *Hyrcan* and his subjects, who were then in open rebellion against him.

This is that *Cassius* who had formerly refused the command which the soldiers had offered him, out of hatred to *Crassus*; but now that general being dead, and the *Roman* army miserably shattered he was forced to take the government of *Syria* upon him, in order to suppress the insolence of the *Parthians* (10). He was afterwards one of those who assassinated *Julius Cæsar*, as we shall see in due time.

(10) *Dio Cass lib.* xl.

IN

In the mean time, the war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, as well as those that followed between the former and the asserters of the *Roman* liberty, afforded the *Jews* not only a long breathing, but also an opportunity of ingratiating themselves to that conqueror. He was now in *Egypt* waiting impatiently for those new levies which *Mithridates* the *Pergamenian* was bringing to him from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, where he had been raising them. But, these not being sufficient to break through *Pelusium*, the strong key of *Egypt* on that side, he was forced to stop at *Askalon*, till new reinforcements came to him. But what did him the greatest service at this juncture, and facilitated the taking of that city, was the coming of *Antipater*, at the head of three thousand *Jews* well armed, together with some other succours which he had drawn from *Armenia*, and *Syria*, and mount *Libanus*. He also brought letters from *Hyrcan*, whether real, or forged by himself; exhorting the *Jews* of the territories of *Onion*, *Deltha*, and *Memphis*, to assist the *Roman* emperor with all their might. By these means the city of *Pelusium* was easily carried by assault, *Antipater* himself being one of the foremost in scaling it, and a way thereby was made into *Egypt*. We have seen in a former volume the success of that expedition †; some have imagined, that *Hyrcan* came thither in person at the head of fifteen hundred men [y], but without any likelihood. That pontiff was wholly governed by *Antipater*, whose main view was the aggrandising himself, rather than recommending the *Jewish* pontiff to that conqueror; and *Hyrcan* being in himself a man of no genius or ambition, it is more probable he contented himself with the credit of sending such seasonable aid to *Cæsar*, whilst *Antipater*, like a consummate politician, took the advantage of ingratiating himself to him by his valour and gallantry, as well as by his good offices with his master. Accordingly, we find in the subsequent battle, which was fought in the place called *the* Jewish *camp* [z], that *Mithridates*, who commanded the right wing, must have been totally defeated, had not *Antipater*, who had been victorious in the left, which he commanded, come to his rescue, and gained him that signal victory over the *Egyptians*, which enabled him to join *Cæsar*'s army, and soon made that emperor master of all *Egypt*. In all these actions *Antipater* behaved with such valour and gallantry, that *Mithridates* did not scruple to own his late success

Antipater *succours* Cæsar *in* Egypt.

His valour rewarded.

† See Vol. IX. p. 152, & seq. [y] IPSICRAT. ap STRAB. JOSEPH. Antiq l. xiv. c. 17. CÆSAR. tabul. æn. ap. eund. [z] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 15.

ceſſes

ceſſes to be owing to him; and in a letter he wrote to *Cæſar*, he gave the *Jewiſh* commander ſuch encomiums, that he conceived a more than ordinary eſteem for him; and in token of it, before he left *Alexandria*, he gave him ſome conſiderable poſts in his army, made him procurator or lieutenant of *Judæa*, and citizen of *Rome*, with all the privileges belonging to it, which places he held with great credit all the time of the war (E). *Cæſar* alſo confirmed *Hyrcan* in his prieſthood, added to it the principality of *Judæa*, to be intailed on his poſterity for ever; and to the *Jewiſh* nation their antient rights and privileges; and ordered a pillar to be erected, whereon all theſe grants and his own decree ſhould be ingraven, which was accordingly done, ſoon after *Antipater*'s return into *Judæa*. *Cæſar* being come into *Syria*, *Antigonus* came to him, and preferred a ſevere complaint againſt *Hyrcan* and *Antipater*, for the injuries which he pretended they had done to him; and at the ſame time repreſented to him the misfortunes of his family, for having ſtuck cloſe to his intereſt; and particularly the poiſoning of his father by *Pompey*, and the beheading of his brother by *Scipio*. In conſideration of all which, he concluded with a petition to the emperor, that he wolud reſtore him to his father's principality, of which *Hyrcan* had unjuſtly ſtripped him. But unfortunately for him, *Antipater* was then attending upon *Cæſar*, who defended his own and *Hyrcan*'s cauſe ſo well, that they were both abſolved with applauſe, and *Antigonus* repulſed as a factious and turbulent perſon, that could never be at reſt. *Antipater* added farther, that as to *Antigonus*'s father, he had been juſtly ſent priſoner to *Rome* for being a conſtant enemy to the *Roman* nation, and that his brother had been deſervedly beheaded for plundering and ravaging that of the *Jews*. *Cæſar* had too many obligations to *Hyrcan* and *Antipater*, not to admit of a much weaker vindication of their cauſe. But he was reſolved to do more than the bare acquitting of them:

Cæſar's gratitude to the Jews

Rejects Antigonus's ſuit.

(E) The fourth book of *Maccabees* (11) adds, that *Mithridates*, being totally defeated in the action, was ſo cloſely ſurrounded by the *Egyptians*, that he muſt have been cut in pieces by them, had not *Antipater* come in a lucky minute, and reſcued him and the victory out of their hands. But what the ſame author adds, that *Cæſar* gave him the command of his own troops, and took him with him into *Perſia*, ſeems quite to claſh with *Joſephus*, who doth not ſo much as hint, that he had the command of any of the *Roman* troops, neither doth it appear, that *Cæſar* carried any war againſt the *Perſians*.

(11) *Cap.* xlii.

He

he confirmed his former decree in favour of them and of the *Jewish* nation, and caused it to be ingraven on brasen tables in *Latin* and *Greek*, and to be hung up in the temples of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Askalon* (F), as well as in the capitol at *Rome*, whither *Hyrcan* sent soon after his embassadors to renew the old alliance with that nation; which was by his order published in all the principal cities of the empire, that all the world might know that the *Jews* were acknowledged the friends and allies of *Rome*. These embassadors, who were there received with great marks of honour, did likewise obtain a permissory decree for the fortifying of *Jerusalem*, and for rebuilding of the wall which had been pulled down by *Pompey* [a] (G).

Cæsar

[a] Ibid. l. xx. c. 7. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 7.

(F) This decree, which at once abolished the aristocracy lately set up by *Gabinius*, and restored the *Jewish* state to its pristine sovereignty, has been preserved to us by *Josephus* (12), and runs to this effect:

"*Julius Cæsar*, emperor and dictator the second time, &c. "Forasmuch as *Hyrcanus* the son of *Alexander*, a *Jew*, hath given "us many singular proofs of his affection, both in time of peace "and war, and particularly by the supply sent to me in the late "war; in consideration of these his services, I do hereby confirm "unto him and his heirs the perpetual government of the *Jews*, "both as their prince and high-priest, after the manner and rule "of their own laws. I enroll him from henceforth among my "trusty friends; and ordain, that all the legal and pontifical rights "and privileges be devolved upon him and his sons for ever; and "that in all controversies, that shall arise concerning the rights "and discipline of the *Jews*, he or they be the only judges; and "further, that the *Jews* be henceforth discharged from the bur"then of winter-quarters and all public tribute".

About the same time the *Athenians* renewed their alliance with *Hyrcan*, and sent their decree to *Jerusalem*, in which they acknowledged that pontiff's singular and constant friendship to all the *Greeks*, and to their own republic in particular. The reader may see it at length in *Josephus* in the place last quoted

(G) The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds (13), that *Cæsar* did those embassadors the singular honour of making them sit down in his presence; and a little lower, that that emperor had decreed for himself and successors, that all the maritime part of the *Syrian* province, from *Gaza* to *Sidon*, should pay yearly to the *Jewish* temple the tribute they were wont to pay to the empire; and that

(12) *Antiq. l.* xiv. *c.* 17. (13) *Cap.* xliv.

that

Cæsar, having left the government of *Syria* to *Sextus Cæsar* his near relation, was accompanied by *Antipater* as far as *Tyre*, where he imbarqued for *Sicily*. On his return to *Jerusalem*, *Antipater* took care in every place he came through to extol the *Roman* emperor and nation, and to exhort the people to peace and obedience; representing to them with his usual eloquence, that, whilst they behaved like faithful subjects, they would be blest with a mild government, and enjoy their rights, liberties, and religion; but that, if they grew discontented and mutinous, they would soon find themselves forced to submit to a severer yoke, and that *Hyrcan*, from a mild and pacific prince, might easily become their tyrant, and the *Romans*, from friends and protectors, would not fail to turn their bitter enemies. This was not said so much to keep the *Jews* in obedience to *Hyrcan*, whose stupidity and indolence *Josephus* himself tells us, was but too visible to all his subjects; but, by thus over-awing them with the dread of the *Romans* anger, he plainly intimated to them his own credit and interest with them to be such, that they would never see his measures opposed, without interposing their own authority; and therefore closed the whole with these words; For they (the *Romans*) will be obeyed [b]. By these speeches he gained two main ends, he kept a divided and factious people in awe, and took the advantage of his own established power, and of *Hyrcan*'s weakness, to aggrandise his family.

Antipater's *speech*

UPON his arrival at *Jerusalem*, he set himself about putting *Cæsar*'s decree in force, and settling, or rather restoring, the *Jewish* government to its antient model, and ordering the repairs of the walls and fortifications of *Jerusalem*. He made

[b] Antiq. ubi supra, in fin. c. 16.

that of the town of *Sidon* amounted yearly to twenty thousand five hundred and fifty measures of wheat; and that the cities of *Laodice* and others, which had been formerly in the possession of the high-priests, should be now surrendered to *Hyrcan*.

All these grants, our author says, were bestowed on the *Jewish* nation, in consideration of the eminent services which they and *Antipater* at their head had done the emperor in his *Parthian* expedition. But whether he really was sent thither by the high priest, as is there affirmed, 'tis certain that this great change in favour of the *Jews* was owing to the wisdom, conduct and valour of *Antipater*; and how much it contributed to raise his power and interest, not only in *Judæa*, but in *Rome* and other nations, the sequel will soon shew.

His

his eldeſt ſon *Phaſaelus* governor of that metropolis, and *Herod* his ſecond ſon governor of *Galilee* (H); whilſt he and the high-prieſt took a progreſs about *Judæa*, to ſettle the government and peace of the kingdom. *Herod* ſoon ſignaliſed himſelf by the ſuppreſſion of a band of thieves, who had till then much infeſted that and the neighbouring provinces. He took their chief, named *Hezekiah*, with ſome others of his companions, whom he put to immediate death, and thereby diſperſed the reſt of their gang. This action failed not to recommend him, not only to the whole province, but more particularly to *Sextus Cæſar*, the new preſident of *Syria*. On the other hand, his elder brother neglected nothing that could recommend him to the people of *Jeruſalem*, over which he was governor; ſo that *Antipater* ſaw with pleaſure himſelf and his ſons become the darlings of the nation, without leſſening, at leaſt outwardly, any part of their reſpect to the high-prieſt, who ſeemed ſtill to be at the head of all the national affairs, and to give his ſanction to them.

BUT it was this greatneſs, this exceſſive growing power, of *Antipater*, which raiſed at length the envy and jealouſy of the principal *Jews*. *Herod*'s action was doubtleſs a noble one, and the country felt the benefit of it: but he had gone ſome unjuſtifiable lengths in it, in putting the banditti to death, by his own authority and without any formal tryal; and this they looked upon as an earneſt of what he might do in time, if his enterpriſing genius was not nipped in the bud. This made them at length reſolve to try to open the eyes of their indolent pontiff, and to prevail upon him to ſummon that young hero to come and anſwer to this and ſome other accuſations before him and the ſanhedrin.

(H) *Antipater* had four ſons by his wife *Cypris*, who were by this time grown up to maturity, and in great reputation for their wiſdom and valour. We have mentioned the two firſt in the text: *Joſephus* indeed allows the latter of them but fifteen years of age, but that muſt be a miſtake, either of that hiſtorian, or rather of his copyiſts; for both *Ptolemy* and *Nicolas Damaſcen* gave him twenty-five years, and our learned *Uſher* has made it appear that he could have no leſs (14).

The third ſon was called *Joſeph*, and the fourth *Pheroras*. He had likewiſe a daughter named *Salome*, who became afterwards infamous for the feuds and diviſions which ſhe created in her family, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(14) *Sub A. M.* 3937. *Vid. & Prid. Connect. ſub an.* 1 C. 47.

Herod *ſummoned before the ſanhedrin.* Year of the flood, 2952. Before Chriſt, 47.

Hyrcan, who had a great friendſhip for him, betrayed at this juncture an extreme partiality in excuſing him of ſeveral crimes they alledged againſt him. They in vain repreſented to him, how dangerous it was for him to ſuffer the ſon of a proſelyte, who had already ingroſſed all the power and honour, and left him only the bare title of ſovereign, to arrogate to himſelf ſuch an unlimited authority, as to put a number of men to death without trial, or even without aſking his or the ſanhedrin's conſent. At length, ſince they could not work upon his fears, they tried to rouſe his pity, by the daily clamours of the mothers of thoſe whom *Herod* had put to death, and who ceaſed not to come daily to the temple to demand juſtice of him, for ſo daring and unwarranted an affront on his dignity. *Hyrcan* was at length prevailed upon to ſend his ſummons to him to come and anſwer to the charge before him and the ſanhedrin. *Herod* appeared accordingly, but in ſuch a guiſe, and with ſuch a numerous retinue, as gave them to underſtand, that he did not come as a private perſon, much leſs as a criminal to be judged by them. He was cloathed in purple, and, by his father's advice, had brought ſuch a number of ſervants, as ſhould be ſufficient to defend him in caſe he was condemned, and yet not ſo numerous, as to raiſe any jealouſy in the friendly high-prieſt. He alſo brought letters to him from *Sextus Cæſar*, with expreſs orders to acquit him, and threatening him with his higheſt reſentment in caſe of non-compliance.

These letters ſeem indeed to have been calculated to intimidate the ſanhedrin, rather than to recommend *Herod*'s cauſe to the high-prieſt, who was already ſufficiently in his intereſt. Accordingly, when he appeared before that high-court, he ſtruck ſuch an awe upon them, that none of his accuſers dared to open their mouths againſt him. At length *Sameas*, a man in great eſteem for his wiſdom and integrity, had the courage to ſtand up and arraign him, not only for his former crime, but much more now for his unjuſtifiable boldneſs in appearing, contrary to the laws of all nations, not in the guiſe of an accuſed perſon, but in that of an arrogant and threatening commander, who came rather to frighten his judges, than to clear himſelf of his accuſation. I do not at the ſame time, continued he, ſo much blame him for the inſolent means he takes to ſecure his forfeited life. What ſurprizes me is, to ſee both the high-prieſt and his judges thus tamely to permit it; but take notice of what I am now going to tell you, ſaid he, turning to them; God is a righteous and powerful judge, and this very man whom you now

Sameas's noble perſon.

now ſtrive to acquit, in complaiſance to *Hyrcan*, ſhall prove the ruin of both king and judges. How true a prophet he proved, the ſequel will ſhew; for *Herod* was no ſooner got into the poſſeſſion of the government, than he put both the high-prieſt and all his cowardly judges to death, except *Sameas* and *Pollio*, for whom he retained a ſingular eſteem ever after (I). Here *Hyrcan* obſerving that his ſpeech had made ſuch an impreſſion on the court, that the majority were like to be againſt *Herod*, he adjourned the court till next day, whilſt he ſent private advice to him to flee for his life; which he accordingly did, and went to *Damaſcus*, where having gained the protection of the *Syrian* governor; he ſent the ſanhedrin word, that if they ſhould take it into their heads to ſummon him afreſh, he would diſclaim their juriſdiction. This contemptuous meſſage put the judges into a freſh fit of rage; they vented their reſentments againſt the pontiff, and ſtrove in vain to awaken him into a ſenſe of his danger; he remained deaf and inſenſible to the laſt [c].

[c] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 17.

(I) *Sameas*, or, as the *Rabbins* call him, *Shammai*, was, according to *Joſephus* (15), the diſciple of *Pollio*, another learned *Jewiſh* doctor in great eſteem with *Herod*, not unlikely the ſame which the *Rabbies* call *Hillel*; for this latter having been a famous diſciple of *Sameas* or *Shammai*, and having in proceſs of time proved the antagoniſt of his maſter, and the founder of that famed ſchool, which retained his name, it is a wonder *Joſephus* ſhould never mention him, whereas he ſpeaks very honourably of *Pollio* in ſeveral places of his hiſtory.

St. *Jerom* (16) has imagined, that the *Phariſees* had their origin from the diviſion of thoſe two ſchools; but we have already ſeen how powerful that ſect was long before *Hillel* or *Shammai*. Concerning this laſt the *Rabbies* tell us wonders, and if we may believe the father above quoted, they attribute the compiling of the *Miſhnah* to him and his diſciple *Hillel*, or, as he elſewhere calls them, *Simeon* and *Helles* 17).

We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak to that point, as well as the rupture of thoſe two famed ſchools, in a properer place All we ſhall add concerning them here is, a *Rabbinic* proverb much in vogue among the *Jews*: *Be courteous as* Hillel, *and intrepid as* Shammai.

(15) *Antiq. l. xv. c. 1.* (16) *In Iſai. cap. viii.* (17) *Epiſt. ad Algaſ. & quæſt. x. & in Eccleſ. vii.*

In the mean time *Herod*, having with a large sum of money purchased the government of *Cœle-Syria* of his friend *Sextus Cæsar*, raised an army with an intent to march against *Jerusalem*, and be revenged of *Hyrcan* and the sanhedrin for the affront they had put upon him; but he was happily diverted from it by *Antipater* and *Phasaelus*, who reminded him of his great obligations to that pontiff, to whom both he and they were beholden for all the power and grandeur they enjoyed. *Herod* acquiesced for the present, and was satisfied with having given them such token of what he could do whenever occasion offered, and remained quiet in his province.

Year of the Flood, 2955 Before Christ, 44.

About three years after this, *Hyrcan* having sent an embassy to *Cæsar*, who was by this time entered into his fifth consulship, to renew his alliance with him, obtained a fresh decree for the fortifying of *Jerusalem*, which *Antipater* immediately put in execution; and that metropolis was soon after raised to its pristine splendor and strength. *Cæsar* did moreover grant some further privileges to the *Jews*, in consideration, as he expressed it, of the signal services they had done to him in *Syria* and *Egypt*. The reader may see them more fully in *Josephus*. As for *Hyrcan*, he gave him leave to govern in *Jerusalem* according to his pleasure, and confirmed to him the grant of all the towns and villages which had been possessed by his ancestors; that the lands and other privileges which the *Romans* had bestowed on the kings of *Syria* and *Phœnice*, on account of the alliance that had been between them, should likewise be bestowed on him and his successors; that he, they, and their embassadors, should have the liberty of sitting down with the *Roman* senators in all public shews and games; and lastly, that when they had any petition to prefer to the senate, they should be introduced by the dictator, or by the master of the horse, and that they should have an answer within ten days [d]. In a word, such was that emperor's gratitude and friendship to the *Jews*, so many and considerable the immunities and privileges which he heaped upon their prince and nation, that they could hardly be said to feel the weight of the *Roman* yoke. His kindness extended even to those who lived out of *Judæa*; witness the edict which the magistrates of the island of *Paros* had made against their exercise of their religion, living according to their laws, and sending their yearly tribute to *Jerusalem*, to maintain the

New privileges granted to the Jews.

[d] Id. ibid. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

service

ſervice of the temple (K); and which that monarch obliged them to revoke, as a piece of rigour and injuſtice, which he ſaid was not to be ſuffered againſt the friends and allies of *Rome*, where all thoſe privileges were indulged to them.

Sextus *and* Julius Cæſar *murdered.*

BUT this happy ſtate was ſoon at an end. Two remarkable accidents happened, one on the heels of the other, the one in *Judæa*, and the other at *Rome*, which brought on a ſeries of diſtractions and feuds in both. In the former *Sextus Cæſar* was treacherouſly murdered by *Baſſus*, and *Cæſar* himſelf at *Rome* by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and their aſſociates, as ſhall be better ſeen in the *Roman* hiſtory. *Marc Antony* and *Dolabella*, who were then conſuls, aſſembled the ſenate; and the embaſſadors from *Judæa*, among others, were admitted to renew their alliance with them. Purſuant to which (ſome of the *Aſiatic Jews* having been forced to inrol themſelves in the *Roman* army) *Hyrcan* ſent a complaint to *Dolabella*, reminding him, that the *Jews* were wont to be exempted from the war, by reaſon of their being obliged to obſerve the ſabbath; and obtained a letter from the conſul to the governor of *Epheſus*, enjoining him to ſee that the *Jews* were ſet free, and reſtored to the exerciſe of their religion and laws[c]. By this time *Baſſus* had ſeized upon the government of *Syria*, but was ſoon after driven out of it by *Caſſius*, who immediately came thither after *Cæſar*'s death, and took the command of the *Roman* troops upon him, who were then beſieging the aſſaſſin of *Sextus* in the city of *Apamea*. *Caſſius*, having drawn him and *Marcus* into his party, raiſed the ſiege of the place, and got all *Syria* into his poſſeſſion. He was, however, forced to levy new troops to reinforce his army; and hearing that *Alienus*, one of *Dolabella*'s lieutenants, was marching through *Judæa* with four legions ſent to that conſul by *Cleopatra*, he poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that he ſurrounded and intercepted him with a double number of his own forces, and took them all into his ſervice. Having by

Caſſius *ſeizes upon* Syria.

[c] Id. ibid.

(K) We have often mentioned this yearly tribute which every *Jew*, both of *Judæa* and of the diſperſion, was obliged to ſend. Beſides this, we muſt further obſerve, that as they were allowed to offer ſacrifices no-where but in that holy place, it was uſual for them to remit the money thither for ſuch victims, as either their religion or extraordinary devotions directed them to be offered up there for them; and theſe were generally ſent thither with the annual tribute of the temple; and in ſome wealthy places they ſometimes amounted to ſuch vaſt ſums, as raiſed the envy and jealouſy of thoſe among whom they lived, and have been often ſeized by covetous princes and governors, who have converted them to their own uſes.

this

this time got an army of twelve legions, which could not be subsisted without great expence, he was forced to levy very large tributes on that province, particularly on *Judæa*, which he taxed at seven hundred talents. *Antipater*, who knew the necessity that general was in of some immediate supply, and the consequence of gaining his favour, by sending him a speedy one, committed the levying of one half of that sum to his sons *Phasaelus* and *Herod*, and ordered the rest to be raised by one *Malichus* and some associates. *Herod* failed not to take this opportunity of ingratiating himself to *Cassius*, by bringing him the hundred talents which were assigned to his government; and as he was the first that complied with his orders, that general conceived a great esteem for him. His brother came soon after; but the rest of the governors not having followed their examples, particularly those of *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, *Thamna*, and some other cities of *Judæa*, *Cassius* ordered all their inhabitants to be sold by auction, and would have put *Malichus* to death, had not the high-priest redeemed him at the expence of a hundred talents, which he sent him out of his own coffers [f].

Levies seven hundred talents.

Cassius, being soon after forced to march against *Dolabella*, left the government of *Cœle-Syria* to *Herod*, as an earnest of his future friendship; but *Malichus* in the mean time, who bore a mortal hatred against *Antipater* (L), and saw him with an envious eye holding alone the reins of government, resolved to rid himself and the nation of him. *Antipater*, having had timely notice of his treacherous design, did presently retire to the other side of the *Jordan*, and there raised some forces, and put himself in a posture of defence. Whereupon *Malichus*, finding

Malichus *conspires against* Antipater

[f] Antiq. l. xiv. c 18. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 9.

(L) *Malichus* was a *Jew*; he and *Antipater* had been the main supporters of *Hyrcan*'s interest; so that he could not behold his rival, who was of *Idumæan* race, as we have hinted before, preferred before him without the deepest envy and regret; and this was the motive which made him conspire against him, not doubting, but if he was once removed, himself would be at the head of the *Jewish* affairs.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* says indeed (18), that they were the heads of the *Jewish* nation who conspired against *Antipater*; and very likely *Malichus* had drawn a great number into the same black design; it being as great a mortification to them as to himself, to see their prince held in a kind of servitude by a stranger, who had ingrossed all the power into his hand.

(18) *Ch xlvi.*

his plot was discovered, came to him in a seeming friendly manner, and by oaths, protestations, and other crafty insinuations, such as the folly of such an attempt against his life, whilst his son *Phasaelus* held the government of *Jerusalem*, and the warlike *Herod* that of *Cœle-Syria*; easily persuaded him of his innocency, and a reconciliation was made between them. *Antipater* was even forced to make use of all his interest with *Marcus*, now governor of *Syria*, and who was well acquainted with all his private plots, to prevent his putting him to death. But *Malichus* was not to be wrought on by such an unparalleled generosity, whilst he beheld his rival's interest raised still higher by it. For about this time *Cassius* and *Marcus*, who had bestowed the government of *Cœle-Syria* on his son *Herod*, had engaged his fidelity to them by a promise to make him king of *Judæa*, as soon as the war now begun against *Marc Antony* and the young *Octavius*, since named *Augustus*, was ended. This made him dread the excessive power of *Antipater* to such a degree, that upon the first opportunity, which was soon after offered, when he was to dine with the high-priest, he bribed that pontiff's butler to poison him in a glass of wine, whilst himself with an armed force seized upon the government of *Jerusalem*. *Phasaelus* and *Herod* easily perceived that *Malichus* was at the bottom of this villainy, notwithstanding his vows and protestations to the contrary; and *Herod*, who was of a fierce temper, was for immediately revenging the fact with open force; but his brother, who rightly judged that it would be much safer to dissemble for the present, and to punish the assassin by some private stratagem, without involving the nation into a civil war, easily brought him over to his opinion [g].

Antipater poisoned by Malichus.

ACCORDINGLY, these two brothers feigning to believe *Malichus* innocent of their father's death, the eldest went and busied himself with rearing a stately monument to him, whilst *Herod* went into *Samaria*, under pretence of suppressing some turbulent spirits there. He came some time after to *Jerusalem*, attended with a number of his men of war, to assist at the feast of pentecost; and *Malichus*, who was afraid of something worse, prevailed on *Hyrcan* to forbid him to enter that metropolis with such an escort, as would prophane that solemnity. *Herod* despising his orders, entered the city by night, but forbore attempting any thing against his enemy, though he had received full power from *Cassius* to revenge his father's death on that assassin. But a much better opportunity offered itself soon after, in which *Malichus* was

Malichus outwitted by Herod.

[g] JOSEPH. ibid

caught

caught in his own craftineſs. *Caſſius* had taken *Laodicea*, and all the chief lords of *Syria* and *Paleſtine* haſtened thither with their preſents and congratulations; and *Malichus*, having left his ſon hoſtage with that governor, deſigned to have taken that opportunity of gettin him off, and to have gone back and excited a revolt in *Judæa*, whilſt the *Romans* were taken up with their civil wars, and then to have made a bold puſh for the *Jewiſh* crown. Whether *Herod* knew his whole deſign or no, he rightly gueſſed that he would not fail to pay his compliments to the conqueror, and ſo he did accordingly, he accompanying the *Jewiſh* pontiff thither. *Herod* fell in with them in the way, and having firſt obtained from *Caſſius* an order to the *Tyrians* to aſſiſt him in the puniſhment of *Malichus*, he invited *Hyrcan* and him to a ſupper he had prepared for them in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, and ſent his ſervants into that city under pretence of getting all things ready, but in reality to acquaint the officers and gariſon of that city with *Caſſius*'s orders. Theſe ſallied out accordingly, and having overtaken him, as many as could come at him at once ſheathed their daggers into his body (M). *Hyrcan*, upon hearing the news of his death, remained thunderſtruck for ſome time. At length having recovered himſelf, he aſked, by whoſe orders he had been killed? And *Herod* having calmly anſwered, by *Caſſius*'s, he replied, that he could not but highly applaud the deed, ſince it had rid him of a very dangerous enemy [h].

Aſſaſſinated.

[h] Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra. Antiq. ubi ſupra, cap. 20.

(M) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* relates this puniſhment of *Malichus* ſomewhat differently (19), and ſays, that *Caſſius* being informed of *Antipater*'s murder, exhorted *Herod* to revenge it as ſoon as himſelf was come to *Tyre*, and *Hyrcan* and *Malichus* were come to pay their reſpects to him there. Theſe being come accordingly to *Tyre*, as well as *Phaſaelus* and *Herod*, *Caſſius* commanded his men to do whatever theſe two laſt ſhould direct them.

Having therefore invited them all four to a feaſt, as ſoon as they had taken their afternoon's nap, as was uſual in thoſe countries, *Hyrcan* being ſeated near *Malichus*, and the two ſons of *Antipater*, *Herod* made a ſign, upon which ſome of *Caſſius*'s officers fell upon *Malichus*, and murdered him. *Hyrcan*, at ſight of it fell into a ſwoon, from which being recovered, he aſked, why they had killed the man? *Herod* pleaded ignorance, and *Hyrcan* was glad to hold his peace.

(19) *Ch.* about.

BUT *Malichus* had left a brother behind him as turbulent as himſelf, who, under the ſpeciuos pretence of revenging his death, put *Judæa* again into a flame, whilſt *Caſſius* was gone to join *Brutus* in *Aſia*. *Felix*, who at that time was left at the head of ſome *Roman* forces at *Jeruſalem*, ſeems alſo to have been gained on that ſide. As for *Hyrcan*, he had not courage enough to oppoſe them, but acquieſced in what they did; ſo that *Felix* attacked *Phaſaelus* on the one hand, whilſt *Malichus*'s brother went and took *Maſſada*, and ſome other fortreſſes of *Judæa*. *Herod* was then laid up with ſickneſs at *Damaſcus*, and unable for a while to give his brother any aſſiſtance: but *Phaſaelus*, who had ſtill a conſiderable number of forces, found means to drive *Felix* and all his party out of *Jeruſalem*, and from thence into ſome fortreſs, out of which he did not ſuffer him to come but by capitulation. By this time *Herod* being recovered came to his aſſiſtance, and drove the remaining part of *Malichus*'s faction out of their fortreſſes, and forced the brother to ſurrender *Maſſada* to him, and to capitulate for his life[i]. The two brothers returned to *Jeruſalem*, where they reproved *Hyrcan*'s baſeneſs in the ſevereſt terms; but were ſoon after reconciled to him, by the marriage of *Herod* with *Mariamne*, the beautiful granddaughter of that pontiff.

New troubles in Judæa Year of the Flood 2961. Before Chriſt, 38.

Quelled

IN the interim another enemy ſtarted up on the ſudden, namely *Antigonus*, the younger ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, *Hyrcan*'s brother. He was upheld by *Ptolemy Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis*, to whom he was related, and on that account had been adopted by him (N). He had likewiſe gained *Marion* prince

Antigonus *invades* Judæa.

[i] Id. ibid.

(N) The reader may remember, that after *Pompey* had cauſed his father and brother to be put to death, *Mennæus* invited *Alexandra* into *Chalcis*, where he afterwards married her beauteous daughter, and for her ſake took both the mother and her children into his protection (20).

As for that *Marion*, who joined with young *Antigonus*, he had been lately made prince of *Tyre* by *Caſſius*; for that general, being in great want of money for the carrying on the war againſt the triumvirs, had divided the country of *Syria* into ſmall diſtricts, and ſold them to the higheſt bidders, one of whom was this *Marion*, who had bought the principality of *Tyre* of him 21) Theſe petty tyrants, however, were afterwards turned out by *Mark Antony*, upon his coming into that province.

(20) *Conf. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c.* 13, & 21. (21 *Id. ibid. & bell. Jud. c.* 10.

of *Tyre*, and bribed *Fabius* governor of *Damascus* into his interest; so that having gained a sufficient army, he put himself at the head of it, with an intent of reviving his father's pretensions to the kingdom; but he had scarce entered the frontiers of it, before *Herod* met him with a powerful army, and totally defeated him. This prince acted with his usual generosity towards the *Tyrians*, who had assisted his enemy, not only sparing their lives, but sending some of them home with rich presents, by which he gained the affections of that city; after which he returned triumphant to *Jerusalem*, where the people, and among the rest *Hyrcan*, who now looked upon him as one of his family, came and offered him the usual compliments of crowns and congratulations. His nuptials with *Mariamne* were not, however, celebrated till some years after, when he had by her three sons and two daughters, besides his eldest son *Antipater*, whom he had by a former wife of his own country, named *Dores* [k].

Marc Antony's edict in favour of the Jews.

Brutus and *Cassius* having been defeated in the following year by *Marc Antony* and *Octavius*, the latter marched into *Gaul*, and the former into *Syria*, to settle the affairs of that province. Upon his arrival into *Bithynia*, where he was complimented by vast crouds of embassadors from all the neighbouring states, the *Jews* came and preferred a severe accusation against *Phasuelus* and *Herod*, as having ingrossed all the power and administration of *Judæa*, and left *Hyrcan* only the bare name of a prince. But *Herod*, who was there also, found in that general a stedfast friend, not only on account of former kindnesses which he had received from *Antipater*, whilst he served under *Gabinius* in *Judæa*, but much more on that of a large sum of money, with which he had taken care to bribe him, so that he would not so much as hear their accusers. Upon his coming to *Ephesus*, an embassy came to him from *Hyrcan*, desiring, that the *Jewish* prisoners, whom *Cassius* had formerly sold by auction, contrary to their alliance with *Rome*, might be restored to their liberty and lands. *Antony* readily granted their request, and sent an obliging letter to *Hyrcan*, which was soon followed with an edict to the *Tyrians*, and other neighbouring states, enjoining them to restore all those captives, according to *Hyrcan*'s desire and the purport of the edict, which the reader may see in the margin [l] (O).

But

[k] Ibid. cap. 21. [l] Ibid. c. 22.

(O) *Marc Antony*, emperor and triumvir, &c. to the magistrates, senate, and people, of *Tyre*, greeting:

Forasmuch

BUT all these favours of the triumvir, though chiefly owing to his friendship to the sons of *Antipater*, were not able to reconcile them to the generality of the *Jews*. For as soon as *Antony* was come so near them as *Daphne* a city near *Antioch* †, he was accosted by a fresh embassy from *Jerusalem*, who preferred the old complaints to him against them. *Messala* undertook their defence, and was backed by *Hyrcan*, who, looking upon them now as part of his family, was come thither to second their defence. After a full hearing, *Antony* asked the pontiff, which of the two parties he thought best qualified for the government, and being answered in favour of the two brothers, he likewise declared for them; and, as a further mark of his friendship, made them both tetrarchs, put *Judæa* under their care, and wrote a letter to the sanhedrin in their favour. Fifteen of the most turbulent of their accusers were put into prison, and would have been put to death, had not *Herod* interceded for them. All this

New complaints against Herod *rejected.*

† De hac vid. Vol. VIII. p. 444, (E). Antiq. l. xiv. c. 25. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11.

Forasmuch as the gods have declared themselves the dire revengers of the late *Cæsar*'s death, by the total defeat of his most detestable assassins *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and by granting the triumvirate such a signal victory, as promised nothing less than a solid and lasting peace to the *Roman* empire; and forasmuch as the *Jewish* nation, notwithstanding their known and constant attachment to the *Roman* interest, has been greatly oppressed by *Cassius*, and great multitudes of them sold for slaves by him; we order the said *Jews* to be restored to their liberties, lands, and to all the privileges and immunities which had been granted to that allied nation by *Dolabella*, and charge all those cities, in which any such *Jews* are detained, whether bond or free, forthwith to discharge and restore them, pursuant to the strict tenor of this edict.

In another he writes to the *Tyrians*, that *Hyrcan* having complained to him, that they had in the late *Cassius*'s time invaded some of his territories, he expected that they should be restored to him. Nevertheless, that if they had any reasons to offer against such a restitution, they should do it upon his coming into that province, when having heard the allegations of both parties, he should decree in favour of that which had right on their side.

These edicts he ordered to be copied out in *Greek* and *Latin*, and the original to be preserved in their archives, and the copies to be affixed in some public place, where they might be publicly read. He likewise sent some others to the same purport to the *Sidonians*, and to the cities of *Antioch* and *Arad* (22).

(22) *Antiq. ubi supra, c.* 23.

did only exaſperate that faction the more, and produced a third embaſſy, which came to meet the triumvir at *Tyre*, and conſiſted of a thouſand perſons. But *Antony*, whom freſh preſents, and large ſums of money, had faſtened ſtill more to *Herod*'s intereſt, ſent orders to the magiſtracy of that place to aſſiſt him in the puniſhment of thoſe factious mutineers, as he termed them; whereupon *Herod* met them out of the city, and adviſed them in a friendly manner not to puſh the matter further. *Hyrcan* likewiſe tried in vain to forewarn them of their danger, in caſe they perſiſted in their deſign. They refuſed all advice, till the *Tyrians*, ruſhing in upon them, made them repent of their raſhneſs when it was too late. A great number were killed and wounded, and others taken priſoners, and the reſt diſperſed. This put an end indeed to the controverſy, but not to the faction, which vented their reſentment againſt *Herod* in ſuch open manner, that *Antony*, in a fit of anger, cauſed all the priſoners to be put to death [m].

A third embaſſy ſent, and ſeverely puniſhed.

Antigonus *invades* Judæa.

Herod had no ſooner weathered this ſtorm, but another was raiſed againſt him by *Antigonus*. *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Mennæus*, had been ſucceeded by his ſon *Lyſanias*, and this laſt had prevailed upon *Pacorus*, the ſon of the *Parthian* king, and his general *Barzanes*, who by this time had made themſelves maſters of *Sidon* and *Ptolemais*, to invade *Judæa*, depoſe *Hyrcan*, and ſet *Antigonus* on his throne; in conſideration of which, the latter was to pay him a hundred talents, and five hundred women (P). *Pacorus*, purſuant to this agreement, ſent his cup-bearer, named alſo *Pacorus*, with part of his cavalry, to invade *Judæa*. *Antigonus*, who had got together by that time a great number of diſcontented *Jews*, who joined him from mount *Carmel*, had made himſelf maſter of the canton of *Dryma* (Q), where a great number of other *Jews* coming ſtill to him, perſuaded him to march on to *Jeruſalem*, and attack *Phaſaelus* and his brother in the

And Jeruſalem.

[m] Id. ibid.

(P) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (23) ſays, eight hundred women, the faireſt and beſt bred in all the country.

(Q) It is not eaſy to gueſs what canton this was, unleſs it be the ſame with the *daroma* of *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*, by which they mean the ſouthern part of the tribe of *Judah*, extending about twenty miles from eaſt to weſt, from *Beerſheba* to the *dead* ſea, and is called in *Hebrew Darom*, which ſignifies *ſouth* (24).

(23) *Cap.* xlix. (24) *Vid. Reland. Palæſt. illuſtrat. l.* i. c 32, & *Vol. III. p.* 109.

royal

royal palace. He marched accordingly thitherward, attended with the *Parthian* cup-bearer; and these two, being met by the two tetrarchs, were so warmly repulsed by them, that they were forced to retire into the temple. *Herod*, for the better security of that place, clapped a guard of soldiers in all the adjacent houses; but these were soon set on fire, and the soldiers burnt in them before any help could be brought. *Herod* did not let this loss go long unrevenged, but gave them a sharp defeat, in which he made a great slaughter of their party. Thus they continued skirmishing one another till the feast of pentecost, which was impatiently wished for by *Antigonus*, in hopes that the great concourse of the *Jews* to that solemnity would join forces with him against the sons of *Antipater*. He judged rightly enough, for great numbers of them resorted unto him; but as the greater part of them had neither arms nor experience, *Herod*, who, with his brother, had retired into the royal palace, and defended it, the former from within, and the other from without, made a vigorous sally upon those of the enemy, who had posted themselves in the suburbs, and drove several thousands of them before him, some into the city, and others into the temple.

THE two parties, being at length tired with shedding so much blood, came to an agreement, that *Pacorus*, who was by that time incamped without the walls of the city, should be admitted to mediate a peace between them. This project, though set on foot by *Antigonus*, who wholly relied on the friendship of the *Parthian* general, was yet agreed to by *Phasaelus*, who went out to meet him, and courteously lodged him in the royal palace. Here *Pacorus*, taking the advantage of the confidence his kind host put in him, persuaded him to go on an embassy to *Barzapharnes*, who was then governor of *Syria* under the *Parthian* king, assuring him, that it was the only means to settle his affair on a firm footing. *Herod*, who justly suspected the treachery of the *Parthians*, was intirely averse to the proposal; but *Phasaelus*, more credulous than he, consented to it; and, taking *Hyrcan* with him, set on the journey, attended with an escort of two hundred *Parthian* horse, and with *Pacorus*, who accompanied him all the way. Upon their arrival in *Galilee* (R), they were met with a guard of armed men, who were

(R) *Josephus* doth not tell us the place where *Barzapharnes* then was, but only that he was in *Galilee*, near the sea-side; but in

Phaſaelus *betrayed.*

were ſent to conduct them to *Barzapharnes*, and *Pacorus* returned to *Jeruſalem*. Their reception in all appearance was very courteous, and *Barzapharnes* lodged them in a houſe near the ſea-ſide, where *Phaſaelus* was ſoon after informed by ſome friends, of the contract which had paſſed between the *Parthian* king and *Antigonus*; it was then that he firſt became ſenſible of their treachery and of his danger. However, though he was earneſtly intreated to make his eſcape, and was offered tranſport-ſhips to convey him away, yet he could not be prevailed upon to forſake either *Hyrcan*'s or his brother's intereſt; for here he was likewiſe told, that *Pacorus* was ſent back to *Jeruſalem* to ſurpriſe *Herod* alſo. The beſt expedient therefore he could think on was, to go to *Barzapharnes*, and to expoſtulate the matter with him; which he did in the ſevereſt terms, telling him at the ſame time, that if money was the motive of his treachery to him, he was able to bribe him higher to be honeſt, and come over to his intereſt. The *Parthian* had no other way to come off, but by forſwearing the charge, and aſſuring him, that nothing was falſer than ſuch a ſurmiſe; but as ſoon as he thought that *Pacorus* had made ſure of *Herod*, he marched directly towards him, and ordered *Hyrcan* and *Phaſaelus* to be ſeized, and clapt in priſon.

Herod's *eſcape.*

Pacorus, however, had miſſed his aim, and *Herod*, having had timely notice of the treachery, had found means to convey himſelf out of *Jeruſalem*, together with his mother, his bethrothed *Mariamne*, her mother *Alexandra*, his brother *Pheroras*, with all his ſervants, friends, and valuable things, and a numerous eſcort of his own men of war, and made the beſt of his way towards *Idumæa*. He met with ſeveral ſtops in his journey (S), being forced to fight his way through the *Parthians* and *Antigonians*, who purſued him; but his ...

in his wars of the *Jews* he ſays (25), they met him at *Ecdipon*, which place was near the ſea-ſhore, and at a ſmall diſtance north of *Ptolemais*; but the fourth book of *Maccabees* ſays, it was at *Damaſcus*, the capital of *Syria* (26).

(S) One of them was the overturning of the chariot in which his mother ſat, by which ſhe was ſo terribly bruiſed, that her life was deſpaired of; which ſad accident went ſo near his heart, that he drew his ſword with full intent to kill himſelf, but was happily prevented by ſome of his retinue.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (27) ſays, that *Herod* ſent all his family and riches before him, but that himſelf ſtayed behind with his guards to prevent their being purſued.

(25) *Ch.* xi. (26) *Ch.* xlix. (27) *Ibid.*

lour

lour and that of his guards got him clear of all, and in memory of a ſignal defeat, which he gave them at a place about fifty ſtades, or ſeven miles, from *Jeruſalem*, he afterwards built a ſtately palace, and called it *Herodion* [n].

WHEN he was come to *Threſſa*, or, as *Joſephus* calls it elſewhere, *Reſſa*, a ſmall town in *Idumea*, his brother *Joſeph* met him at the head of a conſiderable reinforcement; but when they arrived at *Maſſada*, the place where he deſigned to retire, it being a very ſtrong and almoſt impregnable fortreſs, he found it too ſmall to contain all his men, ſo that he was forced to diſmiſs nine thouſand of them. Here he left his family and treaſure, under the care of his brother *Joſeph*, and of a gariſon of eight hundred men; and, having furniſhed it with all neceſſaries, he ſet out for *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia*,, where *Malchus* had ſucceded his father *Aretas*, a prince who had formerly been highly obliged to him. His deſign was to borrow as much money of him as would buy his brother *Phaſaelus*'s freedom; and to that end he had brought his ſon with him, who was but ſeven years old, to leave him there as a pledge to the *Arabian* king. But that ungrateful prince ſent him expreſs orders to depart out of his territories, pretending, that he had been forbid by the *Parthians* to receive him; ſo that he was forced to diſmiſs ſome of his attendants, and to make the beſt of his way into *Egypt*.

Goes into Arabia.

And Egypt

IN the mean while, his flight out of *Jeruſalem* having been diſcovered by the very next morning, the firſt thing the *Parthians* did was, to plunder his palace, city, and all the country about it. They ſpared, however, *Hyrcan*'s treaſure, which amounted to three hundred talents, and ſome of *Herod*'s riches that were left behind; but they made themſelves amends by the plunder of *Mariſſa*, an opulent city, which they totally deſtroyed. *Antigonus* was next inſtalled on the *Jewiſh* throne, according to their agreement, and *Phaſaelus* and *Hyrcan* were ſoon after brought to him in chains. The new king, however, did not think proper to put the high-prieſt to death, but contented himſelf with incapacitating him for the pontifical function, by cauſing his ears to be cut off (T). As for *Phaſaelus*,

His palace plundered.

Hyrcan's *ears cut off.*

[n] Antiq. ubi ſupra. cap. 25. the reader may ſee that palace deſcribed by JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l.i. c. 16.

(T) The *Moſaic* law (28) required, that the high-prieſt ſhould

(28) *Vid. Levit.* xxi. 16, & *Vol. III. p.* 235.

be:

Phaſaelus, he eaſily foreſaw that he could not eſcape ſome cruel death; but being bound with chains, and unable to kill himſelf by any other way, he knocked his brains out againſt a ſtone. Our hiſtorian adds, that there was a report that his wounds not being mortal, *Antigonus* ſent ſome phyſicians to him, under pretence of trying to cure, but in reality to poiſon them, and make ſure of him. However, he had the pleaſure before his death to hear that his brother was eſcaped, and got to *Rhinocorura*, and there it was that *Herod* heard of his death. The *Parthians* having thus far performed their contract with *Antigonus*, began their march homeward, and took the unfortunate high-prieſt with them, to prevent any freſh tumults being raiſed upon his account [o].

Phaſaelus's *death*

By that time *Herod* was got from *Rhinocorura* to *Peluſium*, he received a meſſage from the *Arabian* king, who was now aſhamed of his baſeneſs, with an apology and new offers of his ſervice; but he rejected them, and would have imbarqued for *Rome*, but the ſailors obſtinately refuſed to take him in; whereupon he applied himſelf to the magiſtrates of the city, who received him with great honour, and provided him another ſhip. During his ſtay in *Egypt*, he was courted by *Cleopatra* to continue there longer; the *Maccabitiſh* book often quoted adds, that ſhe offered to make him her prime miniſter, and general of all her forces; but he was fully bent upon going to *Rome* with all ſpeed, and getting on board a veſſel, which was bound to *Pamphylia*, a violent ſtorm forced them to land at *Rhodes*, where he met with ſome friends and aſſiſtance, and paſſed thence to *Brundiſium*, and came at length to *Rome*. Here he addreſſed himſelf firſt to *Antony*, and then to *Octavianus*, to whom he related all that had happened in *Judæa*, and the deſperate condition his affairs were in; and partly by his intreaties, and reminding them of his father's friendſhip to *Julius Cæſar*, and partly by the promiſe of a large ſum of money, did ſo work upon them, that they reſolved to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. *Antony*, on the ſcore of the old kindneſſes of *Antipater*, did even perform more than *Herod* expected or even deſired of them. The utmoſt of his aim was, to have had *Ariſtobulus*, the brother

Herod's *ſucceſs at* Rome.

[o] Antiq. l xiv c. 25. Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 11.

be perfect in all his limbs, &c ſo that upon the loſs of any of them, he was immediately diveſted of that office, and another was to be choſen in his room

Joſephus adds, that *Antigonus* was not able to pay the *Parthian* king the five hundred women, becauſe *Herod* had ſeized upon them, and carried them off into his place of retreat.

of

of his beloved *Mariamne*, ſettled on the throne (U); and himſelf to have been at the head of the *Jewiſh* affairs under him, as his father had been under *Hyrcan*; whereas the triumvirs did actually reſolve to procure him the crown, tho' this was contrary to the *Roman* method, who, in caſes of the like nature, did always pay ſuch a due regard to the royal line of their dependent kings, as not to ſet up a ſtranger over them; but our triumvirs intereſt eaſily over-ruled that good maxim.

THE ſenate was accordingly convened, and *Herod* introduced to them by *Meſſala* and *Atratinus*, two noble ſenators, who there ſet forth the merits of *Antipater*'s family to the *Roman* nation, and repreſented *Antigonus* as a turbulent and ſeditious perſon, and a known enemy to their nation, who had not ſcrupled to accept of the *Jewiſh* crown from the hands of the *Parthians*. To this *Antony* added, how advantagious it would be to his expedition againſt *Parthia*, to have ſuch a ſtedfaſt friend as *Herod* to be king of *Judæa*; upon which he was unanimouſly choſen by the ſenate, and *Antigonus* voted an enemy to them. As ſoon as the decree was paſſed, *Herod* was conducted with great ceremony into the capitol, *Octavianus* and *Antony* marching on each ſide of him (W), accompanied by the conſuls and ſenators; where, after the uſual ſacrifices, the decree was depoſited among the archives, after which *Antony* gave them a magnificent entertainment. Thus *Herod* became king of *Judæa*, by the friendſhip and intereſt of *Antony* and *Auguſtus*, in the conſulſhip of *Caius Domitius Calvinus* and *Caius Aſinius Pollio*. The condition he had left his affairs in *Judæa*, and his family in *Idumea*, not permitting to ſtay longer than ſeven days after his inauguration, he ſet out again from *Brunduſium*, and ſailed from thence to *Ptolemais*, where he landed about the latter end of the ſum-

Created king of Judæa.

Year of the Flood, 2961. Before Chriſt, 38.

(U) This prince had certainly the beſt title to the crown, being the ſon of *Alexandra* the daughter of *Hyrcan*, by *Alexander* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, the brother of that pontiff; ſo that the right of thoſe two brothers were united in him.

(W) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* adds (29), that the ſenate ordered him a golden crown, and to be conducted to and from the capitol on horſeback, whilſt a herald marched before him, crying, *Long live* Herod, *king of the* Jews, *and of the holy city*.

Antony having afterwards given the company a ſumptuous feaſt, he and *Herod* imbarqued with a numerous army, and being arrived at *Antioch*, he ordered one half to go with him into *Judæa*, and with the other he marched into *Parthia*.

(29) *Cap. I.*

mer, so that he spent but three months in this expedition both by sea and land [P].

Massada *besieged by* Antigonus.

WHILE he was thus successful at *Rome*, *Antigonus* had so closely besieged the fortress of *Massada*, that though it was well provided with all other necessaries, yet they were much distressed for want of water, insomuch, that *Joseph*, who commanded there, was contriving means to make a desperate sally, and to break through the besiegers, in order to escape into *Arabia* and get some fresh succour from *Malchus*, who, as we hinted before, was highly ashamed of his late treatment of *Herod*. But, happily for him, the very night he intended to sally out, there fell such a heavy rain, as filled all their cisterns again; so that he thought on nothing now but how to make a brave defence, till his brother came and relieved him, whilst he still made some bold sallies, and killed not a few of the besiegers. In the mean time, *Ventidius* the *Roman* general in *Syria*, having driven the *Parthians* out of that province, came and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, under pretence of relieving *Massada*, but in reality to extort money from *Antigonus*: for as soon as this last had satisfied his greediness with a good round sum, he marched away, leaving, for formality's sake, some part of his men with *Silo*, a pensioner, whom *Antigonus* had been forced to make by dint of money, till he could get himself strengthened by the *Parthians*, whose assistanee he was still in hopes of.

Mariamne's *character.*

Herod on the other hand was not idle, his thoughts were wholly bent upon relieving his distressed family; but especially his beloved *Mariamne*, a princess, who was indeed very well worth all his care and concern, whether we consider her as descended from a long series of illustrious kings and high-priests, or a person of exalted virtue and merit, and adorned with the most endearing charms of body and mind. As soon therefore as he was arrived at *Ptolemais*, he got an army together of *Jewish* and other troops, which his generosity still increased as fast as he went, insomuch, that a very little time had brought almost the whole province of *Galilee* into his interest. At the same time his friend *Antony* sent orders by *Dellius* to *Ventidius* to assist him with all his forces; so that he was now strong enough to march against *Antigonus* and to relieve *Massada*. He stopped, however, to lay siege to *Joppa*, a place of too great importance to be left behind in the hands of the enemy. *Silo* took this opportunity to withdraw his forces from him, and was like to have paid dear for his desertion. For *Antigonus* fell upon him, and had infalli-

Joppa *taken by* Herod.

[P] Antiq. ibid c 26, 27. Bell. Jud ubi supra, c. 12.

bly

bly defeated him, had not *Herod* come to his reſcue. *Joppa* being ſoon after ſurrendered, he marched directly to relieve his beſieged friends, and, in ſpight of the many ambuſhes which *Antigonus* did lay in his way, and the treachery of *Silo*, who extorted money from both ſides, and did all he could to obſtruct inſtead of aſſiſting him; he reached *Maſſada*, forced the enemy to raiſe the ſiege (X), and was joyfully received by all his family [9]. Maſſada *relieved.*

By this time *Herod*'s army was greatly increaſed, not only by the gariſon of *Maſſada*, but by other reinforcements, which came voluntary from other parts, and enabled him to go and form the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*. He took *Rheſſa* in his way, and being come before the metropolis, he cauſed a general amneſty to be proclaimed, extending to all, none except- Herod *marches againſt* Jeruſalem.

[9] Id. ibid.

(X) The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds (30), that *Herod* ſurpriſed *Antigonus* before the place, and made a vigorous attack on one ſide of him, whilſt *Joſeph* ſallied out againſt him on the other; ſo that he was totally defeated, and forced to flee into *Jeruſalem*, whither *Herod* purſued him, and laid cloſe ſiege to him.

It will not be amiſs to cloſe this note with a hint on a more remarkable occurrence out of our learned *Uſher* (31), namely the birth of *Salonimus*, (ſo called by his father *Aſinius Pollio*, the then *Roman* conſul, in memory of his taking *Salonæ*, a city in *Dalmatia*) and which gave occaſion to the fourth eclogue of *Virgil*, in which that poet has given ſuch a noble deſcription of the golden age, which this child was to reſtore to the world, that he is juſtly ſuppoſed to have ſtolen it, not ſo much out of the pretended ſibylline oracles, as from the prophecies concerning the reign of the Meſſiah, the true prince of peace. For, as they were tranſlated by that time into *Greek*, they may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been read by him, and perhaps further explained to him by the *Jews*, who, if we may believe *Cicero* (32), were very numerous at that time at *Rome*.

That *Virgil* proved a falſe prophet with reſpect to his wonderful child, the event has ſhewn, ſince he lived but nine days. But that the more miraculous child *Jeſus*, who was born forty years after (33), has left us ſuch a divine ſet of laws, as fully anſwer the glorious deſcription which the prophets have given us of his reign; and which, duly and univerſally obſerved, would eaſily eclipſe all that the poets have ſung concerning their fabulous golden age, cannot be denied, our enemies themſelves being judges.

(30) *Ibid* (31) *Annal. ſub. A. M.* 3964. (32) *Orat. pro Flacc* (33) *Prid Connect. ſub an. A. C.* 40. *Vid.* & *Arch. Chandler's defence of chriſtianity.*

ed, that had joined with *Antigonus*, and came over to him within a limited time. To this *Antigonus* answered, addressing himself to *Silo* and the rest of the *Roman* soldiers, who were come to assist *Herod* in the siege; "that it was a shame-"ful injustice in the senate to set a private person on the "throne, who was an *Idumean*, or half *Jew*, contrary to "the *Jewish* laws and right of succession; that if they re-"sented his receiving the crown from the *Parthians*, there "were still enough left of the royal and sacerdotal race, who "had deserved, to the full, as well of the *Romans* as *Herod*, "and on whom they might more justly bestow it." The contest between the two rivals rose at length to such a height, that *Antigonus* caused some volleys of arrows to be shot upon the enemy, and forced them to retire. Here arose a fresh mutiny, supposed to have been underhand encouraged by *Silo*; his soldiers complaining aloud of the want of money, provisions, and better winter-quarters; *Herod* was forced to send out for fresh supplies for them, which came afterwards in such plenty, that there was not the least pretence left for a revolt. The city of *Jericho* did, however, fall a sacrifice to the *Roman* greediness; they plundered it of all its riches, which amounted to an immense value; after which *Herod* was forced to send them into winter-quarters in *Samaria*, *Idumea*, and *Galilee*, whilst *Antigonus*, to curry favour with *Antony*, obtained of *Silo*, as a great favour, that part of the *Roman* army might be sent into *Lydda*, which still held out for him.

The season by this time being too far advanced to begin the siege of *Jerusalem*, *Herod*, having well glutted and quartered his *Roman* auxiliaries, sent his brother *Joseph* into *Idumea*, with a thousand foot and four hundred horse, whilst he went and secured his family in the city of *Samaria*; from thence he went and took some fortresses in *Galilee* from *Antigonus*, and among others that of *Sephoris*, which had been abandoned by the garison, and where he found great store of provisions. From thence he sent a detachment into the territories of *Arbela*, which was sadly infested with gangs of banditti; but as they could not ferret them out of their lurking-places, he marched against them with his whole army, and was as boldly encountered by their whole force. An obstinate fight ensued, in which his left wing began to give way; but he came so timely to their aid, that he gained a complete victory; by which he became master of all *Galilee*, except those rocky parts into which the defeated banditti retired. He rewarded his troops with a noble donative of a hundred and fifty drachms to each pri-

vate

vate man, and ſo proportionably to thoſe of a higher rank, and then ſent them into winter-quarters. *Silo* left him ſoon after to follow *Ventidius* into *Parthia*, and *Herod*, who could hardly ſtay for the return of the ſpring to put himſelf into action, reſolved, if poſſible, to rid himſelf and the country of the remaining gangs of banditti. The inacceſſibleneſs of their lurking-holes made it almoſt impracticable; but *Herod* having cauſed a number of iron cheſts to be made and filled with ſoldiers, which let them down with iron chains, he made great execution amongſt them, till night obliged them to withdraw, when he cauſed a general pardon to be proclaimed to all who ſhould come and ſurrender themſelves. But this having reduced but a few of them, his ſoldiers by next morning went and ſet ſome combuſtible matter on fire at the mouth of their caverns, put all within in a flame, and ſmothered thoſe it could not burn; and yet ſuch was their obſtinacy, that they choſe rather to periſh than accept of a pardon. A notable inſtance of which the reader may ſee in the margin (Y).

Destroys the gangs of banditti

Herod, thinking by this time that he had pretty near reduced their gang, left the country under the command of *Ptolemy*, at the head of as many forces as he thought would ſuffice to keep it in awe; and took the road to *Samaria*, where he had left his family, with a deſign to go, and either begin the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, or bring *Antigonus* to a battle. He was no ſooner gone, but thoſe whom he had lately drove over *Jordan* returned again, ſlew *Ptolemy*, and ravaged the country afreſh; ſo that he was forced to come back with freſh forces, with which he ſo effectually deſtroyed them and their lurking-places, and fined thoſe towns ſo ſeverely, which had given them either ſhelter or relief, that he quite rid the province of that deſtructive vermine [r].

[r] Id. ibid.

(Y) Our hiſtorian tells us (34), that an old man being hid in one of theſe caverns, his wife and ſeven ſons, who were with him, did earneſtly beſeech him to ſuffer them to ſurrender themſelves; but he, placing himſelf at the mouth of the cave, ſtabbed them one after another, as they attempted to paſs by him, and caſt them down the precipice, and himſelf next, after having vented ſome ſcandalous reflections on the meanneſs of *Herod*'s extraction, who was at the ſame time making him all the ſigns of pardon and clemency.

(34) *Antiq. ubi ſupra, cap.* 28. *ſub fin. bell. Jud. l.* i. *c.* 13

THE

Antigonus's ill treatment of Machæras.

THE *Parthians* having been defeated soon after by *Ventidius*, as shall be seen in the next chapter, that general, by order of *Antony*, sent *Machæras* with two legions and a thousand horse to assist *Herod* in his war against *Antigonus*; but this last having gained him over by a large sum, *Machæras* would needs march towards him under pretence of examining the strength of the place. *Herod*, having tried in vain to dissuade him from it, began to suspect him of some treachery; but held his peace for the present. Not so did *Antigonus*, who seeing the *Romans* draw near the walls of *Jerusalem*, conceived such jealousy of them, that he caused his men to let fly some vollies of arrow and stones against them, which so exasperated him, that he returned to *Emmaus*, and turned his arms against the *Jews* there, slaying indiscriminately all that came in his way, and among them a number of *Herod*'s friends. *Herod*, who was then on the point of going to pay his respects to *Antony* at the siege of *Samosata*, threatened to complain of it to him; but *Machæras*, hastening after, prevailed upon him to be reconciled, and to leave his brother *Joseph*, and a number of forces with him, to carry on the war during his absence; on this condition, however, that they should undertake nothing that was hazardous till his return. In his march to *Antony*'s camp, he was forced to fight his way through some bands of free-booters, or, as the fourth of the *Maccabees* calls them [r], wild *Arabs*, who had attacked him in the rear, which would have been all cut off, if he had not come back to their assistance and defeated the thievish gang. At his arrival before *Samosata*, he was received with all the marks of honour and esteem by the *Roman* triumvir, and did him many gallant services at that siege. In requital of which, when the city was taken, *Antony* left *Sosius* governor of *Syria* with the command of the *Roman* forces, and orders to assist *Herod* with them whenever he required it.

Herod on his return found his affairs strangely altered for the worse; his brother *Joseph*, having forgot his orders, had made an incursion against *Jericho*, with his own troops, and five legions, which he received from *Machæras*; but the *Roman* horse being unfit for such rocky ground as he was then incamped upon, the enemy surprised and defeated him, after a noble defence, in which himself was killed by *Pappus* the *Roman* general. *Antigonus* caused his head to be cut off, and carried in triumph with him; but his brother *Pheroras* redeemed it soon after at the price of fifty talents. The con-

Joseph defeated and killed.

[r] Cap. lii.

sequence

ſequence of this defeat was the total revolt of *Galilee*, where the wealthieſt of *Herod*'s party were barbarouſly flung in great numbers into the lake of *Tiberias*. *Idumea* was alſo on the point of revolting, when *Herod* appeared at the head of a freſh army, and in a little time reduced thoſe two provinces again. At *Jericho*, where he gave an entertainment to his friends, he was twice in danger of his life, the firſt time by the fall of the banquetting-houſe, which the gueſts had but juſt quitted; and on the next day by a party of ſix thouſand *Antigonians*, who came and aſſaulted his vanguard, and where he received a wound. His army ſtill increaſing, and *Machæras* ſtoutly defending himſelf againſt *Antigonus*, a battle was ſoon fought between the two antagoniſts, wherein *Herod* gained a complete victory, and made a horrid ſlaughter of the enemy: *Pappus* being found among the dead, he ordered his head to be cut off, and ſent to *Pheroras*. His eagerneſs to revenge his brother's death, made him purſue his flying enemy with ſuch uncommon ſwiftneſs and cruelty, that, had he not been prevented, by a violent ſtorm, he might have gone ſtrait to *Jeruſalem*, and have taken it with eaſe; *Antigonus* being by that time ſo reduced, that he was upon the point of abandoning it; but by that time winter coming on, and the ſoldiers not being able to bear the fatigues of a ſiege, *Herod* put them into winter-quarters, and ſet about getting ready all things neceſſary for beginning it early the following ſpring[r].

WHILST theſe preparations were making, *Herod* went to *Samaria*, and there conſummated his marriage with *Mariamne*, whom he had betrothed four years before; but had been hindered from marrying through the many troubles he was intangled in, though he had an extreme deſire to ſee this union once happily accompliſhed (Z). By this time he had got a reinforcement of thirty thouſand men, and *Soſius*, who had been ſent to his aſſiſtance at the head of eleven legions and ſix thouſand horſe, beſides ſome auxiliary troops hired from

[r] Antiq. & bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

(Z) We have already given the character and deſcent of this excellent princeſs, and *Herod* had great reaſon to hope that this marriage would effectually reconcile him to the *Jewiſh* nation, whom he knew to retain an affectionate zeal for the *Aſmonean* family, of which ſhe was deſcended by the two brothers, *Hyrcan* and *Ariſtobulus*, as we hinted in a former note. This he thought would likewiſe facilitate the ſurrender of *Jeruſalem*, by withdrawing numbers of the beſieged *Jews* from the faction of *Antigonus*.

Syria,

Jerusalem *besieged by* Herod.

Syria, was marching through *Phœnice* to join him, and with this numerous army they went and besieged *Jerusalem* (A). The besieged on the other hand were no less numerous and resolute for a vigorous defence, the city being filled with *Jews*, who flocked thither from all parts of the kingdom. But these wanted military experience, and trusted either to their strength and courage, or to the sacredness of the temple, which they seemed confident would be defended by some miraculous providence, against an *Idumean* usurper and an army of idolatrous *Romans*. They did likewise annoy the besiegers by frequent private sallies, in which they spoiled great quantities of their provisions and forage. But on the fortieth day of the siege, the *Romans*, in spite of the stout resistance from within, found means to scale the outward wall, and to make themselves masters of it; and on the fiftieth they got within the second, whem some of the galleries about the temple being set on fire, *Herod* threw all the odium of it on *Antigonus*. The lower city being taken, the besieged betook themselves to the higher and to the temple, where they suffered very much through famine, it being the *sabbatic* year *. However, they built a new wall instead of that which was beaten down, countermined the enemy, and fought sometimes above and sometimes under ground, and with more despair than true courage. At length, after a five months close siege, by so numerous an army (B), *Herod*, finding them as obstinate as ever, ordered a general assault to be made, which both his and the *Roman* troops performed with such vigour, that they forced them at length to surrender. *Antigonus* himself came down from a tower, where he had defended himself as long as he could, threw himself at *Sosius*'s feet, and in the most

* De hoc vid. Vol. III. p. 190.

(A) *Josephus* tells us, that the *Roman* legions did not consist of a certain number, but amounted, some to four thousand, some to five thousand, and some to six thousand; but, however, if we take them at the lowest, and join to them the *Jewish* and *Syrian* forces, this army must have amounted to above sixty thousand men.

(B) All this while *Herod* still behaved with great moderation towards the *Antigonians*, not only promising them his pardon and kind reception, but, at their desire, supplying them with all necessary victims for their daily and other sacrifices, not doubting but that he might in time mollify them into a surrender, but all proved in vain (34).

(34) *Antiq. ubi supra, cap.* 28. *sub fin. bell. Jud l. i. c.* 13.

abiect

abject and submissive guise implored his mercy. But the elated *Roman*, instead of expressing the least concern for that unfortunate prince, upbraided him with cowardice and effeminacy, calling him in the feminine gender *Antigona*, and ordered him to be put under a strong guard. The *Romans* at the same time, having dispersed themselves through all the quarters of the upper city, made a terrible slaughter of the *Jews*, and plundered and ravaged every place they came near, to be revenged, as they expressed it, for the length and fatigue of the siege. The very sanctuary was in danger of undergoing the same fate, had not *Herod* prevented it, partly by fair, partly by threatening words, and even by mere force. He sent at the same time a severe message to *Sosius*, complaining, that if this plunder and butchery were not stopped, the *Romans* would leave him king only of a bare wilderness; and that as for himself, he should look upon his success as the most unhappy thing that could befal him, if it must be attended with the profanation of that sacred place, the access to which was permitted to none but to the *Jewish* priests. To all this *Sosius* answered, that he did not well know how to forbid his troops the plundering of a place that had been taken by assault; so that *Herod* saw himself under a necessity of saving both temple and city from all further devastation, by a large donative out of his own coffers.

Taken by storm.

Saved from destruction by Herod.

THUS was this city taken after a siege of near six months (C), and with its surrender ended the reign of the *Asmoneans*, after it had continued a hundred and twenty nine years, from *Judas Maccabeus* taking the *Jewish* government upon him (D). *Antigonus*, the last male of that race that it Before Christ, 37.

Antigonus put to death. Year of the Flood, 2962.

(C) Reckoning from *Herod*'s first setting down before it; for was not till some time after that *Sosius* joined him with his troops and carried on the siege jointly with him.

(D) *Josephus* reckons but a hundred and twenty six years (35); but he must be understood only from the time that *Judas* was established in his government by his peace with *Antiochus*, three years after he had taken it into his hands.

It is true, however, his successors did not take the title of kings, as we have seen in the course of this section, till *Aristobulus*, or rather till *Alexander Jannæus*; but that family still enjoyed the peculiar privilege of joining the pontifical with the regal or supreme dignity.

(35) *Ibid.*

bore the regal title, was clapped in irons by *Sosius*, who, having presented a crown of gold to the temple, left *Jerusalem*, and took the unhappy prince with him, and delivered him to *Antony*; by whom he was, at the earnest solicitations of *Herod*, put to a shameful death (E), in the third year of his reign [u].

SECT. V.

The history of the Jews *from* Herod *to the birth of* Christ.

Herod's cruel beginning.

THE taking of *Jerusalem* and the death of *Antigonus* having now fixed *Herod* upon the *Jewish* throne, he was soon obliged to bend his thoughts on two important concerns; the one to replenish his coffers exhausted,

[u] Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13. Vid. & Usser. sub A. M. 3967.

(E) The *Jewish* historian observes, that *Antony* would willingly have reserved *Antigonus* for his future triumph, but that *Herod*, who feared every thing from his rival, if he should ever have an opportunity to plead his own cause before the senate, ceased not to importune that general to put him to death, and obtained it at last by a large sum of money. But he caused that unhappy prince to be executed in so shameful a manner, as has given just occasion to several antient authors to condemn it, as a piece of injustice and cruelty, never till then allowed of by the *Romans* (36).

For having caused him to be condemned as a private criminal, and without regard to his illustrious descent, the sentence was executed accordingly at *Antioch*, where, having been first tied and whipped at a stake, his head was cut off, after having been all along flattered with promises of life. This punishment, *Strabo* in the place above quoted observes, had never been inflicted on any crowned head; but *Antony* thought it necessary by such an ignominious death to render him contemptible to the *Jews*, to prevent their raising any new tumults against his generous friend *Herod* (37).

(36) *Vid. int. al Plutarch. in Anton Dion lib xlix Strab. ap Joseph. Antiq l. xv c.* 1. (37) *Ibid*

partly

partly by the large ſums with which he had been forced to buy the friendſhip of the *Roman* generals, and even *Antony* himſelf; and partly by the profuſeneſs with which he rewarded his own and the *Roman* troops for their paſt ſervices, and eſpecially for ſaving the city and temple from plunder and ruin: the other was to ſuppreſs the oppoſite *Jewiſh* faction, which, in ſpite of his rival's ignominious death, retained an invincible attachment to the *Aſmonean* family, and an irreconcileable hatred to his own. Theſe two points, which could not be gained, the one without a great deal of oppreſſion, and the other without much cruelty and blood-ſhed, we muſt look upon as the two main ſprings of all his actions, and the cauſes of his uneaſy reign. Accordingly, upon his having got poſſeſſion of that metropolis, he cauſed all the gold, ſilver, and other valuable things he found in it, to be carried into his own palace, by which he amaſſed immediately an immenſe treaſure; but as a great part of it had been already promiſed to the *Romans*, and was actually given to them, he reimburſed himſelf by the forfeiture of the eſtates of the *Antigonian* faction, cauſing the wealthieſt of them to be ſeized, and forty five of the principal of them to be put to death (A). And ſuch was his jealouſy in this reſpect, that

(A) We took notice in the laſt ſection, that *Herod* ſpared that very *Sameas*, who had appeared the moſt intrepid againſt him, at his tryal before the ſanhedrin; as well as *Pollio*, another learned and valuable *Jew*, who had been a great ſtickler for *Hyrcan* againſt him; and theſe were not the only two inſtances of *Herod*'s clemency. We have elſewhere ſeen other marks of his generous forgiveneſs; and it is likely, that if he could have ſupported his new regal dignity without thoſe violent means, which the obſtinacy of the *Jews* and the emptineſs of his coffers forced him to, it would have been much more agreeable to his temper, which was really generous even to profuſeneſs.

However, we muſt own, that theſe two great men, whom he not only ſpared above all the reſt, but took into his ſpecial favour and confidence, had, notwithſtanding all the incenſe which the rabbies give them for their courage and intrepidity, taken care to make their peace with him during the ſiege, by exhorting the beſieged to open their gates to him.

For whilſt the *Antigonian* faction were encourageing the ſuperſtitious *Jews* with crying *the temple of the Lord*, and making them expect ſome miraculous deliverance, theſe two politicians, foreſeeing that the city could not hold out much longer againſt ſuch a vigorous ſiege, and under the exceſſive want of all proviſions, did with a kind of prophetic confidence aſſure them, that all reſiſtance was vain, ſince the thing was from the Lord, who for their ſins was now bringing them in ſubjection to this foreigner

that he caused guards to be planted at their gates, to examine, as they were carrying them to their graves, whether they were really dead, and whether any riches were conveyed off with their bodies; in which case they were seized upon and sent into his treasury. Upon the whole, his necessities and profuseness were so great, that he spared no extortion to supply them; insomuch, that this being the *sabbatic* year, in which there was neither planting nor sowing, and all the country round about having been so terribly plundered and ravaged, both before and during the siege, nothing less than a grievous famine was expected to have filled the whole land [a].

Herod had still another rival left, who, though at a great distance from him, and kept as it were, a prisoner in *Parthia*, did

[a] *Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13.*

(38). So that had *Herod* been of a more vindictive temper than he really was, yet this piece of service could not have failed of reconciling them to his favour.

There was indeed some ground for what they affirmed in favour of *Herod*, if what *Josephus* (39) says be true, that one *Menahem*, a cotemporary of theirs and an *Essenian*, endowed with the spirit of prophecy, had long before foretold his rise to the crown; the story runs thus:

Herod being met one day by this *Menahem*, then a boy, whilst himself was amongst his school-fellows, was accosted by him in a serious manner, with a *Hail, king of the* Jews; and was assured by him, that providence had determined to raise him from his *Plebeian* extraction to that supreme dignity. The young prophet at the same time bid him remember, when he was come to it, that it was his duty to govern with justice and equity, though, added he in the conclusion, I foresee, that you will take quite different methods, and thereby bring a miserable end upon your head.

Herod, however, did not think any more of it till he had got the crown; but then calling to mind his prediction, he sent for him, to inquire how long he should reign, not doubting but that he, who had foretold him the one, might as easily tell him the other. *Menahem*, not answering directly to the question, was asked again, whether he thought that he should reign ten years; Yes, yes, answered the *Essene*, twenty or thirty, and there he stopped; and *Herod*, being satisfied with that number, urged him no further.

(38) *Id. ibid. Vid. & l.* xiv. *c.* 17. (39) *Antiq. l.* xv. c. 13

Menahem

did not ſuffer his mind to be at eaſe, till he had quite rid himſelf of him. This was *Hyrcan*, the depoſed king and high-prieſt, whom *Pacorus* had carried thither with him in chains. But when *Phraartes* came to be informed of his high birth and dignity, he generouſly took off his chains, and permitted him to live in *Babylon*, where he was highly reſpected, not only by the great numbers of *Jews* who dwelt in that city, but likewiſe by all thoſe that lived beyond the *Euphrates*, who all looked upon him as their rightful prince and high-prieſt. Their veneration for him was raiſed ſtill higher, when they underſtood, that *Herod* had filled the pontifical chair with an old acquaintance of his own, named *Ananel*, a deſcendant of one of thoſe prieſtly families that ſettled at *Babylon* after the captivity, and whom that politic prince cauſed to be fetched from thence, merely on the ſcore of his meanneſs and obſcurity; that being without friends or intereſt in *Judæa*, he might be contented with his ſacerdotal function, without interfering with the regal prerogative.

Hyrcanus's *behaviour in* Parthia.

Hyrcan might then have thought himſelf happy in his exile, being thus reſpected by the *Parthian* king, and by all the *Jews* of the diſperſion: yet ſuch was his love for his country, or rather his fatal confidence in the new *Jewiſh* monarch, that, as ſoon as he heard of his being on the throne, he conceived a great deſire of ſpending the remainder of his life with him. His friends, to whom he communicated his thoughts, tried in vain to diſſuade him from it, by repreſenting to him the folly and hazard of putting himſelf in that monarch's power, eſpecially ſince he could hardly expect either greater honour or happineſs at *Jeruſalem*, than he enjoyed at *Babylon*. But could arguments have prevailed with him, *Herod* would have left no means untried to have fruſtrated them, and made ſure of him. He began, however, with ſending him a kind invitation to come and bear a partnerſhip with him of his power and grandeur, and reap

Perſuaded to return into Judæa.

Menahem was then, it ſeems (40), vice preſident of the ſanhedrin, under *Hillel*, the ſame, as is ſuppoſed, whom *Joſephus* calls *Pollio*; but *Herod*, having drawn him into his ſervice, appointed *Sameas*, to ſucceed him in that office. From that time, not only *Menahem*, but his whole ſect, grew in great favour with that monarch. We ſhall find a proper place to ſpeak more fully of the *Eſſenes*, when we come to deſcribe the different ſects which reigned in our Saviour's time among the *Jews*.

(40) *V. l. Prid Connect. part. 2. lib.* viii *ſub A. ant Chriſt.* 37

the fruits of his gratitude to him for his former kindneſs. But leſt this invitation ſhould fail, he backed it with an embaſſy to *Phraartes*, in which he begged of him to give the pontiff leave to return to *Judæa*. *Santacalla*, who was charged with this embaſſy, was ordered to make ſome conſiderable preſents to the *Parthian* king and court, and ſucceeded ſo well in his negotiation, that *Hyrcan*, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances of his friends to the contrary, left his ſafe aſylum for *Jeruſalem*, where *Herod* at firſt received him with great friendſhip and magnificence, and forgot nothing that could poſſibly conceal the treacherous deſign he was hatching againſt his life [b].

Whilst this was doing, *Herod* was not a little diſturbed with domeſtic jars. *Alexandra*, the daughter of *Hyrcan* and mother of *Ariſtobulus* and *Mariamne*, a woman of a haughty ſpirit, could not bear, with any patience, to ſee an obſcure *Babyloniſh* prieſt preferred before her ſon to the pontifical dignity, from which *Hyrcan* was now diſabled by the loſs of his ears. She was ever expoſtulating with him the injury done to her ſon, and inſiſting, that the pontifical dignity belonging in right of ſucceſſion to him alone, as being deſcended by father and mother from *Alexander Jannæus* (B), none but he ought in juſtice to be inveſted with it. But *Herod*, who was conſcious that the young prince had an equal right likewiſe to the regal dignity, which he now uſurped from him, was afraid to grant her the one, leſt ſhe ſhould find ſome means in time of ſeizing upon the other. This obliged her to write to *Cleopatra*, not doubting but her intereſt with *Antony* might greatly influence that general in favour of her ſon. It was impoſſible for her to carry on that correſpondence ſo cloſely, but *Herod* had ſome intimation of it; and fearing the worſt from thoſe two intrigueing princeſſes, he was forc-

[b] Antiq. ubi ſupra, cap. 2.

(B) *Ariſtobulus*, as the ſon of *Alexander*, and grandſon of *Hyrcan* and of *Ariſtobulus*, the ſons of *Alexander Jannæus*, had the right both to the regal and pontifical dignity united in him For he was grandſon to the former by his mother *Alexandra*, who was his only child; and by his father *Alexander*, he was grandſon to *Ariſtobulus*. By his deſcent from the latter, he had a right to the high-prieſthood, which was fixed to the male line; and by his deſcent from both, he would have had the only title to the crown alſo, had not the *Romans* transferred it to *Herod* (41).

(41) *Antiq. l. xv. cap.* 2, & 3.

ed

ed for the preſent to conſent to have *Ananel* depoſed, and *Ariſtobulus* inveſted with that dignity, pretending, that he had only given it to the former, till the latter was come to be of an age fit for it (C).

THIS condeſcenſion of *Herod*, backed with ſo plauſible an excuſe, wrought a kind of reconciliation between them, but which was nothing leſs than ſincere on either ſide, eſpecially on *Herod*'s, who ſtill ſuſpected the intrigues of the mother, and the merit of the ſon, whoſe high birth and blooming vir-

(C) *This is the third perſon that had hitherto been depoſed from the pontifical dignity ſince the Jews return from the Babyloniſh captivity*; and *Herod* was ſo ſenſible of the illegality of it, that wheu *Antony* ſent to deſire him to put *Ariſtobulus* into *Ananel*'s room, he excuſed himſelf from it at firſt, by remonſtrating to him, that ſuch depoſitions were contrary to the *Moſaic* law; according to which, it is certain, that dignity could not end but with the death of its poſſeſſor, unleſs ſome illegal defect happened to diſqualify him †.

The firſt inſtance we read of this irregular proceeding is, that of *Jaſon*'s or *Jeſus*'s ſupplanting his brother *Onias*, and by a larger ſum of money buying that dignity from *Antiochus*, in prejudice of the incumbent (42). The other was that of *Hyrcan* by his nephew *Ariſtobulus*, who wreſted that dignity from him by main force. But theſe depoſitions became afterwards ſo frequent, that there was hardly any other way of coming into that office, but by the expulſion of the incumbent.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* ſays, that *Antony* having ſent a preſſing command to *Herod* to ſend *Ariſtobulus* to him, *Herod*, not daring to venture that young prince out of his ſight, haſted to make him high-prieſt before he read that general's orders; and then ſent him word, that, he being now inveſted with the pontifical dignity, it was unlawful for him to ſtir out of the *Jewiſh* dominions (43).

Joſephus agrees in part with that author (44), but adds, that *Antony* having received the pictures of *Mariamne* and *Ariſtobulus*, which their mother, by the advice of *Cleopatra*, had ſent to him, that their extreme beauty might make a favourable impreſſion on that effeminate general; *Antony*, not daring to ſend for *Mariamne*, deſired only *Ariſtobulus* to be ſent to him. But *Herod*, not daring to truſt ſo beautiful a young perſon, who was then but ſixteen years old, with one ſo infamous for his incontinency, was forced to excuſe his refuſal, with pretending, that the young prince was ſo great a darling of the *Jewiſh* nation, that it would infallibly involve it in a civil war, ſhould he comply with his requeſt.

† *De hoc. vid. Vol. III p. 234, & ſeq.* (42) *See Vol. IX. p. 596.* (43) *Cap. lv.* (44) *ubi ſupra, cap. 2.*

tues

tues, joined to a graceful person, attracted the eyes and hearts of the *Jewish* nation. Upon some pretence therefore or other, he quarrelled with *Alexandra*, forbad her to meddle with any public affairs, and at last caused her to be confined to her palace and to be closely watched. In the mean time, *Cleopatra* having sent her and her son an invitation to come to her, she was easily persuaded to accept it, since she could now only look upon herself as *Herod*'s prisoner, from whose jealousy she had every thing to fear. The difficulty was how to conceal their flight from his watchful spies: she intrusted her design only to two faithful servants, one of whom was to procure her a ship to carry them off, and the other to provide two coffins, one for her son, and the other for herself, to convey them in that manner to the ship. But unfortunately one of the two servants inadvertently mentioned the matter to a third, whom he thought to have been in the secret, who immediately took hold of this opportunity to ingratiate himself to *Herod*, and made a full discovery of the design. *Herod* stayed only till the mother and son were conveyed some part of the way in their coffins, and then caused them to be arrested, and brought back. His fear, however, of *Cleopatra*'s resentment, prevented his expressing his own against them; and since he found it unsafe to punish them, he put on the mask of clemency, and was outwardly reconciled to them, but from that moment resolved to get rid of the young prince.

Herod plagued with domestic cares.

An accident happened soon after, which determined him to hasten his death. The feast of the tabernacles, one of the three grand festivals, was come, which was usually solemnized with the greatest magnificence †; when the new high-priest, who was then about seventeen years of age, appeared at the altar in his pontifical ornaments, and officiated with such majesty and grace, that the people thought they beheld all the merit and grandeur of his ancestors revived in him. They could not forbear filling the temple and city with their praises, which raised the tyrant's jealousy to such a height, as made him resolve to put his murdering design in execution with utmost speed. Accordingly, as soon as the solemnity was over, he went with him to *Jericho*, where *Alexandra* had invited them to a sumptuous entertainment. The weather being hot, *Aristobulus* was invited to bathe in a fine fish-pond in that neighbourhood, where some of *Herod*'s hired creatures were swimming; and where, as soon as they had him in their hands, they kept him still under water till he was dead.

† De hac vid. Vol III. p. 178, & seq.

This

This bloody deed was gloſſed over with the ſpecious pretence of its being done in ſport, by accident, and without any deſign on the pontiff's life; and *Herod* not only ſeemed to believe it, but took all the pains he could to have it thought ſo by the reſt, by putting himſelf into the deepeſt mourning for him, ordering a ſtately monument to be erected to his memory, and his funeral obſequies to be performed with utmoſt magnificence. This was the end of young *Ariſtobulus*, which filled the city and kingdom with inexpreſſible grief; he died in the eighteenth year of his age, having ſcarce enjoyed his dignity one whole year, which upon his death returned to *Ananel*[c].

ALL theſe grimaces of *Herod* to diſculpate himſelf of the murder were eaſily ſeen through by the people, and only rendered him more odious to them, and much more ſo to his own family. *Alexandra*, at the firſt news of her ſon's death, could ſcarcely be kept from laying violent hands on herſelf; but, upon cooler thoughts, ſhe prevailed on herſelf to conceal her reſentment againſt the tyrant, that ſhe might the more eaſily compaſs his ruin. She wrote to acquaint *Cleopatra* with his treachery, and that princeſs, moved rather by her ambition and avarice, than by a ſenſe of pity or of horror for the crime, ceaſed not to ſolicit *Antony* to puniſh the murderer, in hopes that, after his death, ſhe might eaſily obtain his kingdom for herſelf. *Antony*, being at length prevailed upon, ſent orders to *Herod* to come and clear himſelf before him at *Laodicea*, whither he was then coming, and *Cleopatra* along with him. *Herod* was obliged to obey, though much againſt his will; but took care to bribe his judge ſo high, that, upon his appearing before him, he was moſt baſely abſolved, and *Cleopatra*'s avarice compenſated with the province of *Cœle-Syria*, inſtead of that of *Judæa*.

Alexandra *plots againſt him.*

Summoned to appear before Antony.

Acquitted.

Herod, however, not knowing how it would go with him in *Syria*, had before his departure given expreſs orders to his uncle *Joſeph*, whom he left governor during his abſence, that in caſe he was caſt for his life, he ſhould put his beloved *Mariamne* to death. The violence of his paſſion for that princeſs extorted this inhuman command from him. He knew that the fame of her beauty had long ſince captivated the *Roman* triumvir, and the thoughts of leaving her in the poſſeſſion of ſuch a rival, even after his death, were more dreadful to him, than any death he could inflict on

[c] Antiq. ubi ſupra c. 3

him; and his uncle was forced to rid him of that anguish by the promise of a punctual obedience. When he was gone, *Joseph*, who waited daily on her, either on affairs of state, or to pay his respects to her, took all opportunities of extolling *Herod's* extreme passion for her, and at length was indiscreet enough to disclose the fatal orders he had left with him, as an irrefragable proof of the greatness and sincerity of it. But the queen, looking upon it rather as an argument of his jealousy and inhumanity, conceived from it a more invincible hatred against him. In the mean time, there was a rumour spread through the city, whether by *Herod*'s enemies, or by some of his subtil agents, that *Antony* had put him to a cruel death; which cast the whole court, but especially *Alexandra* and *Mariamne*, into a great consternation. *Alexandra* had by this time been informed with the bloody orders left with *Joseph*; to prevent the execution of which, she went to him, and strove with all her eloquence to persuade him to leave *Jerusalem*, and to go and put themselves under the protection of the *Roman* eagles, that were planted in the neighbourhood of the city (D). Their deliberations were quickly broken off by letters from *Herod*, which informed her, that he had not only gained his cause, but that *Antony* was daily heaping fresh marks of his affection upon him, and that he should soon return to *Jerusalem*, more strengthened than ever in his kingdom. This news made them lay aside their design; but as they had not carried it on so closely, but *Salome* had received some intimation of it, she failed not to inform her brother of it upon his arrival. Some injurious reflections, which *Mariamne* had cast on the meanness of her birth, had exasperated her so far, that she had vowed a most dreadful revenge; and she took this opportunity of compleating it, by accusing her of having held too great a familiarity with *Joseph* during his absence, though he was both her own uncle and husband (E).

Mariamne *falsely accused.*

Mariamne

(D) The eagles were the principal standards of the *Roman* legions; they used to be set up in some eminent place of their camp to receive the adoration of the army, and to protect those who took sanctuary under them, they being allowed an inviolable asylum to such.

The *Romans* had left a legion in the neighbourhood of that metropolis, under the command of one *Julius*, and it was under his standards that *Alexandra* proposed to take refuge, when the news of her son in law's death came to her ears.

(E) We have had occasion to shew in a former volume †,

† *Vol.* III. *p.* 321. *Vid. & Lucil.* xviii. 12, *& seq* xx. 19.

how

Mariamne did eaſily clear her innocence upon her firſt interview with the king; but whilſt he was entertaining her with the proteſtations of his love to her, ſhe could not forbear at length mentioning the orders he had left with his uncle, as rather a token of his barbarity to her. Theſe words, which ſtabbed that jealous monarch to the heart, made him conclude, that nothing leſs than the criminal converſation, with which *Salome* had accuſed her, could have induced his uncle to diſcloſe the fatal ſecret. In the firſt ſally of his fury, he was on the point of ſacrificing her with his own hand, had not his love prevailed over his reſentment. But *Joſeph* and *Alexandra* fell the unhappy victims of his rage; the firſt of whom he cauſed to be put to immediate death, refuſing even to ſee him, or hear what could be urged in his defence; the latter he cauſed to be put in chains, and confined to a cloſe priſon under a ſtrong guard, as the main cauſe of all this miſchief.

Joſeph *put to death.*

HIS fury was ſoon after diverted by the coming of *Cleopatra* into *Judæa*, in her return from the *Euphrates*, whither ſhe had accompanied *Antony*. That princeſs, whoſe avarice was as inſatiable as her luſt, had diſobliged him ſenſibly by both theſe paſſions. On the one hand, ſhe had obtained from her paramour all the fertile territories of *Jericho*, which were by far the richeſt and pleaſanteſt of all *Judæa*, eſpecially upon the ſcore of the balm (F) and the great quantity

Cleopatra *comes to* Jeruſalem.

how far it was lawful, according to the law of *Moſes*, for an uncle to marry his niece, tho' not for an aunt to marry her nephew. We refer the reader to what has been further ſaid upon that head by a late learned writer (45).

(F) This precious plant, ſo famous for its balſam, the moſt valuable of all ointments, is affirmed by *Pliny* (46) to have grown only in two gardens belonging to the *Jewiſh* monarchs, one of them containing only twenty acres, and the other ſtill ſomewhat leſs. But *Cleopatra* cauſed a number of them to be carried into *Egypt*, where it is ſaid to grow in great quantity at this very day (47):

But it is plain beyond all controverſy, that this plant is the natural growth of *Arabia*, eſpecially in the neighbourhoods of *Mecca* and *Medina*, where it grows wild even in ſandy grounds, though that which is cultivated in gardens is reckoned the fineſt (48). We have taken notice in a former volume of ſome that grew near

(45) *Prid. Connect. ſub. A. ant. Chriſt.* 187. (46) *Nat. Hiſt. l.* xii. *c.* 15. (47) *Vid. Dapper. Deſcr. of* Egypt. (48) *Id ibid.*

tity of palm-trees which grew in it, and brought *Herod* a conſiderable revenue [d]. On the other, ſhe was ſoliciting that monarch to an amour all the time ſhe ſtayed with him. *Herod*, who had conceived a great averſion to her, was conſulting, all the time he entertained her with utmoſt magnificence, of ſome means of putting her to death, whilſt he had her in his power; but his friends, dreading the conſequences of ſuch a fact, did not only diſſuade him from it, but prevailed on him to glut at leaſt her avarice with coſtly preſents, which he did with ſurprizing profuſeneſs. However, as he had refuſed to gratify her other predominant paſſion, he feared leſt her reſentment on that ſcore, joining with the invincible hatred which the *Jews* had conceived againſt him, ſhould one day prove fatal to him. To prevent which, after he had accompanied her as far as *Peluſium*, he went and fortified the caſtle of *Maſſada*, and furniſhed it with arms and proviſions for ten thouſand men, that at all events he might have a ſure place of refuge to flee to. At the ſame time he took conſtant care to ſend that princeſs the revenues of thoſe territories which *Antony* had given from him to her, that ſhe might have no pretence to fall out with him upon that ſcore [e].

But this was not ſufficient to prevent the effects of that baſe princeſs's reſentment; and ſhe ſoon after laid ſuch a

[d] Ibid. c 4. Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 13. & vii. c. 28. [e] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 5 Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c 28.

the lake *Aſphaltites*, and which brought a conſiderable revenue to the owners †.

The balm was gathered from the ſhrub in the months of *July* and *Auguſt*, and in ſome warmer grounds even in *June*. It either drops of itſelf, or is made to do ſo by inciſion, with a ſharp knife, made, not of iron or ſteel, which they ſay is death to the plant, but either of glaſs, flint, or ivory. The liquor that diſtils from the plant is whitiſh at the firſt, then by degrees turns greeniſh, yellowiſh, and when very old, almoſt of the colour of honey. It is at firſt thin, and by degrees contracts a denſity like our terebinth, and is of ſo light a body, that it ſwims on the ſurface of water, and when beaten with it, will turn white. There is ſo little that is brought genuine into *England*, that it is rarely uſed, though its virtues have been cried up by many antient and modern authors; but even that which is leaſt adulterated has a very ill quality amongſt its excellent ones, namely, that the frequent uſe of it will in time diſſolve the ſolid parts of the blood.

Beſides what comes from the countries abovementioned, there are ſome ſorts of it brought from *America*, the moſt eſteemed of which are thoſe of *Peru* and *Tholu*.

† *Vol.* VIII. *p.* 201.

plot

plot againſt him, that all his ſtrength and courage were hardly ſufficient to ſave him from ruin. We have elſewhere taken notice, that ſhe had obtained a great many provinces from *Antony*, in *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Arabia*. The latter of theſe had paid tribute to her conſtantly enough, whilſt *Antony* was in power; but after his defeat, at the battle of *Actium*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place, *Malchus*, then king of that country, refuſed all further payment to her. *Herod*, who had got a complete army, with which he deſigned to aſſiſt his friend *Antony* againſt *Octavianus*, received orders from him to turn his forces againſt the *Arabians*. This was *Cleopatra*'s plot; who, by bringing theſe two kings to a battle, propoſed to get the territories of the conquered, let the victory fall on which ſide it would. But as her ſpight againſt *Herod* was moſt prevailing, ſhe ſent one of her generals, named *Athenion*, who equally hated him, at the head of an army, under pretence of aſſiſting him, but in reality to betray and ruin him, becauſe ſhe foreſaw that he was like to have the better of his enemy. For *Herod* upon the firſt encounter had given them a great overthrow, and obliged them to get a freſh army together, which *Malchus* brought into *Cœle-Syria*. Here a ſecond battle was fought near *Cana* (G), in which *Herod* was on the point of getting a new victory; when *Athenion*, who had ſtood neuterall the time of the engagement, fell upon his troops, before they could rally themſelves, and, in ſpite of *Herod*'s ſpeedy aſſiſtance and bravery, cut the greateſt part of the *Jews* in pieces, and plundered their camp, *Herod* himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty, with a ſmall number of his men [f]. The *Maccabitiſh* book adds, that *Athenion* was ordered to ſurround that monarch with his troops, as ſoon as he had engaged thoſe of the *Arabians* [g]. However that be, *Herod* from that time forbore coming to an engagement with them, and contented himſelf with making frequent incurſions againſt them, incamping always on the mountains; by which he got this double advantage, that he haraſſed the enemy, and inured his own troops to the trade of war.

Cleopatra's plot againſt Herod.

He is betray'd by Athenion.

Herod was by this time got into the ſeventh year of his reign [h], when *Judæa* was ſhaken with ſuch an earthquake,

Judæa greatly damaged by an earthquake. Year of the Flood, 2963. Before Chriſt, 31

[f] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 6. [g] Cap. lvi. [h] Vid Usserii Annal. ſub. A. M. 3973.

(G) Probably *Canna* in *Syria*, on the other ſide of the *Libanus*, or *Cannath* on the other ſide *Jordan*, in the neighbourhood of *Bothra* in *Arabia* (49).

(49) *Euſeb. Ir. Hebr. Vid. & Steph. Byz. ſub. voc. Cannath*

as had never been felt before, and which deſtroyed great numbers of cattle and many thouſand perſons, who periſhed under the ruins of their houſes (H). His troops indeed eſcaped the common ruin, becauſe he kept them incamped in the open field; nevertheleſs, the great loſs, which the kingdom ſuſtained by this calamity, obliged him to ſend an embaſſy to ſue to the *Arabians* for peace. But by this time the account of his loſs having been greatly magnified to them, they not only rejected his offers, but ſlew the embaſſadors that brought them, and invaded *Judæa* with utmoſt ſpeed, expecting to have found it deſtitute of defence. It was with the greateſt difficulty that *Herod* kept his men from abandoning him; but having at length diſpelled their fears, and offered the uſual ſacrifices, he went to meet the enemy on the other ſide of the *Jordan*, and there gave them two ſuch ſignal defeats, that he forced them in their turn to ſue for peace, and to accept it on his own conditions; after which he returned in triumph to *Jeruſalem*[1] (I).

Antony's *defeat at* Actium. Year of the Flood, 2969. Before Chriſt, 30.

But his happineſs was ſoon after troubled by the defeat of *Antony* by *Auguſtus* at the battle of *Actium*, by which he ſaw himſelf deprived of a moſt powerful, as well as ſteady, friend, and on the brink of falling a ſacrifice to the conqueror's reſentment. The beſt expedient he could think on, under this conſternation, was to ſend advice to *Antony* to put *Cleopatra* to death, and to ſeize on her kingdom and treaſures; by

[1] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 8, & 9. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 14.

(H) Our hiſtorian in one place mentions but ten thouſand ſlain (50), but in another he makes them to amount to three myriads, or thirty thouſand men (1); which laſt is the more likely of the two, and agrees much better with the deſcription he gives of that calamity.

(I) The firſt of theſe battles was fought near *Philadelphia*, in which five thouſand *Arabians* were either killed on the ſpot, or trod to death in their flight. *Herod* having afterwards cloſely beſieged them in their camp, where they were ready to periſh for want of water, they offered him at firſt fifty talents for their freedom, which being rejected, they in great numbers came to ſurrender themſelves till the fifth day, on which the reſt in deſpair, and without hopes or proſpect of ſucceſs, attacked him, and had ſeven thouſand killed. Upon which they ſubmitted to his conditions, one of which was, that he was declared by them governor or protector of their nation (2).

(50) *Antiq. ubi ſupra, c.* 7. (1) *Bell. Judaic. l. i. c.* 14. (2) *Ibid. ad fin. Antiq. ubi ſupra.*

which

which he might be enabled to raiſe new forces, and either make a freſh puſh for the empire, or, at the worſt, obtain eaſier conditions of peace. He promiſed him on thoſe terms to ſtick faſt to his intereſt, and to furniſh him with money, troops, and ſtrong-holds, and all other aſſiſtance to carry on the war againſt his rival [k]. But *Antony* was ſtill too great a ſlave to that princeſs, to conſent to ſuch an expedient; which when *Herod* perceived, he thought no more but how to make his peace with the conqueror, on the beſt terms he could. He had ſtill another dread upon him, as great as the diſpleaſure of *Cæſar*. *Hyrcan*, the only ſurviving male of the *Aſmonean* race, had been formerly acknowledged king of *Judæa*, and, as ſuch had entered into alliances with the *Roman* ſenate. *Herod*, on the other hand, had been chiefly upheld in his throne by the intereſt of *Antony*; and *Alexandra*, ever watchful for all opportunities of being revenged on the uſurper, had begun to try to gain ſome advantage from the late change of affairs againſt him. *Herod* therefore, who had his ſpies about him, thought it unſafe to go to *Auguſtus*, till he had drawn the father and the daughter into a ſnare, which might afford him a pretence for putting the former to death, which he did, by cauſing him to be beheaded in the eightieth year of his age (K).

[k] See his ſpeech to *Auguſtus*, Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 15.

(K) So ſays the fourth book of the *Maccabees* (3). The trap into which he was drawn was a maſter-piece of his politic rival, who corrupted ſome of his and his daughter's confidents, to ſet on foot a kind of treaſonable correſpondence, whether real or counterfeited, with *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, wherein *Hyrcan* deſired to put himſelf again under his protection, and begged of him to ſend him ſome horſemen to conduct him from a private place near *Jeruſalem*, to the lake *Aſphaltites*, which was about ninety miles diſtant from that metropolis.

Doſitheus, the agent of this correſpondence, betrayed to *Herod* both this letter and the anſwer, in which the *Arabian* king promiſed him a ſafe eſcort to convey him away; *Herod* ſummoned the pontiff before his council, and having taxed him with it, and, upon his denial, ſhewed him the very letter, cauſed him to be condemned to die.

This laſt article *Joſephus* tells us (4), he took as he found it in the commentary which *Herod* left behind him; but at the ſame time he relates the matter ſomewhat differently from other hands. We refer the reader for it to the place laſt quoted.

(3) *Cap.* 54. (4) *Antiq. ubi ſupra, cap.* 9.

THE

This was the dismal end of that unfortunate prince, after a long series of unhappy vicissitudes. He was at first raised to the pontifical dignity by his mother *Alexandra*, and succeeded her soon after in the kingdom also; three months after which, he was deprived of both by his brother *Aristobulus*. He was restored to both by *Pompey*, and enjoyed them near forty years, till deposed again and disqualified by *Antigonus*, who cut off his ears, and sent him prisoner into *Parthia*, from whence he unfortunately returned at the pressing invitation of *Herod*, who owed his life, crown, and all his greatness to him, and who repaid all his kindnesses with a violent death [1].

Herod goes to Augustus.

Herod's next care, before he departed, was, to secure his family the best he could, in case he should miscarry in his address to *Augustus*. To that end he committed his mother *Cypros* and his sister *Salome* to the care of his brother *Pheroras*, whom he sent unto the castle of *Alexandrion*, with orders to this last to seize on the *Jewish* crown, and defend it to the last, in case he heard that it went ill with him. As for his wife *Mariamne* and her mother *Alexandra*, he sent them into the strong fortress of *Massada*, and put them under the care of his treasurer, named *Joseph*, and of *Soheinus*, one of his chief confidents, with express orders to put those two princesses to death, as soon as he received the news of his ill success at the emperor's court; and then to go and assist his brother with all his power. He imbarqued soon after for *Rhodes*, where *Augustus* then was; and having obtained an audience from him, appeared before that prince in all his royal ornaments, except his diadem, and spoke to him with such a seeming confidence, as if he was sure before-hand to obtain what he came for. He made no difficulty to own his former attachment to *Antony*'s interest, his assisting him with men, arms, money, and other necessaries for the war; and even the counsel he had given him, after his defeat, of killing *Cleopatra* and seizing on her kingdom and immense treasure, in order to obtain a more advantageous peace. All this, said he, concluding his speech, I thought myself bound in honour, gratitude and friendship, to do for *Antony*; but since he has rejected my last advice, and left me at liberty to make you a tender of my future services, if you think them worth your acceptance, and can but forget what is past, you shall find me henceforth as sincere and stedfast a friend to you, as I have been hitherto to your rival. An earnest of which he had already given to the emperor in the timely succour he had sent

His speech to him.

[1] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 9.

to

to *Q. Didius*, his governor in *Syria*, againſt *Antony's* gladiators (L). *Auguſtus* was very much taken both with his ſpeech and gallant behaviour: he had likewiſe been acquainted with the ſuccour he had ſent to *Didius*, and thanked him for it, aſſuring him, that he readily accepted of his friendſhip, and confirmed the kingdom to him; in token of which, he ordered him to take up his diadem, and wear it before him. *Herod*, pleaſed with his good ſucceſs, made ſome preſents to *Auguſtus* and his favourites, according to his uſual profuſeneſs, and was from that time in greater eſteem with him than any other tributary prince; ſo that he returned to *Jeruſalem* highly ſatisfied with theſe additions of honour and power; but all this was ſoon ſoured by the ill reception he met with from his favourite *Mariamne* and her exaſperated mother [m].

Is well received by him.

FOR theſe two princeſſes, looking upon their confinement at *Maſſada* only as a more honourable impriſonment, and remembering with horror the bloody orders he had formerly left with his uncle *Joſeph* concerning them, did not doubt, but he had given the ſame to their two new guardians. To be ſatisfied of it, they ſpared neither preſents nor careſſes, till they got the fatal ſecret from *Sohemus*, ſo that when *Herod* came to *Maſſada*, and was going to embrace the queen with his uſual tenderneſs, and to acquaint her with his ſucceſs, he was ſurprized to find all his careſſes anſwered with ſighs, and tears, and all other marks of grief and diſdain. His reſentment roſe to ſuch a height, that it extorted from him the bittereſt reproaches, accompanied with ſuch threatenings, as would have alarmed any woman but her. But his love, which was no leſs violent, ſeldom ſuffered thoſe ſallies of anger to be long-lived; till his mother and ſiſter, tired and affrighted to ſee him ſtill floating between thoſe oppoſite paſſions, found out a way to work her effectual ruin, by raiſing the vileſt ſurmiſes and calumnies againſt her unſpotted character.

Troubles with domeſtic jars.

[m] Ibid c. 10.

(L) Theſe were an abject race, whom *Antony* had brought up at *Cyzicum* to exhibit triumphant ſports; and theſe, when they heard of his defeat, determined to go into *Egypt* to his aſſiſtance. They had fought their way through ſeveral provinces in their march thither, *Didius* was the firſt who put a ſtop to their progreſs, being privately aſſiſted by *Herod* with ſome troops; and at length prevailed upon them to quit their gladiatorical employment, after they had waited a long time in vain for *Antony*'s joining them (5).

(5) *Antiq. ubi ſupra*, c. 10

His magnificent reception of Augustus.

In the mean time, *Augustus* passing through *Syria* in his way to *Egypt*, *Herod*, who went to meet him as far as *Ptolemais*, entertained him and his army with incredible magnificence, and, besides a present that he made to him of eight hundred talents, took care to furnish his army with bread, wine, and other provisions, as they marched through some barren deserts, where they might have been otherwise in danger of wanting even bread and water. He accompanied him as far as *Pelusium*, and that emperor was so charmed with his politeness and generosity, that he made him ride by his side, whenever he went to review his troops, or upon any diversion. He gave him the same magnificent reception upon his return from *Egypt*, as he passed through *Syria*; in return of which, *Augustus* made him a present of the four thousand *Gauls* which had served as life-guards to *Cleopatra*, and restored to him the territories and revenues of *Jericho*, *Gadara*, *Hippon*, and *Samaria*, in the inlands, and those of *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Joppa*, and the tower of *Straton* on the seaside, which made a considerable inlargement both to his kingdom and revenues. But, upon his return to *Jerusalem*, he relapsed into his former discontent and jealousies, on account of his beloved queen, whose aversion to him did daily increase, insomuch, that she came at last to treat him with such contempt, and accompanied it with such bitter reflections, as easily convinced him, that she had conceived an irreconcilable hatred against him. She gave him a mortifying instance of it soon after, and such a one as hastened her death, by giving her enemies an opportunity of taking the blackest means for pushing his fury against her to the highest pitch.

Mariamne's *aversion to him*

Herod, who had by this time floated near a year between the most violent affection and resentment, had withdrawn himself into his chamber to rest himself during the heat of the day; he sent for her, and in the kindest manner invited her to lie down by him; but she, instead of complying with this last request, returned his caresses with invincible scorn, upbraided him with all the other wrongs he had done to her and her family, and particularly the death of her father and brother, which so exasperated that fierce monarch, that he was on the point of killing her with his own hands. *Salome* did not let this opportunity slip of putting her hellish engines at work against that unfortunate princess: she had corrupted the king's cup-bearer before-hand to be ready on the first call with one of the blackest accusations against her; and now she sent him to *Herod*, with a poisoned cup in one hand, and a sum of money in the other, to acquaint him, that *Mariamne* had bribed him with the one to administer the other to him.

She is falsly accused.

The

The rage this new accuſation threw him in, made him order one of her favourite eunuchs and confidents to be put to the rack; but all the confeſſion he could extort from him was, that he believed the cruel orders, he had lately left with *Sohemus*, had exaſperated that princeſs againſt him (M). *Herod*, inraged that a perſon, in whom he repoſed ſo great confidence, ſhould dare, in ſpite of his expreſs commands to the contrary, to diſcloſe ſo important a ſecret, was eaſily perſuaded that there muſt have been ſome criminal converſation between them, and therefore ordered that favourite to be put to immediate death. As for *Mariamne*, he reſolved to have her publicly tried, and having packed up a ſet of judges of his own creatures, he himſelf carried on the proſecution with ſuch violence, that they eaſily underſtood they muſt condemn her to death, though they all hoped and begged that he would not precipitate their ſentence, but confine her to ſome caſtle, till he had more maturely conſulted with his own heart. But *Salome*, who knew how apt her brother was to relapſe, and fearing ſome diſcovery might come out of her treachery to her, if her death ſhould be delayed, did at length obtain an order from him for her execution, under pretence, that the nation would riſe up in arms for her, if he ſuffered her to live any longer. *Tried and condemned to die.*

Mariamne received the fatal ſummons with an heroic courage, becoming her exalted virtue and quality, and marched to the place of execution with incredible ſerenity, till an accident befel her, which put her conſtancy to the ſevereſt tryal. Her mother, the turbulent and intriguing *Alexandra*, who expected nothing but to follow her in a ſhort time, could think on no better expedient to avert the impending ſtorm, than by trying to ingratiate herſelf to *Herod*, by inſulting her unfortunate daughter all the way ſhe was led to

(M) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (6) ſays, it was *Joſeph*, and not *Sohemus* that betrayed the ſecret, and that it was not the eunuch, but *Mariamne* herſelf, who in a fit of reſentment upbraided the brutal king with it. But it is hardly probable, conſidering the puniſhment that ſhe had ſeen inflicted on *Herod*'s uncle for the like diſcovery, that *Mariamne* would have expoſed either of theſe to the effects of his fury.

Beſides, we cannot ſuppoſe, that either *Joſeph* or *Sohemus* would have ventured to diſcloſe the matter to her without ſome previous promiſe of ſecrecy, and *Mariamne* was a princeſs of too ſtrict virtue and honour to have broke it upon any account.

(6) *Ubi ſupra.*

the fatal place; and not contented to load her with the bittereſt of reproaches, for her ingratitude and faithleſsneſs to the beſt of husbands, ſhe made ſeveral offers to ſtrike her and pull her by her hair. *Mariamne* bore all her pretended reſentment without betraying any other change in her countenance, than an inward ſhame at ſo baſe an artifice, which proved, however, far enough from ſucceeding, as the ſequel will preſently ſhew. *Mariamne* ſubmitted to her death with the ſame conſtancy and intrepidity as ſhe had lived [n], and with her ended all the happineſs of her tyrannic husband.

Her death.

Herod's rage being ſoon quenched with the blood of that amiable princeſs, his love broke out the more fiercely, and filled him with ſuch pungent remorſe, that his life became a burthen to him. He tried in vain to divert his grief with feaſtings and other diverſions; *Mariamne* was ſtill uppermoſt in his thoughts, he called aloud after her, and ſometimes would order thoſe of his attendance to fetch her to him. A grievous peſtilence, which happened ſoon after and ſwept away multitudes of people of all ranks, added a freſh load to his miſery, becauſe it was univerſally looked upon as a juſt judgment on him for all the blood he had ſhed, and eſpecially that of his injured queen. At firſt he withdrew himſelf into ſome of the neighbouring deſerts, under pretence of hunting, but really to avoid the ſight of men. At length being ſeized with a violent diſtemper in his bowels, he returned to *Samaria*, where his phyſicians tried in vain to give him ſome eaſe; their medicines did but increaſe his pain, through his wilfulneſs and irregular living. His conſtitution did, however, get the better of his diſeaſe, but never could of his ſour and brutiſh humour, to which he abandoned himſelf more and more, as he recovered his health and ſtrength. He grew up at length to ſuch a height of cruelty, that he ſpared neither friend nor foe in his fits of rage, and went on ſacrificing numbers of his relations and beſt friends to his paſſion, even to the day of his death.

Herod's *remorſe.*

A grievous plague. Year of the Flood, 2971. Before Chriſt, 28.

Alexandra, the baſe and unnatural mother of the late virtuous *Mariamne*, was one of the very firſt that fell a victim to his rage after her injured daughter. The hopes of *Herod*'s death, while he lay ſick at *Samaria*, had made her ſet her wits to work to corrupt the governors of the two principal fortreſſes of *Judæa*, the one called *Antonia* near the temple, and the other in the city of *Jeruſalem*, to deliver them up in-

[n] Ibid. c. 11.

to

to her hands (N), together with *Herod*'s children, pretending thereby to ſecure the kingdom for his ſons by *Mariamne* in caſe of their father's death. But her reſtleſs and intriguing genius was ſo well known to thoſe governors, that inſtead of complying with her requeſt, they informed the king of it, who ſent orders back to have her immediately put to death, which was accordingly done without further trial. The next was his brother-in-law *Coſtobares*, who was an *Idumæan* and had married *Salome*, after *Herod* had put her firſt husband to death, as we have related above. This man, whom *Herod* had raiſed from an inferior rank (O) to the government of *Idumæa*, had juſtly incurred his diſpleaſure, by endeavouring to make himſelf and that province independent from him, and applying to *Cleopatra* for aſſiſtance. *Herod* would have put him to immediate death, had not *Salome* interpoſed; but ſhe, being ſince fallen out with, and willing to get rid of him, firſt ſent him a bill of divorce; and to juſtify that unlawful action to her brother (P), told him, that ſhe had diſcovered a treaſonable deſign, which was carried on by her husband in conjunction with *Lyſimachus*, *Doſitheus*, and *Antipater*; and, as a proof of it, told him, that he privately kept the ſons of

Alexandra *put to death.*

Salome *divorces her huſband.*

Year of the Flood 2973. Before Chriſt, 26.

(N) Theſe two fortreſſes were juſtly looked upon as the two main keys of the kingdom, the one commanding the temple, and the other the city; ſo that it was of utmoſt conſequence to the candidates for the crown to be maſters of them, or at leaſt of the firſt of them; for the *Jews* had ſuch an invincible attachment to the worſhip of the temple, that there was ſcarce any thing, even life itſelf, which they would not ſacrifice to the liberty of coming to that ſacred place, at all proper times and ſolemnities.

(O) He was deſcended from the antient prieſts of *Choſe* a deity of the *Idumeans*, before they were forced by *Hyrcan* I. to embrace the *Jewiſh* religion.

This deity is not unrightly ſuppoſed to be the חוזה or *ſeer*, prophet or law-giver of the *Hebrews* (7); for if we may believe *Epiphanius* (8), both the *Idumeans* and *Arabs* of *Arabia Petrea* did worſhip *Moſes*, and paid divine honours to his ſtatue.

(P) According to the *Moſaic* law the huſbands alone were permitted to divorce their wives, but not the wife the huſband (9). However, *Salome*, relying on her brother's friendſhip and her own politic head, aſſumed that prerogative, which no *Jewiſh* woman, that we know of, had ever done before.

(7) *Calmet. Hiſt. vet teſt. ſub A M* 3976. (8) *Hæreſ.* 53. (9) *Vid Deuter.* xxiv. 1, & *ſeq. Matt.* xix. 3, & *ſeq. Mark* x. 2, & *ſeq. Maimon de rejud.*

Baba-

Eubas (Q) under his protection, contrary to his expreſs commands; all which *Herod* having found true, he ordered them all to be put to death.

Herod, having by this time rid himſelf of the *Aſmonean* race, and of their moſt conſiderable partiſans, began now to ſhew a greater diſregard to the *Jewiſh* religion than he had hitherto ventured to do, by aboliſhing ſeveral of its ceremonies, and introducing ſome foreign cuſtoms, which were forbidden by it. He began with building a ſtately theatre in the city, and a ſpacious amphitheatre in its ſuburbs, and ordered public games to be celebrated in them every fifth year, in honour of *Auguſtus*; and, to draw the greater concourſe to them, he cauſed them to be proclaimed, not only in the neighbouring provinces, but in the moſt diſtant kingdoms, and promiſed magnificent prizes to thoſe that ſhould gain the victory. Beſides great numbers of the moſt expert muſicians, players, courſers, gladiators, *&c.* which he had ſent for thither, he cauſed alſo ſome of the fierceſt wild beaſts to be brought, and fought upon the ſtage; all which did not a little diſpleaſe the zealous *Jews*, who thought it unlawful and inhuman to expoſe men to the fury of wild beaſts. But what exaſperated them moſt were, the trophies with which he had cauſed thoſe ſumptuous places to be adorned, and which they, miſtaking for ſtatues, thought contrary to their law, which forbids all kinds of imagery, whether carved or even painted. They therefore cried out againſt him, that he had profaned their city, and that they would never tamely bear ſuch idolatrous monuments to be ſet up in it. *Herod* tried in vain to undeceive them by fair ſpeeches; he was forced at length to lead ſome of the principal of them to the place, and to order the armour of the trophies to be taken down, and thereby to convince them, that there was nothing under them but bare poſts. This demonſtration did indeed ſatisfy them as to this one point, and turned their outcries into laughter; but the generality of the nation retained ſuch an averſion againſt him, upon the account of his other heatheniſh

(Q) Theſe had been great ſticklers for the *Aſmonean* race, and, at the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the opening of the gates to *Herod* for which that prince, upon his taking of the city, had given charge to *Ceſtobarre* to ſecure them; but he had let them eſcape and had excuſed the matter to him; but *Herod* finding now that he had ſent them into an aſylum and maintained them there, he put their protector, and as many of them as he could find, to death.

novelties,

novelties, that they looked no longer upon him as a *Jewish* king, but as a heathen and a tyrant.

TEN of the boldeſt of them took it at laſt into their heads to enter the theatre with daggers hid under their cloaths, and either to ſtab the king or ſome of his retinue, not doubting but even their periſhing in the attempt would render the tyrant ſtill more odious. They were not miſtaken; for *Herod* being informed of their deſign by one of his ſpies, and cauſing the aſſaſſins to be put to a moſt excruciating death, the people were ſo exaſperated againſt the informer, that they cut and tore him to pieces, and caſt his fleſh to the dogs. *Herod* tried in vain to diſcover the authors of this affront; he was at laſt forced to order ſome women to be put to the rack; and to extort from them the names of the principal of them, whom he cauſed likewiſe to be hurried to death, together with their innocent families. This laſt act of cruelty drove the *Jews* into ſuch deſperate hatred againſt him, that he expected nothing leſs than a general revolt; to prevent which he ſet about fortifying *Jeruſalem*, rebuilding *Samaria* (R), and gariſoning ſeveral other fortreſſes in *Judæa*, whoſe ſituation

Samaria *rebuilt.* Year of the flood, 2976. Before Chriſt, 23.

(R) We took notice in a former ſection, that this city, which had been deſtroyed by *Hyrcan*, had been in part rebuilt by *Gabinius* governor of *Syria*, and called from him *Gabiniana*; but, he being ſoon after turned out, it advanced no higher than a good large village. *Herod* therefore choſe to finiſh that work, and to reſtore that place to its pritiine ſplendor; becauſe, being but one day's journey, or thirty five miles diſtant from *Jeruſalem*, he could eaſily make it a place of retreat in caſe of neceſſity.

He adorned it with magnificent buildings, fortified it with walls and towers, and invited ſix thouſand foreigners to come and ſettle there, who, finding the ſoil very fertile, became very rich in a ſhort time. He gave it the name of *Sebaſte*, which ſignifies the ſame in *Greek* as doth *Auguſtus* in *Latin*

The other places which he fortified and gariſoned were, the tower of *Straton*, which he called *Cæſarea*, in honour of the emperor, and made it ſo ſtrong, that it ſeemed to command the whole country. He built likewiſe another ſtrong fortreſs in the midſt of a plain, and put in it a gariſon of horſe. A third he built in *Galilee*, named *Gabala*; and a fourth in *Eſthmonitis* in *Perea*; all which, being alſo well ſtored with arms and proviſions, were a great check to the whole kingdom (11).

But he beſtowed the moſt coſt on his new *Sebaſte*, to which he allowed a circuit of twenty ſtades, or two miles and a half. In the centre of it was a ſpacious ſquare of about a ſtade and a half,

(11) *Ibid.*

and

situation was most likely to keep the country in awe [n], and whose names the reader may find at the end of the last note.

Judæa visited with famine and pestilence.

About the same time, which was the thirteenth year of his reign, *Judæa* was visited with a grievous drought, which brought on a famine, and ended in a raging pestilence, of which great multitudes died daily for want of proper help and sustenance. *Herod*, whose treasury was exhausted, by building so many cities and fortresses, and whose finances were reduced to the lowest ebb, through the famine and death of his subjects, was forced to melt down all his plate, and to send it down into *Egypt*, to procure a fresh supply of provisions, in order to stop the mouths of the people, who, as is usual in such calamities, threw all the odium of them upon him. The drought having likewise killed such numbers of their cattle, that they had not wool sufficient left to cloath themselves against the approaching winter, he took care also to procure a sufficient supply of it betimes; and *Petronius*, the *Roman* prefect then in *Egypt*, notwithstanding the multitudes of people who applied to him from other provinces for the same things, did so far befriend him, as to send him a sufficient quantity of them; which *Herod* caused to be immediately distributed among his subjects, but to the *Jews* preferably to any of the rest. This generosity did, for the present, change their hatred into admiration, and his praises were for a while the main subject of their discourse; but as he soon relapsed into his cruel and savage humour, so their love was soon turned into hatred again, which continued to his death. However, his prudent liberality having stored the country with plenty of corn, and the long drought being succeeded by more refreshing seasons, they began to cultivate their lands again, and found them, to their great comfort, restored to their former fecundity [o].

Relieved by Herod's generosity.

As soon as the land had recovered itself from the late calamity, *Herod* went on with his building (S), particularly his stately

[n] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 11. [o] Ibid. c. 12.

and in the middle a stately temple. In a word, he spared no cost to render it one of the richest and most beautiful cities of his realm, and looked upon it as his favourite master piece (12).

(S) Amongst them, that of *Cæsarea* mentioned in the last note, was the most magnificent next to *Sebaste*. He bestowed twelve years in the finishing and adorning of it. It stood on the coast of

(12) Antiq. l. xv. c. 13.

Phœnice,

ſtately palace near the temple of *Jeruſalem*, in which the gold, marble, cedar, and other precious materials, ſeemed to outvie one another. There were in it, among other apartments, two magnificent ones, to the one of which he gave the name of *Auguſtus*, and to the other that of *Agrippa*. At the ſame time he was not unmindful to ingratiate himſelf to the emperor, by more ſubſtantial ſervices than building of places to his honour; for *Gellius* having been ſent with an army to attempt the conqueſt of *Arabia*, *Herod* failed not to ſend him very conſiderable ſuccours, and, among the reſt, five hundred of the ſtouteſt of his guards; and though that enterprize proved unſucceſsful to the *Romans*, in a country where the air, water, and aliments were as contrary to them as the temper of the people *, yet *Herod*'s aſſiſtance proved ſo uſeful and ſeaſonable to them, that *Cæſar* could not chuſe being highly pleaſed with it [P].

THIS very year alſo he married another *Mariamne*, who was the daughter of a *Jewiſh* prieſt of *Alexandria*, named *Simon*, the ſon of *Boethus*, and a woman of extraordinary beauty. To raiſe her father up to a condition fit for ſuch an alliance, he placed him upon the pontifical chair, after having diſpoſſeſſed *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Phabæus*, of that dignity. Soon after theſe nuptials he went and built the magnificent palace of *Herodion*, on the place where he had formerly defeated the *Antigonians*. The ſituation of it was ſo inviting (T), that the *Jews* and other people gladly came and built round it; ſo that from a palace it ſoon became a conſiderable

* De hoc bell. vide STRABO, l. xvi.

[P] Ant. ubi ſupra, & bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16.

Phœnice, and was very convenient for trade, but had till then a very dangerous harbour, ſo that no ſhips could be ſafe in it when the wind was at ſouth-weſt. *Herod* remedied this inconvenience at an immenſe labour and charge, and made it one of the moſt convenient havens on that coaſt. He beautified alſo the place with ſtately buildings. The reader may ſee in *Joſephus* (13) a full account of this immenſe work, and of many others, in other places, erected by that prince; which, joined to his profuſe munificence, juſtly gained him the ſurname of *Great*.

(T) This ſtately building ſtood on a pleaſant hill, about ſeven miles from *Jeruſalem*, and had the proſpect as well as command of all the country round about. The gradual declivity of it was no leſs beautiful. The reader may ſee it deſcribed, as well as the city, by the authors quoted above.

(13) *Idem, ibid*

city [q]. In a word, he spared no cost to leave every-where some monuments of his unmeasured magnificence, as well in *Judæa* as out of it; but with this difference, that those in *Judæa* were not adorned, as the rest were, with temples and other buildings, with statues and other carvings, which he knew the *Jews* would never have borne with any patience; but as for those which he built out of it, he gave himself all the scope which either his pride, or desire of pleasing the *Romans*, could inspire him with; for all which he had a salvo ready, namely, that he did in all this only obey, and even much against his will, the orders of the emperor, who had a right to command him.

Herod *sends his two sons to* Rome.

BY this time *Herod* seemed to be at the height of all his wishes; his being in such high esteem with *Augustus* made him either loved or feared by his subjects and neighbours; and therefore, that he might cultivate that prince's favour still more, he sent his two favourite sons, whom he had by *Mariamne*, and who were grown up by this time, to be educated under his eye. *Pollio*, his intimate friend, was ordered to provide a stately house at *Rome*; but the emperor took that care off his hands, and assigned them apartments in his own palace; and so well pleased was he with the confidence which their father put in him, that he gave him full power to name which of them he pleased to be his successor. He likewise added several provinces to his kingdom, whose names, as well as the occasion of the gift, the reader will find in the margin (V). *Zenodorus*, from whom they had been taken, having

Accused by Zenodorus.

[q] Antiq ubi supra, & l. xviii. c. 7. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11, & 16. Vide & PLIN. hist. l. v. c. 14.

(V) These were the three districts of *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis*, or *Iturea*, and *Batanea*, which were situate between *Libanus* and *Perea*, on the other side *Jordan* (14).

They were given to him on this occasion; *Zenodorus*, tetrarch of a small toparchy, had farmed these from *Varro* the then president of *Syria*, and suffered the inhabitants of it, who lived chiefly in rocks and caves, to make excursions into all the neighbouring countries impunely. A complaint of this had been sent by *Varro* to *Augustus*; upon which orders were brought back to him at any rate to extirpate those robbers; and for the more effectual doing of it, the emperor commanded him to take those three toparchies from *Zenodorus*, and to put them under *Herod*, who with his usual

(14) *De his conf Luc.* iii. 1. *Joseph. Antiq. l.* xvii. *c.* 7. *St. Jerom. & Euseb. loc. Hebr. & al.*

success,

having tried in vain ſeveral ways to regain them from him, took the opportunity of the emperor's coming into *Syria*, to bring a deputation from the *Gadarenes* with him to *Antioch*, there to renew their complaints againſt *Herod*, and to accuſe him of oppreſſion, tyranny, and other ſuch crimes; and *Auguſtus* did ſeem to comply ſo far with their requeſt, that he ſet a day for *Herod*, who was there alſo, to make his defence before them; but, when he came to do it, the emperor betrayed ſuch viſible favour and partiality towards him, that his accuſers, fearing to be delivered up to his reſentment, choſe to diſpatch themſelves out of the world that very night; which they did, ſome by drowning, ſome by hanging themſelves, and other ſuch deſperate ways. *Zenodorus* in particular was ſo terrified by it, that he took a ſtrong doſe of poiſon, which quite corroded his bowels, and ended his life by the next morning [r].

And acquitted. Year of the Flood, 2978. Before Chriſt, 21.

Auguſtus, however, ſtopped not his kindneſs here, but, looking upon the deſperate exit of *Herod*'s accuſers, as a proof of his innocence and merit, appointed him his procurator in *Syria*, and forbid his governor there to undertake any thing without his knowledge and advice. At the ſame time

[r] Antiq. l. xv. c. 13.

ſucceſs, ſoon ferretted them out, and cleared the country of them.

Zenodorus, however, went to *Rome* to complain of the injuſtice done him in taking thoſe diſtricts from him; but the emperor, who had reaſon to ſuſpect that he had made a gain by protecting a vermin which he ought to have ſuppreſſed, would not ſo much as hear him.

Agrippa being ſoon after ſent into *Syria*, *Herod* went to meet him at *Mitylene*; and, ſoon after his return, *Zenodorus*, in hopes of meeting with better ſucceſs with him, ſtirred up the *Gadarenes* to come and proffer ſundry grievous complaints againſt him. But he found the new governor too well rooted in *Herod*'s intereſt to hear any accuſation againſt him; on the contrary, he ſent them bound to *Jeruſalem*, where *Herod*, hoping to gain them by fair uſage, ordered them to be ſet at liberty.

Zenodorus, thus diſappointed again, went and ſold the territories of *Auranitis* to the *Arabs* for fifty talents; ſo that a war was like to have enſued between *Herod* and them, they being deaf to all his offers for ending the diſpute in an amicable way (15), when *Auguſtus*'s coming in a lucky time decided the controverſy in his favour as has been ſeen above.

(15) *Vide Antiq. ubi ſupra*, c. 13.

Herod took this favourable opportunity to obtain a tetrachy for his brother *Pheroras*, that he might live according to his birth, and without depending on his ſucceſſor's favour after his death (W). In acknowledgment for all theſe gifts, *Herod*, having accompanied the emperor to the ſea-port, built a ſumptuous temple in honour of him, all of fine white marble, near the *Panium*, or place whence the *Jordan* has its origin †. The vaſt number of edifices he built, and adorned with carvings and other imagery, which the *Jews* looked upon as deſtructive of religion and good manners, did ſo exaſperate them againſt him, that he was forced to remit them a third part of their yearly tribute. His pretence indeed was, that the laſt grievous dearth, which had greatly impoveriſhed the land, required this largeſs from him; but, at the bottom, it was the murmurs and private meetings of the people, which were now more frequent than ever, that extorted it from him, in hopes that it would in ſome meaſure allay the ſourneſs of their ſpirits. However, to let them ſee, that he was neither inſenſible of their mutinous cabals, nor afraid to put a ſtop to them, he iſſued out an edict, expreſly forbidding all public and private aſſemblies, whether on account of feaſts, or any other pretence, under the ſevereſt penalties. But as he not only had his ſpies every-where, but did ſometimes mix himſelf among them in diſguiſe, he quickly found all theſe precautions were like to prove to little purpoſe to keep the people in obedience. This made him bethink himſelf of exacting an oath of fidelity from them; but this new impoſition was ſo ſtrenuouſly refuſed by *Pollio*, or *Hillel*, and *Shamai*, at the head of the whole ſect of *Eſſenians*, and by all the chiefs of the *Phariſees*, that he was forced to ſet it aſide, without venturing to ſhew any reſentment againſt thoſe that had oppoſed him in it, for fear of exaſperating the whole nation againſt him [r].

Propoſes the rebuilding of the

He fell ſoon after upon a much better expedient to quiet them, and at the ſame time to ſatisfy his invincible itch of eterniſing his memory, by the number and magnificence of his buildings. The great attachment which they had for their

† De hoc vide ſupra, Vol. III. p. 115, (S), & 116. [r] Antiq ubi ſupra.

(W) *Joſephus* does not tell us where this tetrarchy was ſituate; but, by what we find in another place (16), it ſeems to have been beyond *Jordan*, and at ſome diſtance from *Jeruſalem*.

(16) *Ibid. l.* xvii. *c.* 5.

temple

temple made him conceive the hopes, that his rebuilding of it, in a more ſtately manner, would not fail to recommend him, not only to the preſent *Jews*, but alſo to poſterity. The difficulty was, to convince them of his being both willing and able to rear ſuch a coſtly edifice, after he had pulled down the old one; and this he did in a ſet ſpeech, which he made to their aſſembly, wherein, with his uſual eloquence, he failed not to diſplay his zeal for the glory of God and for the promoting of his religion. Among other things he reminded them how vaſtly inferior that ſacred place now was to that which had been formerly built by *Solomon* (X); but this, he told them, was rather to be imputed to the want of ability in thoſe that returned from *Babylon*, than to their want of zeal: but now that God was pleaſed not only to raiſe him to the *Jewiſh* throne, but to bleſs him with peace, plenty, and affluence, and with the friendſhip of the *Romans*, he thought himſelf bound to make ſome ſignal acknowledgment to him for all theſe bleſſings, and hoped, that the rebuilding of his temple in the manner he propoſed, could not but be acceptable both to him and them; but as he found them very much heſitating at the difficulty, length, and expenſiveneſs of ſuch a work, he was forced to engage not to move a ſtone from the old edifice, till he had prepared all the materials for the new. As ſoon as he had gained their conſent (Y), he ſet immediately ten thouſand workmen to work, under

(X) *Joſephus* makes him ſay here (17), that the preſent temple was lower by ſixty cubits than that of *Solomon*; which cannot be underſtood of the holy place, which we are told (18), was but thirty cubits high; whereas that built after the captivity, was by *Cyrus*'s own grant, ſixty cubits high (19). If therefore there be no miſtake crept into the text both *Herod* and the *Jewiſh* hiſtorians muſt probably ſpeak of ſome of the galleries which might be ſo much higher in the firſt than in the ſecond temple. The reader may recur to what we have ſaid on the ſubject at the cloſe of the laſt †, and in the appendix to the third volume.

(Y) This aſſembly ſeems to have been held about the time of the *Eaſter* ſolemnity, when there was the greateſt concourſe of *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*; for *Joſephus* ſays it was in the eighteenth year of *Herod*'s reign; that is, as the learned *Uſher* obſerves, reckoning from the death of *Antigonus* (20), which happened not till about the *Midſummer* after his impriſonment; according to which, reckon-

(17) *Antiq. ubi ſupra*, c. 14. (18) 1 *Kings* vi. 2 (19) *Ezra* vi. 3. † p. 506. (K). (20) *Annal. ſub. A. M.* 3987

ing

under the direction of a thouſand prieſts, the beſt ſkilled in carving, maſonry, &c. all whom he kept under his pay. One thouſand carts were likewiſe employed in fetching all the materials; and, in a word, ſuch a number of hands was employed and ſuch expedition uſed, that he got every thing ready within the ſpace of two years, after which they ſet about pulling down the old building, and with the ſame diſpatch rearing the new one; ſo that the holy place, or temple properly ſo called, was finiſhed in a year and a half's time; during which, we are told [t], it never rained in the day-time, but only in the night. The remainder took up a little above eight years, by which time it was, if not wholly finiſhed (Z), yet made fit for divine ſervice,

The building finiſhed with wonderous ſpeed and magnificence.

[t] Ibid. c. ult.

ing the nineteenth year of *Herod* not beginning till the nineteenth year before Chriſt, the ſix firſt months muſt have belonged to the eighteenth year of his reign, which brings it to the paſſover feaſt above-mentioned (21). We muſt not, however, look upon this building as a new temple, as diſtinct from that of *Zerubbabel* as that was from that of *Solomon*, but rather as the ſame rebuilt, inlarged, and adorned, upon the old foundation and with the ſame materials, as far as they could go. The very *Jews* themſelves ſtill looked upon it as the ſecond temple, and that which was to exceed that of *Solomon* in glory, by the preſence of the Meſſiah, according to the prophecy of *Haggai*; but, as we cannot inlarge on this ſubject, we ſhall refer the curious reader to the elaborate preface of *Conſtantine l' Empereur*, prefixed to his comment on the book of *Middoth*, where he will find that point diſcuſſed to his ſatisfaction.

(Z) *Joſephus* ſhews us in another place (22), that the whole was ſtill continued till the beginning of the *Jewiſh* war under *Gellius Florus*, when eighteen thouſand workmen being diſmiſſed and like to be idle, the *Jews*, unwilling their treaſure ſhould be laid up to become a prey to the *Romans*, petitioned the king (*Agrippa*) to build the eaſtern porch, which incloſed the moſt outward parts of the temple; but the king having refuſed their ſuit, thoſe men, for want of work, began to raiſe thoſe ſeditions which haſtened the deſtruction both of the city and temple; ſo that it is plain, ſome part of that building had been ſtill carried on till this time.

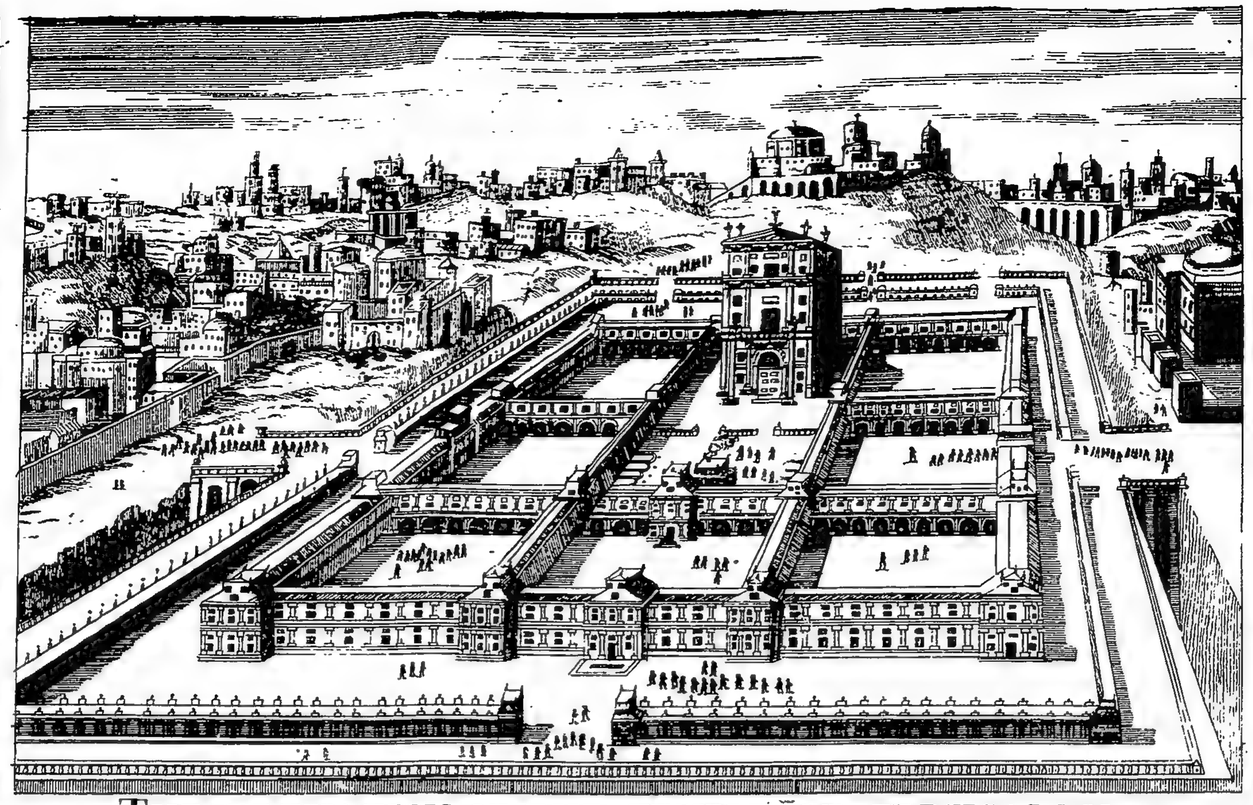
And hence that ſaying of the *Jews* to Chriſt, Forty and ſix years hath this temple been hitherto in building; for ſo the text ought to be read, according to the import of the aoriſt there uſed by the evangeliſt (23); and indeed ſo long a time had elapſed, from the beginning of the building to the firſt paſſover after Chriſt

(21) *Vide Prid. connect. ſub. A.C.* 19. (22) *Vide Antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 8. (23) *John* ii. 20.

had



THE JEWISH PRIEST ON THE DAY OF EXPIATION.



THE ELEVATION OF THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM



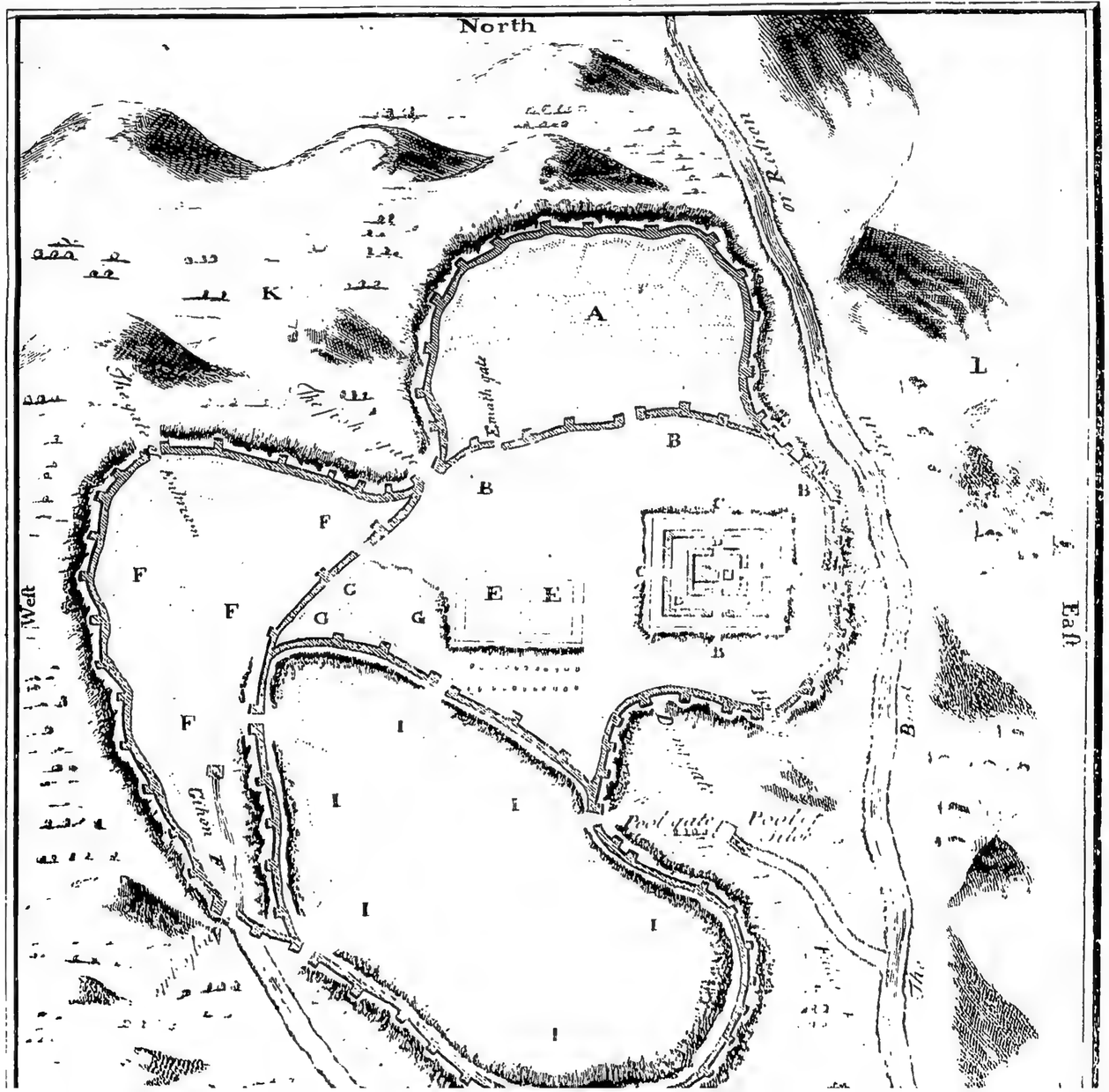
THE JEWISH HIGH PRIEST IN HIS PONTIFICAL HABIT.



THE GOLDEN CANDLESTIC

A. *The new city built by the Maccabees*

B. *The City of David.*





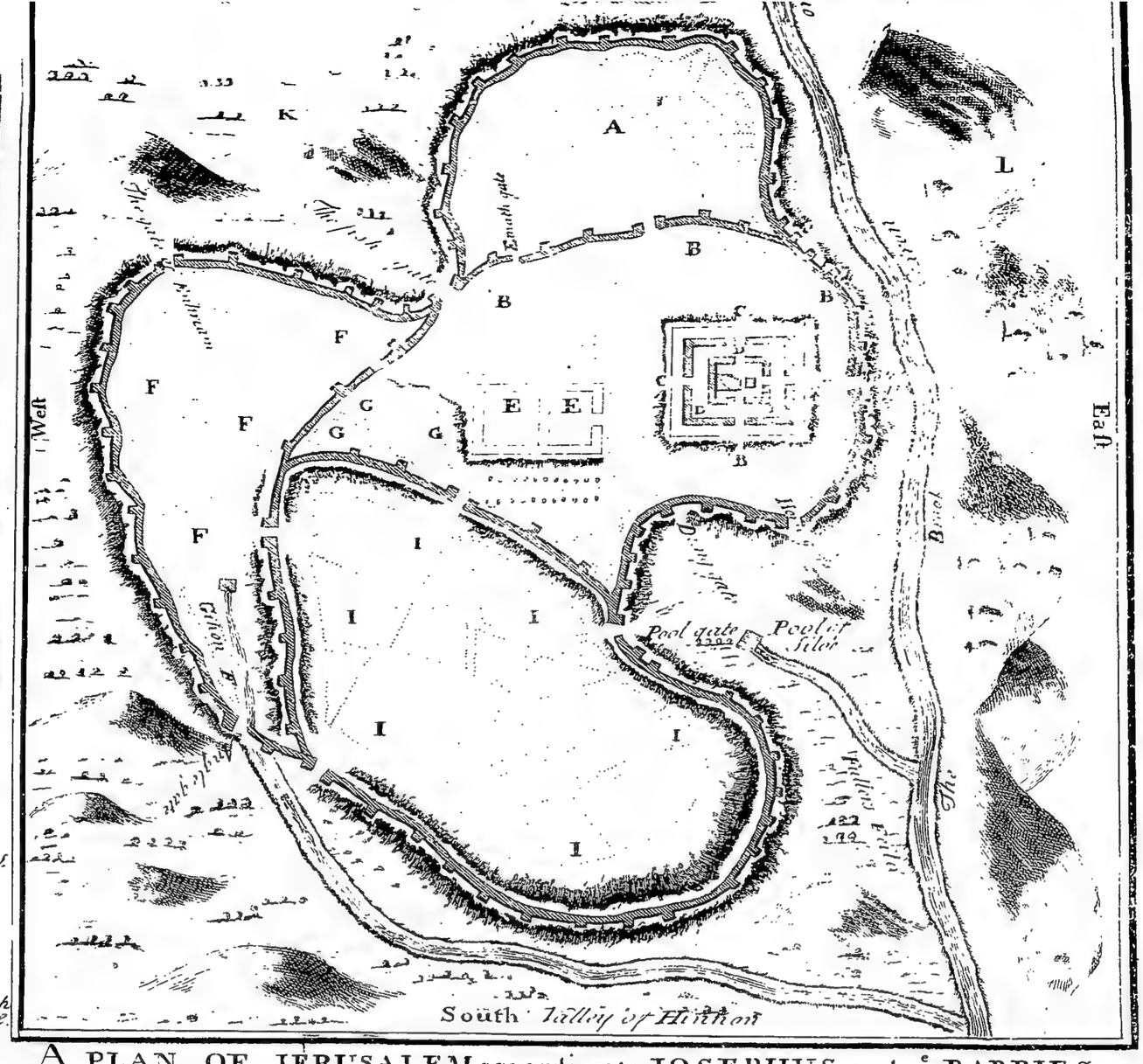
THE BRASEN LAVER

GG. *The Entrance of the*



THE GOLDEN CANDLESTIC

A. *The new City built by the Maccabees.*
B. *The City of David.*
CC. *Mount Moriah.*
DD. *The Temple.*
EE. *The royal Palace.*
FF. *A new part of ye City built since Manasseh.*

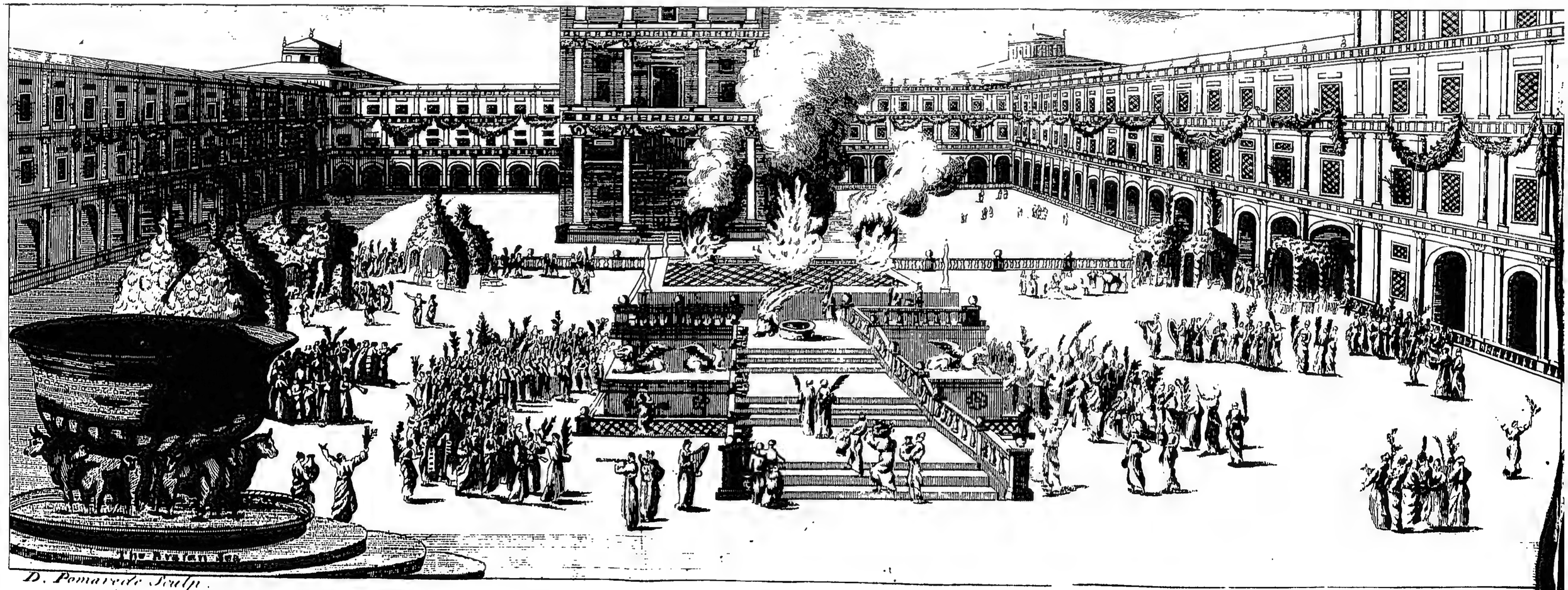


A PLAN OF JERUSALEM according to JOSEPHUS and ye RABBIES.



THE BRASEN LAVER.

GG. *The Fortress Millo.*
II. *The old City anciently called Jebu*
K. *Mount Calvary.*
L. *The Mount of Olives.*



D. Pomarede Sculp.

A VIEW OF THE INNER PORCH ALTER &c. ON THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES. de quo vid. *pag. 90.*

vice, according to the king's first design. The temple, properly so called, or holy place, was but sixty cubits high, and as many in breadth; but in the front he added two wings or shoulders, which projected twenty cubits more on each side; which made a front of one hundred and twenty cubits in length, and as many in height, with a gate seventy cubits high and twenty in breadth, but open and without any doors [u]. The stones were white marble, twenty five cubits in length, twelve in height, and nine in breadth, all wrought and polished with exquisite beauty, the whole resembling a stately palace, whose middle being considerably raised above the extremities of each face, made it afford a beautiful visto at a great distance to those that came to that metropolis (A). Instead of doors, the gates closed with very costly veils, inriched with variety of flowering of gold, silver, purple, and every thing that was rich and curious; and on each side of the gates were planted two stately columns, from whose cornishes did hang gold festoons, and vines, with their clusters of grapes, leaves, &c. curiously wrought. As for the galleries that surrounded this sacred place, the porticoes, towers, courts, and other embellishments of it, we do not design to swell this section with them, but give a short sketch of them in the margin (B), and

[u] Bell. Judaic. l. vi. c. 6.

had entered into his ministry, at which time the *Jews* were objecting this to him (24).

(A) This superstructure, which was probably reared on the old foundation without sufficient additions to it, proved, as *Josephus* tells us (25), too heavy for it, and sunk down about twenty cubits; so that it was reduced to the height of one hundred. A project was set on foot for raising it again to its former height in *Nero*'s time; but, upon some account or other, it was set aside.

(B) We have already spoken in a former volume † of the foundations of this stupendous work, some of whose walls were raised from the deep valley beneath, to the height of three hundred cubits and upwards, and some of the stones of it forty cubits long, all fastened to each other with lead and iron, to be proof against time, wind, and weather. The platform was a regular square of a stade or furlong on each side; and in that description we gave of the superstructure *, we confined ourselves to what the sacred writers had said of it, without introducing the vast additions that had been made since by *Herod* and his successors.

(24) *Vide Usser. sub. A. M.* 3987. (25) *Antiq. ubi supra.*
† *Vol.* III. *p.* 557, (I). * *Appen. to Vol.* III. *p.* 560, *&. seq.*

Since

and refer our readers for a fuller account to *Joſephus*, the *Talmud*, and to ſuch other writers, as have been at the pains of compiling their ſeveral deſcriptions from them.

WHILST

Since then we have two accounts of *Herod*'s temple, the one written by *Joſephus* (26), who had been a curious viewer of it; the other by *Jehudah Hakkodeſh* (27), the compiler of the *Talmud*, above one hundred and twenty years after its deſtruction by the *Romans*. From theſe the authors quoted in the margin (28) have reared each their ſeparate edifices, diſpoſed, beautified, and adorned them more by the ſtrength of their imagination than by any ſuperior knowledge they had of the authors they copied from; though, with reſpect to even theſe, whoever conſiders their ſwollen ſtyle, will be apt to look upon their accounts of that building, rather as panegyrics, than hiſtorical deſcriptions of it. However, if either is to be preferred to the other, *Joſephus*, who had both ſeen it and deſcribed it ſoon after, if not before, its deſtruction, when he might have been contradicted by numbers, who had viewed it as well as he, is certainly more to be credited than the *Talmudiſts*, who wrote ſo long after, and when they were ſure there was none left to gain-ſay them. From him therefore we ſhall endeavour to give the beſt and ſhorteſt ſketch and plan of that ſtately work, which is as follows:

Each front of this ſquare, which, as we hinted above, was a furlong long, had a ſpacious gate or entrance, inriched with ſuitable ornaments; but that on the weſt had four gates, the one of which led to the palace, the next to the city, and the two others to the ſuburbs and fields. This incloſure was ſurrounded on the outſide with a ſtrong and high wall of large ſtones, well cemented; and on the inſide had, on each front, a ſtately piazza or gallery, ſupported by columns of ſuch bigneſs, that three men could but juſt embrace them, their circumference being about twenty ſeven feet. There were in all, one hundred and ſixty two of them, which ſupported a cedar ceiling of exquiſite workmanſhip, and formed three galleries, the middlemoſt of which was the largeſt and higheſt, it being forty five feet in breadth and one hundred in height; whereas thoſe on each ſide were but thirty feet wide and fifty in height.

The piazzas and court were paved with marble of various colours; and at a ſmall diſtance from the galleries was a ſecond incloſure, ſurrounded with a flight of beautiful marble rails, with ſtately columns at proper diſtances, on which were engraven certain admonitions in *Greek* and *Latin*, to forbid ſtrangers, and thoſe *Jews* that

(26) *Ibid & bell. Judaic.* l. vi. c. 6 & *alib. paſſ.* (27) *Maſſecheth Jeph Middoth.* (28) *Villalpand Capell Lamy Prideaux Whiſton Calmet & al. mult.*

WHILST the work of the temple was carrying on with such surprizing expedition, as raised the admiration of the *Jews*, *Herod* made a voyage to *Rome*, to pay his compliments Herod *goes to* Rome.

were not purified, to proceed further under pain of death. This inclosure had but one gate on the east side, none on the west, but on the north and south it had three, placed at equal distances from each other.

A third inclosure surrounded the temple, properly so called, and the altar of burnt offerings, and made what they called the court of the *Hebrews* or *Israelites*. It was square like the rest; but the wall on the outside was surrounded by a flight of fourteen steps. which hid a considerable part of it; and on the top was a terrace of about twelve cubits in breadth, which went quite round the whole cincture. The east side had but one gate, the west none, and the north and south four, at equal distances. Each gate was ascended to by five steps more before one could reach the level of the inward court; so that the wall which inclosed it appeared within to be but twenty five cubits high, tho' considerably higher on the outside. On the inside of each of those gates were raised a couple of spacious square chambers, in form of a pavilion, thirty cubits wide and forty in height, each supported by columns of twelve cubits circumference.

This inclosure had likewise a double flight of galleries on the inside, supported by a double row of columns; but the western side was only one continued wall, without gates or galleries. The women had likewise their particular courts separate from that of the men, and one of the gates on the north and south leading to it.

The altar of burnt-offerings was likewise high and spacious, being forty cubits in breadth and fifteen in heighth. The ascent to it was, according to the *Mosaic* law †, smooth and without steps, and the altar of unhewn stones. It was surrounded at a convenient distance round about with a low wall or rail, not above a cubit in heighth, which divided the court of the priests from that of the lay *Israelites*; so that these last were allowed to come thus far to bring their offerings and sacrifices; but none but the priests were allowed to come within that incloture. The reader will more easily understand this description by the plan here subjoined, to which we have referred all the particulars under each paragraph by proper references.

All that needs be added here is, that *Herod* caused a new dedication of the whole to be performed with the utmost magnificence, and presented to it many rich trophies of his former victories, after the custom of the *Jewish* monarchs (29).

† *Exod.* xx. 25, 26. (29) *Antiq.* l. xv. c. ult. *B. J.* l. i. c. 10. l. vi. c. 6. *& pass. alib.*

to the emperor, and a paternal visit to his two sons. Perhaps also he did chuse this time to be out of the hearing of some of the murmurings, which the *Jews* raised against a law which he had lately made, to suppress the frequent incursions and robberies which were committed in *Judæa*. By this law, it seems, he condemned every man that was found breaking through the walls of any house, to be sold for a slave into foreign countries; and this had greatly displeased the nation, because, contrary to that of *Moses*, it made their slavery perpetual; whereas, had they been only sold among their brethren, the sabbatic or the jubilee year would have put an end to it. Another objection raised against that law was, that those slaves would, in all likelihood, be tempted to forsake the *Jewish* religion and turn idolaters; upon which account it was still more universally exclaimed against *. It is therefore likely, that *Herod*, who resolved at any rate to suppress those robbers, got out of the way, that he might not be importuned to repeal it. On his arrival at *Rome* (C), *Augustus* received him with all the marks of friendship, entertained him in the most sumptuous manner, and delivered his sons to him. *Herod* could not but be highly pleased to behold them so greatly improved under the care of that emperor. He acknowledged the favour in terms, and by presents, answerable to the high sense he had of the obligation, and, after a short stay, took the two young princes with him back into *Judæa*. Here they were received with the loudest acclamations of the people, who could not forbear admiring their majestic port and behaviour, which, joined to the excellent education they had received in *Italy*, had rendered them in all respects truly accomplished princes. He married them soon after to suitable matches; *Alexander* to *Glaphyra*, the daughter of *Archelaus*

Makes a severe law against robbers.

Marries his two sons.

* Antiq. l. xvi. c. 1.

(C) *Josephus* adds, that, in his way to *Rome*, he had the curiosity to stop at *Elis* to see the solemnity of the CXCIst olympiad; and that the poverty of the *Elians* having sunk the pomp and splendor of those games, he settled a constant revenue on them, in order to restore them to their antient lustre (30).

The like piece of generosity he shewed to the *Chians*, for whom he paid a large sum, which they were indebted to *Cæsar*'s receivers; after which he gave them another sum to rebuild their porticoes, which had been demolished in the wars (31).

(30) *Antiq. l. xvi. c. 9. Bell. Judaic. l. i. c.* 16. (31) *Antiq. l. xvi. c.* 3.

king

king of *Cappadocia*, and *Ariſtobulus* to *Berenice*, the daughter of his ſiſter *Salome* [y].

BUT the admiration and love which the people expreſſed for thoſe two excellent princes, failed not to raiſe the envy and jealouſy of the reſtleſs *Salome*, and of thoſe of her accomplices, who had forwarded the death of *Mariamne*, as they had reaſon more than enough to fear their avenging that princeſs's death. To prevent ſo juſt and ſad a cataſtrophe, they had recourſe to their vile artifices, which had ſucceeded ſo well againſt that innocent princeſs. They began with ſpreading reports abroad, that the two young princes could not endure their father, whom they looked upon as ſtill reeking with the blood of their mother; not doubting, but when the rumour reached that jealous monarch's ears, it would inevitably render them obnoxious to him, and haſten their ruin. In the mean time *Agrippa* being come to *Aſia Proper*, *Herod* went to invite him into *Judæa*, where having ſhewed him his new-built cities of *Sebaſte*, *Alexandrion*, *Cæſarea*, &c. he thence led him to *Jeruſalem*. There the people met them at ſome diſtance from that metropolis, in their feſtival dreſs, and conducted them with loud acclamations into the city, where his reception was ſuitable to the magnificence of his hoſt. *Agrippa*, having ſacrificed a whole hecatomb at the temple, was forced to depart ſooner than he would otherwiſe have done, by reaſon of the approaching winter, and *Herod* failed not to load him and his retinue with ſuitable preſents, whilſt the people accompanied him with loud huzzas, and ſtrewed the way with flowers and odoriferous herbs where-ever he paſſed; inſomuch, that that prince did ever after take a particular delight in expreſſing the pleaſure of that journey, and extolling the magnificence of the temple and royal palace, and of the prieſtly ornaments, the ſtately buildings, and generoſity of *Herod*. *Philo* adds, that he made the *Jews* ſome conſiderable preſents, and did every thing he could to oblige them, without hurting the intereſt of their king. On the ſpring following, *Agrippa* ſailing with his fleet to the *Boſporus*, was agreeably ſurprized with *Herod*'s coming to meet him with another at *Leſbos*, wherein he had brought him ſome conſiderable reinforcements of men, arms, and proviſions; all which did ſo endear him to that prince, that he never undertook any thing without his knowledge and advice, nor ſcarce any party of pleaſure without his company [z].

Agrippa's *reception in* Judæa. Year of the Flood 2984. Before Chriſt 15.

[y] Ibid c 2. [z] Ibid. & c. 3. Vide & PHILO. legat. ad Cai. P 1033

On his return to *Jeruſalem*, he aſſembled the *Jews*, and acquainted them with the ſucceſs of his arms and thoſe of *Agrippa* againſt the *Boſporans*. He added, in order to leſſen their diſcontent, that he remitted the nation a fourth part of their tribute; which made them ſome ſatisfaction for the late murmurings, which his law againſt robbers had occaſioned [a]. But whilſt things went thus ſmoothly on in his kingdom, his family was plagued with inteſtine jars, occaſioned by the hatred which *Salome* bore to his two worthy ſons. The truth is, they ſpake both of her and of her brother *Pheroras* in ſuch reſenting terms, as made them dread ſomething worſe from them. They even ventured to complain ſometimes of the injuſtice done to their mother, and in their behaviour ſhewed ſo little tenderneſs towards their father, that *Salome* found it an eaſy matter to alienate his affection from them. To ſuppreſs in ſome meaſure the preſumption of the two brothers, *Herod* cauſed *Antipater*, another of his ſons (D), whom he had till then educated in a private manner, to be brought to court, where he heaped ſuch careſſes on him, as only rendered him more obnoxious to them, and them more indiſcreet in their ſpeeches againſt their father, all which were ſtill carried back to him, and very often aggravated; whilſt *Antipater*, wholly employed to cultivate a good underſtanding with him, was careful never to let a word ſlip even againſt his two brothers, tho' he had taken care to place ſuch about him as ſhould do it more effectually.

Among many other marks of *Herod*'s affection to this new favourite ſon (E), he obtained of *Agrippa* the favour of his accompanying him to *Rome*, and of his being preſented by him to the emperor; ſo that by this time every one began to look upon him as his father's ſucceſſor. *Antipater* ſet out accordingly; but, to prevent his two rivals regaining their father's favour during his abſence, he ceaſed not, both by his letters and by his agents, to turn his heart againſt them, till at length he began to look upon them as his enemies, and re-

[a] Antiq. ibid. c. 5.

(D) This laſt ſon he had by another wife, whom *Joſephus* calls *Doris* (32), and the fourth book of *Maccabees* (33) *Doſithea*.

(E) One of which was, that he recalled his mother, whom he had repudiated to marry *Mariamne*, the high prieſt's daughter.

(32) *Ibid.* c. 4. (33) *Cap ult.*

ſolved

loved to take them with him to *Rome*, and there to try them at *Cæsar*'s tribunal [b]. *Cæsar* being gone by that time to *Aquileia*, *Herod* came to him and there accused his two sons of high treason, and required justice against them in such strong terms, as extorted a flood of tears from them; after which *Alexander* pleaded his own and his brother's cause with such becoming modesty, as easily convinced both the emperor and the audience of their innocence. *Augustus* did, in a genteel manner, reprove *Herod* for his too rash belief, and reconciled them together; but it was not likely this peace should be long-lived. *Herod* was too jealous, his sons too indiscreet, and their enemies too cunning and indefatigable, not to give cause for fresh dissensions. *Herod* himself laid the foundation for a new and dangerous one, by a speech which he made to the *Jewish* assembly upon his being returned with his sons to *Jerusalem*; for there having acquainted them with his success at *Rome*, he declared to them that it was indeed his intention that his sons should reign after his death, and not till then, *Antipater* first, and then *Alexander*, and lastly *Aristobulus* (F); but that, whilst he lived, he did not think fit to part with the reins of government. This was indeed casting a bone of discord among his sons, and so it proved in the sequel [c].

Herod accuses his two sons of high treason before Augustus.

Returns to Jerusalem.

By this time the city of *Cæsarea*, which had been twelve years in building, being finished, *Herod* caused the dedication of it to be performed with the greatest pomp and splendor, and appointed games to be performed in it with the utmost solemnity every fifth year. *Julia*, the emperor's wife, or as the *Jewish* historian always calls her, *Livia*, contributed towards the splendidness of those sports five hundred talents out of her own coffers; and *Herod* entertained his guests

Cæsarea finished. Year of the Flood, 2989. Before Christ, 10.

[b] Ibid. c. 6 & 7. [c] Ibid. c. 8.

(F) During his stay at *Rome*, *Augustus* had, it seems, not only renewed his former grant to him of appointing any of his sons to be his successor, but had likewise given him the further liberty of dividing the kingdom amongst them in what proportion he should think fit.

He had likewise granted him one half of the revenue of the mines of *Cyprus*, and had appointed him his overseer of the other half. Several other rich presents were also interchanged between those two monarchs, which shewed their great intimacy to each other (34).

(34) *Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 8.

there,

there, who were very conſiderable both in quality and number, with ſurpriſing magnificence; inſomuch, that *Auguſtus* ſaid of him, That his ſoul was too great for his kingdom; and that he deſerved to have been king of all *Syria* and *Egypt*. Beſides the city of *Cæſarea*, which, by reaſon of its beauty, pleaſant ſituation, and commodious harbour, became in time the reſidence of the *Roman* procurators, he built alſo thoſe of *Antipatris*, in honour of his father; of *Cypron*, in honour of his mother, and *Phaſaelis*, in honour of his brother: beſides ſeveral other towers and caſtles of prodigious ſize and ſtrength [d]. On the next year the *Jews* of *Aſia* and *Cyrene*, having been greatly oppreſſed by the *Greeks*, eſpecially on account of their religion and cuſtoms, ſent a deputation to *Auguſtus*, and obtained an effectual redreſs from that emperor. The purport of his decree in their favour the reader may ſee in the margin (G).

Herod might have viewed, with no ſmall pleaſure, both himſelf and the whole *Jewiſh* nation reſpected and protected by the emperor and ſenate on the one hand, and by his friend *Agrippa* on the other; but his domeſtic jars, which daily increaſed by the helliſh machinations of his brother and ſiſter, and the emptineſs of his coffers, which he had exhauſted by his profuſeneſs in buildings and feaſts, made him too wretched to taſte any pleaſure in other things. To remove theſe two

[d] Antiq. ibid. c. 9. & ſeq.

(G) That they ſhould be allowed to live according to their laws; and with the ſame privileges as they had enjoyed under the late *Cæſar* and *Hyrcan*; that their temple at *Jeruſalem* ſhould ſtill receive their yearly tribute towards the repairs and worſhip of it; that the *Jews* ſhould not be obliged to appear at the courts of judicature on the eve of the ſabbath after the ninth hour, (anſwering to three after noon) nor on the ſabbath; laſtly, that whoſoever ſhould lay hands either on the temple tribute, or on any of the ſacred books of the *Jews*, ſhould be puniſhed as a ſacrilege, and all his goods, ſhould be confiſcated to the *Roman* commonwealth.

This decree was ordered to be ſet up in a public place at *Ancyra*, which had been dedicated by the whole people of *Aſia* to the honour of that monarch (35).

King *Agrippa* made much ſuch another decree in their favour, and ordered, that whoever ſtole any of the ſacred treaſure, or *Jewiſh* books, and took ſanctuary in any temple or aſylum, ſhould be torn thence, and delivered up to the *Jews*, to be puniſhed by them (36).

(35) *Ibid. c.* 10. (36) *Idem ibid.*

corroding

corroding ſores, he betook himſelf to remedies more deſperate than the diſeaſe. To ſupply his preſent neceſſities, he caſt his eyes on the tombs of *David* and *Solomon*, out of which he had heard, or pretended to have heard, that *Hyrcan* had formerly drawn ſome large ſums; and thoſe places, he thought, would prove a laſting fund for his extravagant expences. We ſhall not repeat what we have obſerved heretofore concerning this pretended theft of the *Maccabitiſh* pontiff †. All we ſhall add with reſpect to *Herod* is, that he executed his deſign with the utmoſt privacy, and went to the place in the night, accompanied only with ſome few confidents, where, inſtead of the coined gold and ſilver he expected, he found only ſome quantity of rich veſſels, curiouſly wrought, which he cauſed to be carried off. Not content with theſe, he ventured farther, to ſearch into the very coffins of the dead monarchs; but ſome ſudden damp, or, as *Joſephus* calls it, a miraculous flame, which conſumed two of his guards, having ſcared him and his retinue, put a ſtop to his further ſearch. *Herod*, to make ſome ſatisfaction for his ſacrilege, cauſed a ſtately monument of white marble to be erected at the entrance of the ſepulchre[c]; but this was looked upon by the *Jews* rather as a monument of his crime, than an expiation of it. *Herod plunders David's ſepulchre.*

BUT his cruelty to his ſons and their friends rendered him ſtill more abhorred. His vile ſiſter (H) had raiſed his jealouſy *His cruelty to his ſons.*

† Vide ſupra, p. 72, (M).

[c] Antiq. ibid. c. 11.

(H) One of her helliſh projects, and which coſt her dear, was, to get *Pheroras* to tell young *Alexander*, that the king was become ſo deſperately in love with his wife *Glaphyra*, that nothing but his forcing her from him could ſatisfy his unruly paſſion. *Alexander* taking it for granted, went to his father, and, in the humbleſt manner, mixed with a flood of tears, expoſtulated the matter with him. *Herod*, ſurprized at ſuch a black accuſation, of which he was wholly innocent, ſent for his brother, and aſked him, How he could lay ſuch a black perfidy to his charge?

Pheroras threw all the blame on his ſiſter, and pretended ſhe was the perſon who had whiſpered the thing to him. *Salome*, being ſent for, denied the whole with her uſual aſſurance; but the king reading her guilt in her looks, in ſpite of her proteſtations to the contrary, cauſed her and her brother to be baniſhed the court, and highly commended his ſon's moderation; but all this good underſtanding was ſoon after daſhed by a more helliſh accuſation, which they brought againſt that young prince, and which we are going to relate.

againſt

againſt them to ſuch a height, that he acted more like a furious tyrant, than a father or king, filling the city with blood, and turning his own palace into a ſlaughter-houſe. *Alexander* had been accuſed to him of having corrupted, by dint of preſents and promiſes, two of his favourite confidents, namely, his high-ſteward and cup-bearer. *Herod* ordered them immediately to be put to the rack; whereon they confeſſed their having indeed received ſome preſents from that prince; but denied his having betrayed to them any ill deſign againſt the king. This confeſſion not ſatisfying his jealouſy, they were tortured afreſh, and again, till he had extorted enough from them to juſtify his ſending his ſon to priſon and loading him with irons. Here the young prince being grown deſperate, ſent his father four different confeſſions, in which he owned all, and more, than the torture had extorted from the other two, and at the ſame time accuſed *Salome* and *Pheroras*, with two of the king's prime miniſters and favourites, of being all alike concerned in the plot; and particularly that *Salome* had even ventured to come to him in the dead of night, and, lying down by him, had uſed many cogent arguments to convince him, that they muſt expect neither peace nor happineſs, till they had rid themſelves of the tyrant [f].

Alexander's *deſperate confeſſion.*

This accuſation, which was only calculated to ſet all on fire, had the deſired effect; and the jealous king, not knowing whom to truſt to, flew into the greateſt exceſſes of cruelty. There was now nothing to be heard of but racks, impriſonments, and dreadful executions abroad, whilſt the tyrant was ſo tormented with fears at home, that he often ſtarted out of his bed, as if purſued ſword in hand by his ſons and their accomplices. Thus it was hourly expected, when theſe fits of rage and dread would have run him mad, or haſtened his ſon's execution, when *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* came in a lucky minute (I), and, by his interpoſition, ſettled a

[f] Ibid. c. 12.

(I) We have already taken notice, that he was the father of *Glaphyra*, whom *Alexander* had married. This prince, who was of a prudent and cool temper had received *Herod* and his ſons in their return from *Rome*, where they had been acquitted by the emperor, and, by his wife counſels, had finiſhed that reconciliation which *Auguſtus* had begun

But being now informed to what height of cruelty things were carried at *Jeruſalem*, he thought himſelf obliged to come thither, and to uſe his beſt endeavours to ſettle peace in that monarch's family.

calm.

calm again, at leaſt for a time. This diſcreet prince, who knew the violence of *Herod*'s temper, began at firſt with pitying his ſad condition, and condemning the unnatural perfidy of his ſon, threatening to take his daughter from him, and to leave him to his father's juſt reſentment; but, in the end, he had the addreſs, by degrees, to explode all theſe malicious accuſations and extorted confeſſions, and not only to perſuade him that his ſon was innocent of any deſign upon his life or kingdom, but even to make him turn interceſſor in his behalf. *Pheroras*, hearing of this reconciliation, found no better expedient to obtain *Herod*'s pardon, than by coming in a mourning dreſs, and, at his feet, confeſſing himſelf the author of all the ſlanders raiſed againſt the two princes. *Herod*, thus reconciled to his ſons, ſet out with them for *Rome*, to acquaint the emperor with the whole affair, after having accompanied *Archelaus* as far as *Antioch* in his way homewards [g]. He was indeed under an obligation to go and clear his ſon at the *Roman* court, becauſe he had, after their ſecond falling out, exhibited ſeveral grievous complaints againſt him to the emperor.

Reconciled to Herod. Year of the Flood, 2991. Before Chriſt, 8.

DURING this and his laſt journey to *Rome*, the bands of robbers, whom he had driven out of *Trachonitis*, having taken ſhelter in *Arabia Petrea*, under the protection of *Obodas* the king of it (K), had made ſuch terrible inroads into *Judæa*, that *Herod*, on his return, not being able to come at them there, put all their relations and friends to death which he could lay his hands on; which made them more cruel and deſperate than ever. By this time the temple being finiſhed, as was hinted above, *Herod* cauſed the dedication of it to be performed with his uſual magnificence, and, on the following ſpring, ſet about the ſuppreſſing of the *Trachonitiſh* robbers. He began with a law-ſuit againſt *Syllæus* for ſixty

[g] Ibid. c. 13.

(K) This prince had a favourite miniſter named *Syllæus*, who had formerly made his addreſſes to *Salome*; but *Herod* refuſing to give her to him, unleſs he turned *Jew*, and *Syllæus* not daring to conſent to it, ſhe had been given to *Alexas*, one of *Herod*'s confidents. Hence aroſe a mutual hatred between them, which *Syllæus* improved, by perſuading *Obodas* to protect thoſe banditti, who did accordingly aſſign them the fortreſs of *Repta* for a place of retreat, from which they ſallied out, and committed innumerable outrages and cruelties, both in *Paleſtine* and in *Cœle Syria* (37).

(37) *Antiq. ibid. c.* 11, & 13.

talents which he had lent him; and having gained his cause before the prefects of *Syria*, *Saturnius* and *Volumnius*, *Syllæus*, instead of paying the money, slipped away to *Rome*; whereupon *Herod*, having got leave of those two governors to right himself by arms, marched into *Arabia*, and there defeated the robbers, demolished their castle, and returned to *Jerusalem*, without taking any further revenge. But this expedition was like to have cost him dear, through the treachery of *Syllæus*, who, upon the first hearing of it, went and complained to the emperor, and aggravated the wrongs done to the *Arabians* to such a degree, that *Augustus* sent him a very sharp reproof, and would have wholly cast him off, had not he been better informed soon after. *Herod* had sent two embassies to that prince, and neither of them had been able to get an audience. At length he sent *Nicolas Damascen* thither, who, finding how prejudiced the emperor was against his master, bethought himself of an happy expedient to explode all the accusations of *Syllæus*, by means of the embassadors of the *Nabathean Arabs*, without discovering his errand, till they had cleared the way for him (L). *Augustus*, being now satisfied of *Herod*'s innocence and of his own too great credulity, was thinking to have taken the *Nabathean* kingdom from *Aretas*, and to have made him a present of it; but whilst he was deliberating about it, fresh complaints came to him from that unhappy monarch against his sons, which diverted the emperor from pursuing his design.

Herod out of favour with Augustus.

Reconciled to him.

FOR whilst these things had been agitating, *Salome* and *Pheroras* had again filled *Herod*'s head with new plots and assassinations intended against him by his sons; and tho', upon inquiry, nothing could be proved against them, but a design

(L) These were come to demand justice against *Syllæus*, who had by that time caused *Obodas* to be poisoned, and was there soliciting the emperor for that kingdom; but the *Nabatheans*, having set up a king of their own, sent this embassy to *Rome*, to have him confirmed there, and to have the assassin punished.

Damascen therefore having privately gained them, directed them how to manage their audience in such a manner, as to clear *Herod* of all that was laid to his charge, without betraying any other design than that of accusing *Syllæus*. The thing succeeded to his wish, and *Damascen* putting himself at the head of their embassy, managed his accusation with such address, backing it with the suffrages of his *Nabathean* collegues, that *Syllæus*, who was then present, could not disprove one single point; but was condemned to pay *Herod*'s debt, and then to lose his head (38).

(38) *Conf. Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 13. & *l.* xvii. *c.* 4. *Strab. c.* 16.

of

of retiring into ſome other country, where they might peaceably outlive their father's tyranny; yet the jealous king took all the reſt for granted upon this ſingle evidence, and ſent two of his miniſters to *Rome*, with orders, that, if they found the emperor reconciled to him, they ſhould deliver his letter to him, and obtain juſtice againſt the two young princes. *Auguſtus* having read the letter, and finding *Herod* deſperately bent upon the ruin of his unfortunate ſons, ſent immediately orders to have them tried at *Berytus*, before the governors of *Syria* and other neighbouring provinces, and in particular before *Archelaus*; and, if they were found guilty, he gave their father leave to puniſh them as he ſhould think fit. *Herod* convened them all accordingly, except the *Cappadocian* king, whom he ſuſpected of too great partiality to his ſons; and having left theſe two unfortunate princes under a ſtrong guard at *Platone*, a ſmall town of the *Sidonians*, under pretence that they might be eaſily brought thence, if the judges did think it neceſſary, he pleaded his own cauſe before an aſſembly of above five hundred perſons; but with ſuch violence and brutiſh reſentment, as rather raiſed their indignation againſt, than pity for, him. He ſpared for neither evidence nor arguments to have them condemned to die, and concluded with telling them, that being a king, he might have done it by his own authority, according to the laws of *Judæa*; but that he rather choſe to have them tried before ſuch an aſſembly, to avoid the imputation of injuſtice or cruelty. After a full hearing, *Saturnius*, who had been formerly conſul, voted, that they ſhould be puniſhed indeed, but not with death, and was ſeconded by his three ſons, who were then his lieutenants; but they were over-ruled by *Volumnius*, who condemned them to death, and drew the reſt of the judges after him. Only they left it to *Herod* to execute the ſentence, when and how he thought fit.

Prefers new complaints againſt his ſons.

Gets them condemned.

Damaſcen, on his return from *Rome*, did try in vain to diſſuade him from too raſhly depriving himſelf of two ſuch ſons, and leaving himſelf in his old age to the mercy of the ambitious *Antipater*. *Tyro*, another old experienced ſoldier, came likewiſe to beg of him, that he might be admitted to ſpeak to him on the ſame ſubject; and, upon his permiſſion, freely told him the danger he was in from that young prince, who, he aſſured him, entertained ſome treaſonable deſigns againſt him, whilſt the chiefs of the *Jewiſh* nation, to whom he was grown odious on that account, did highly pity his two condemned ſons, as leſs guilty than that brother. *Herod* ſtopped him ſhort there, to make him name thoſe that

and, upon his so doing, caused them to be imprisoned. *Tyro* himself was, by the subtlety of *Salome*, accused by *Herod*'s barber, of having hired him to cut his throat. *Herod* had recourse to the rack, which he caused to be given to the accuser, and to *Tyro* and his son, a youth of about the age of *Alexander*; and the latter, to save his father from the torture, confessed that himself alone, without his father's privity, had resolved to kill him, and to save *Alexander*. Scarce any body believed his confession but *Herod*, who thereupon caused his two sons to be conveyed to *Sebaste*, and there strangled, or, as the fourth book of the *Maccabees* has it, hanged on a post or gallows. Their bodies were afterwards buried at *Alexandrion*, among their *Asmonean* ancestors [h].

Puts them to death.

Antipater having now no rival left, but his father, and *Pheroras*, though highly obliged to his brother, having lately fallen out with him (M), these two entered into a plot to take him off as soon as possible. *Herod* had about this time sent *Glaphyra*, *Alexander*'s widow, back into *Cappadocia*, and returned her dowry out of his own coffers. There were still two sons left of hers, and two which *Aristobulus* had had by *Berenice*, all whom the king had caused to be carefully educated. He had likewise expressed an uncommon concern for them, as well as a remorse for the untimely death of their fathers; and, as he found himself upon the decline, he was contriving how to have those young princes so advantageously matched, that he might see them safely and happily settled before he died. But *Antipater*, who looked upon them in another view, found means to break all his measures, and to persuade him to change the disposition of his family, contrary to his first design [i]. It will not be amiss here to give an account of that monarch's wives, and of

Year of the Flood, 2994. Before Christ, 5

[h] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 17, & 4 Maccab. c. ult. [i] Antiq. l. xvii c. 2, & 3.

(M) The occasion of this rupture, *Josephus* tells us (39), was, that *Herod* had formerly offered his brother his daughter in marriage, whom he had refused for the sake of a favourite servant, with whom he was deeply in love, and did soon after marry. *Herod* hereupon insisted upon his divorcing her, and marrying another of his daughters. *Pheroras* bound himself in the most solemn manner to perform it within a month; but when the time came, he absolutely refused; and *Antipater*, taking the advantage of this breach, easily drew him into his treasonable design.

(39) *Antiq. l. xvi. c* 11, & *l. xvii. c.* 3.

their

their iſſue, in order to underſtand the ſequel of this hiſtory. The reader will find both in the margin (N).

IN the mean time another thing happened, which rendered *Herod* more odious to the *Jews*, and more irreconcileable to his brother. An edict lately iſſued out, commanding the

(N) *Herod* had nine wives, the firſt of whom, named *Doris*, was the mother of *Antipater*. The ſecond was *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Simon* the high-prieſt, by whom he had a ſon named *Herod*, called alſo *Philip*, who had married *Herodias*, on whoſe account the baptiſt was afterwards beheaded. The third was his brother's daughter. The fourth his firſt couſin. He had no children by theſe two laſt.

The fifth was called *Martac*, a *Samaritan*, by whom he had *Archelaus* and *Antipas*, the former of whom ſucceeded him in the half of the kingdom under the name of *Tetrarch*, and the latter, called alſo *Philip*, married *Salome*, the dancing daughter of *Herodias* abovementioned.

The ſixth, named *Cleopatra*, was a native of *Jeruſalem*, by whom he had two ſons, *Herod*, called alſo *Antipas*, and *Philip*. *Herod* having married *Herodias*, his brother *Philip*'s wife, during his life, was reproved for it by *John* the baptiſt, and cauſed him to be put to death.

Pallas was his ſeventh wife, by whom he had a ſon named *Phaſaelus*. The eighth was *Phædra*, by whom he had only one daughter, named *Roxana*; and by the laſt, called *Elpis*, he had another daughter called *Salome* (40).

As to his grandſons, by his beloved *Mariamne*, mother of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, lately put to death, they make likewiſe a conſiderable figure in hiſtory, and eſpecially thoſe of the latter in the goſpel, and deſerve here a particular mention.

Ariſtobulus left two ſons and a daughter, whom he had by *Berenice* his wife, as we have ſeen a little higher, namely *Agrippa*, *Herod*, and *Herodias*. *Agrippa*, at firſt clapt into priſon by *Tiberius*, and afterwards made king of *Judæa* by *Caligula* (41), was he who put *James* the brother of *John* to death, impriſoned *Peter*, and was ſmitten with death at *Cæſarea* (42). *Herod* was made king of *Chalcis*, and is only known in St. *Luke* for his marriage with the dancing daughter of *Herodias*, as we hinted above.

As for *Agrippa*, he left a ſon of the ſame name, before whom and his ſiſter *Berenice* St. *Paul* was admitted to plead his cauſe at *Cæſarea* (43), and another daughter, named *Druſilla*, married to *Felix*, governor of *Judæa* (44).

(40) *De his vide bell. Jud. l. i c. 18. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. Vid. & Matth. xiv. 1, & ſeq. Mark vi. 14, & ſeq. Luke ix. 7, & ſeq.* (41) *Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8.* (42) *Acts xii. 1, & ſeq. ad fin.* (43) *Acts xxv. in fin. xxvi. Ptol.* (44) *Ibid. xxiv. 24.*

Jewiſh

Jewish nation to swear allegiance to *Augustus* and to the king, had been strenuously opposed by the *Pharisees*, to the number of seven thousand, as contrary to the *Mosaic* law [k]; for which contumacy *Herod* had condemned them to a severe fine, which had been paid by *Pheroras*'s new wife. This generous deed of hers had therefore so ingratiated her to that sect, that they scrupled not to persuade the people, from a pretended prophetic spirit, that God was going to transfer the crown from the line of *Herod* to the posterity of his brother's wife. *Salome* failed not to acquaint *Herod* with it, who, having put several of the ring-leaders to death, commanded his brother to put his wife away, as the cause of this new sedition. *Pheroras*, upon his obstinate refusal to comply with his command, was forbid the court, and the rest of *Herod*'s family to have any further conversation with him. *Pheroras* was glad to take this opportunity of retiring into his tetrarchy, and took an oath never to return to court again whilst *Herod* lived. His being at that distance from the metropolis was indeed a likely expedient to prevent his being suspected of having a hand in what he was then hatching against the king's life; and for the same reason *Antipater* procured himself to be sent for to *Rome* to attend upon *Augustus*. Thus had these two politic persons contrived to screen themselves from discovery, whilst their instruments were on work to bring about their treacherous design; but an accident soon after happened, which brought their whole treason to light.

New troubles in Judæa.

Herod *falls sick.*

Herod, who was fallen sick, and still retained a great love for his brother, had sent for him to communicate some private orders to him, and *Pheroras* had refused it, on pretence that he dared not violate his oath. He fell sick soon after, and *Herod* recovered, and was so far from resenting his late refusal, that he paid him an affectionate visit, without staying for an invitation from him. *Pheroras* dying two days after his arrival, he caused him to be magnificently buried at *Jerusalem*. But his death proved the beginning of *Antipater*'s disgrace: for two of the deceased's freed-men came and demanded justice against his wife, whom they accused of having dispatched him with some poison, which she had given him on that very evening on which he was taken ill. *Herod* had recourse to his old way of extorting the truth by the rack; in particular, the women of *Pheroras*'s family suffered it at first with a surprising constancy; but one of them was at length forced, by the excess of the torture, to cry out, that the

[k] Vid. Deut. xvii, 15.

prayed

prayed to God, that *Doris*, *Antipater*'s mother, might bear her ſhare of the torments, which ſhe had been the cauſe of. At theſe words *Herod* having cauſed them to be more cruelly tortured, as well as one *Antipater*, an officer under his treacherous ſon, the whole plot was unraveiled; and, upon comparing their ſeveral depoſitions, and the intelligence which *Salome* had already given to the king, it was found, that the poiſon, of which *Pheroras* died, had been procured from *Alexandria* by a friend of *Antipater*, from whom it was conveyed by *Antipater*'s mother to *Pheroras*, in order to be given to the king upon the firſt opportunity. All which was upon further examination acknowledged by *Pheroras*'s wife, who added, that ſhe would go and fetch it to him; and, inſtead of doing ſo, flung herſelf down from a high gallery; but her fall not proving mortal, ſhe, upon *Herod*'s promiſe of a general pardon, depoſed further, that her huſband, being ſtung with remorſe at his receiving this laſt viſit from him, had ordered her to fetch the poiſon, and to burn it before his face, which ſhe had accordingly done, except a ſmall doſe that ſhe had reſerved for herſelf in caſe of neceſſity. The box, and reſt of the poiſon, being produced and acknowledged by other witneſſes, convinced *Herod* of his ſon's perfidy, not only to himſelf, but to the two ſons of his favourite *Mariamne*. His other wife of that name was likewiſe accuſed of being in the ſame plot, and though nothing was proved againſt her, yet was ſhe baniſhed, her ſon *Herod* diſinherited, and her father depoſed from the high prieſthood (O). *Doris* was likewiſe ſtript of all her coſtly ornaments, which amounted to a large ſum, and baniſhed the court [1]. *Antipater's plot againſt him diſcovered.*

BUT it is now time to leave for a while *Herod* in his ſad diſtracted condition, and the nation in their feuds and reſentments againſt him, and turn our eyes on more important matters; thoſe great and ineſtimable bleſſings which heaven *John the baptiſt born.*

[1] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 4, 5, & 6.

(O) *Simon* was ſucceeded in that dignity by one *Matthias* the ſon of *Theophilus*, a native of *Jeruſalem*. But this pontiff having, on the following expiation-eve, contracted ſome pollution †, which incapacitated him from officiating on that grand ſolemnity, a near relation of his, named *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Ellemus*, was ſubſtituted in his room. *Matthias* enjoyed his dignity but one year, after which he was depoſed for being privy to an inſurrection raiſed at *Jeruſalem*, and ſucceeded by *Joazar* his brother-in-law (45).

† *Antiq l xvii. c.* 6. *Vid. & Vol III. p.* 201, 235, *& ſeq.*
(45) *Antiq. ubi ſupra, c.* 8.

was

was then ready to ſhower down, not only on the *Jews*, had they not rendered themſelves unworthy of them, but on the whole world, who, we are told, were then in an univerſal expectation of them under the promiſed Meſſiah. For about this time the angel *Gabriel*, who had been formerly ſent to manifeſt to *Daniel* the preciſe time of his coming, by a determinate number of weeks [m] (P), was again ſent to *Zacha-*

ry,

[m] Dan. ix. 24, & ſeq.

(P) This is juſtly allowed one of the nobleſt prophecies in the whole *Old Teſtament*, and one of the ſtrongeſt proofs of chriſtianity againſt the *Jews*, ſince it determines the very time on which Chriſt was to come into the world, enter into his miniſtry, and be cut off for the ſins of the people; ſoon after which was to follow the deſtruction of the *Jews*, or, as the prophet words it, their ceaſing to be a nation or people, and the promulgation of the goſpel, or of the new covenant, in and by that Meſſiah.

The whole prophecy runs as follows (46): *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city to finiſh* (or reſtrain) *the tranſgreſſion, and make an end of ſins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting righteouſneſs, and to ſeal up the viſion and prophecy, and to anoint the moſt holy one. Know therefore, and underſtand, that from the going forth of the commandment to reſtore and to build* Jeruſalem *unto the Meſſiah, the prince, ſhall be ſeven weeks; and threeſcore and two weeks the ſtreets ſhall be built again, and the wall, even in anxious or* (perilous) *times; and after threeſcore and two weeks ſhall Meſſiah be cut off, but not for himſelf; and the people of the prince that ſhall come, ſhall deſtroy the city and the ſanctuary, and the end of it ſhall be with* (or like) *an inundation, and unto the end of the war deſolation is determined; and he ſhall confirm the covenant with many during one week, and in the midſt of the week he ſhall cauſe the ſacrifice and the oblation to ceaſe; and he ſhall make it deſolate on account of the over ſpreading of abominations, until the determined extermination be poured on the land, or people, that is become liable to that deſolation.*

It will not be expected, that we ſhould here enter into a comment on this prophecy, much leſs into a diſſertation on the various ways of computing the ſeventy weeks here mentioned, and the various times which interpreters, both *Jewiſh* and chriſtians, have aſſigned for the beginning and ending of that prophetic epocha. And yet, as the ſubject is of no ſmall moment, the reader will doubtleſs be glad to hear at leaſt, how it is beſt calculated and made

(49) *Dan. ix. 24. & ſeq.*



out

ry, a pious and upright prieſt of the courſe of *Abiah*, whilſt he ſtood offering the ſacred incenſe in the temple, according to the prieſtly office [n], to foretel him the birth of a ſon, the miraculous

[n] Vid. EXOD. xxx. 7, 8, & Vol. III. p. 224, & ſeq.

out by the latter, and by what ſubterfuges the former endeavour to evade the force of it.

The generality of the *Jews* do agree with us, that thoſe prophetic weeks are weeks of years, or of a day for a year, according to the prophetic ſtyle. Though ſome of them, in order to puzzle the cauſe, have pretended to underſtand them of weeks of *jubilees*, or of ſeven *ſabbatic* *, that is, forty nine weeks each, amounting in all to 3430 years (47). A good long epoch, and very proper to keep up the drooping hopes of the *Jews* about the Meſſiah's coming. Others ſtretch it ſtill farther, to ſeven thouſand years, that is, by allowing a hundred years to every week; but the generality underſtand thoſe weeks of ſeven lunar or *Jewiſh* years, as we do, according to which ſeventy weeks will make four hundred and ninety years. But here they finding themſelves cloſely pinched by that computation, have had recourſe to various pitiful ſhifts to explode it. We ſhall give our readers a ſketch of ſome of the beſt of them, by which he may gueſs at the reſt.

Some of them pretend, that the words of the prophet, *from the going forth of the command to reſtore and to build*, are not to be underſtood from the iſſuing out of *Cyrus* or *Darius*'s decree; but from the time of thoſe words being prophetically pronounced by *Jeremiah* to *Zedekiah* king of *Judah* (48) ſome years before the captivity (49); and to ſhew their wretched ſkill in chronology, conclude the epocha with us at the deſtruction of the temple. Others, St *Jerom* tells us (50), began at *Darius* the *Mede*, and ended it with thoſe above-mentioned at the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; only they allowed the eight remaining weeks for the total diſperſion of the *Jewiſh* nation completed under the emperor *Adrian*.

A third ſort begin the ſeventy weeks at the deſtruction of the firſt temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and end it at the deſtruction of the ſecond by *Titus Veſpaſian* (1). Shrinking thereby an epoch of ſix hundred and ſixty years into this of four hundred and ninety, to make it agree with the ſeventy weeks, and thereby betraying ſtill more their ignorance of chronology. This devaſtation of the

* *Concerning thoſe jubilees and ſabbatic years, ſee before Vol. II. p. 195, & ſeq. 190, & (L).* (47) *Vid. N. De Lyra in Dan. ix.* (48) *Jerom. xxiv. 8. & ſeq. xxvii. 1. & ſeq. & alib. paſſ.* (49) *Vid. Munſter in Dan. ix. Not. g. & in Daniel. ix.* (1) *Rabbin. plurim. Vid. int. al. Aben Ezram, Jarchi, & de Lyra in loc. ſub. citat.*

miraculous child of old age and barrenneſs; a ſon whom he ſhould ſhortly have by his virtuous wife *Elizabeth*, and who ſhould be a *Nazarite*, and the fore-runner and great harbinger of the world's redeemer o. Here the good old prieſt, ſurprized at the viſion, and conſcious of his and his ſpouſe's extreme old age, could not forbear deſiring to have his faith confirmed by ſome further miraculous token; and the angel granted his requeſt, and in ſuch a manner, as might at once

o Luke i. 5, & ſeq.

city and temple, and the diſperſion of the *Jews*, is according to this latter ſyſtem to laſt till the overthrow of *Gog* and *Magog* by the Meſſiah; but when that will happen, they do not pretend to gueſs. For theſe reaſons they are altogether at a loſs how to explain this prophecy, ſo as to evade the conſequences drawn from it by the chriſtians againſt them, and have fallen into various hypotheſes, equally abſurd and ridiculous, about the Meſſiah. Some think, that the ſins of the nation have retarded his coming; others, that he came at the appointed time, but did not appear publicly; others, that he is ſtill hid in ſome obſcure part of the world, waiting till they are fit to receive him; others have imagined two Meſſiahs, one humble, obſcure, and rejected; and another as yet to come, glorious, warlike, victorious, and univerſally acknowledged. Laſtly, and to name no more, from a ſenſe of the manifeſt deficiency of all theſe evaſory ſhifts, they have agreed to leave the diſpute about the Meſſiah *in ſuſpendio* till better times, and have prohibited all further enquiries and calculations about it under a ſevere anathema (2).

The chriſtians are not exactly agreed either in the placing the beginning and end of theſe weeks, or in the calculations of thoſe lunar or *Jewiſh* years. Both differences, however, are inconſiderable, if duly attended to; the former is intirely owing to our imperfect knowledge of the chronology of thoſe times. Had we a ſure guide in it, the point would not be long unſettled. But whilſt in this uncertainty one author will place the beginning at the decree of *Cyrus*, another at that of *Darius*, a third at that of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and each of them endeavours to ſtretch or ſhorten the chronology of each interval, as beſt ſuits with his hypotheſis; it is no wonder there is ſo little agreement among them, and ſo little certainty to be gathered from the whole diſpute.

The difference ariſing from the various computations of the *Jewiſh* years is ſtill more inconſiderable, ſince it can amount at moſt but to nine or ten years between thoſe who make it longeſt, and thoſe who make it ſhorteſt; and who can wonder at it, or urge it as an objection againſt this prophecy, that conſiders the variety of

(2) *Vid. ant. al. Baſnag. Diſſert. de 70 hebdomad.*

computations,

once be a reproof to his diffidence, and a confirmation of the meſſage he had delivered to him. *Zacharias* was accordingly ſtruck dumb on that inſtant, and continued ſo, till the promiſed child was actually born. SIX

computations, of either the *Jews*, of which we have formerly ſpoken more fully *, or of other nations, from which this epoch is to be calculated and rectified? Upon the whole then, theſe difficulties duly conſidered, an impartial reader will doubtleſs reſt ſatisfied with that ſyſtem, which beſt adjuſts the ſeventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years, of the prophecy to the chronology of that epoch, according to the beſt light that can be had of it from the ſacred and profane hiſtorians.

Waving therefore ſome minute differences between the authors that have written on that ſubject, the ſyſtem moſt univerſally received by proteſtants, as well as *Roman* catholics, is that of *Julius Africanus* (3), as it has been amended by ſome late eminent chronologers (4), who place the beginning of it, expreſſed in the words of the prophecy, *From the going forth of the commandment to rebuild*, &c. at the beginning of its execution, which was not done till *Nehemiah*'s coming to *Jeruſalem* to ſee it punctually performed, and the end of it at the death of the Meſſiah; which interval makes up the four hundred and ninetieth year here foretold. For as to the firſt, it is plain, that *Nehemiah* found the work quite obſtructed and ſet aſide, at his firſt arrival there, and that he ſat immediately about and finiſhed it (5). This command, which was given in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes* (6), is not, however, to be underſtood, according to them, of the twentieth year of his reigning alone, which would make the whole period too long by ten years; but of the twentieth of his reigning in partnerſhip with his father (on a ſuppoſition that he was admitted into it by him ten years before his death) which will be the tenth of his reigning alone.

This ſyſtem, which ſeems clearly to remove all difficulties, is attended with only one, *viz.* the ſilence of hiſtorians and the unlikelihood of *Artaxerxes* being admitted ſo early into partnerſhip with his father; and this objection, ſmall as it is, has been, however, thought weighty enough to oblige the learned *Prideaux* (7) to ſteer a new courſe, which our readers will perhaps better approve than the former. But as he has treated the ſubject in ſuch a full and prolix manner, as would ſwell this note beyond due bounds, and the book itſelf is in every body's hands, and in our

* *See.. Vol.* I. *p.* 250, (N), & *Vol.* III. *p.* 189, & (K), & *alib.* (3) *Apud Hieron. in Daniel. ubi ſupra.* (4) *Petav. de Doctr. Temp. lib.* xii. *cap.* 32, & *ſeq. Ration. Tempor. part.* 2. *l.* iii. *c.* 10. *Uſſer. ſub A. M.* 3550. (5) *Conf. Nehem.* i, ii, & iii. *paſſ. See alſo Vol.* IX. *p.* 540, & *ſeq.* (6) *Nehem.* i. 1. (7) *Connect. part* 1 *Book* 5. *ſub an.* 458.

Six months after this viſion, the ſame heavenly meſſenger was ſent to an obſcure young virgin, named *Mary*, who dwelt then at *Nazareth*, with, and under the guardianſhip of, her eſpouſed huſband *Joſeph*, both of them of the houſe and lineage of

own language, we ſhall refer the readers to it for the further clearing of this noble prophecy.

In the concluſion the prophet is told, that after the cutting off of the Meſſiah, the temple and city ſhall be deſtroyed by a ſtrange nation, that ſhall come like an inundation againſt it, and that the deſolation of the land ſhall be preceded by an overflowing of abominations; all which ſufficiently prefigures the *Roman* eagles ſet up in the temple, prophetically alſo alluded to by Chriſt himſelf (8), followed by the prophanation, plundering, and firing of that holy place. In the middle of the week, the ſacrifices, oblations, &c. were to ceaſe, not actually, for they did not do ſo till the deſtruction of the city, about forty years after; but they loſt their efficacy, and became uſeleſs and inſignificant after the grand ſacrifice of the Saviour of the world, which they were to prefigure, and from which alone they received their efficacy. Laſtly, thoſe who had thus rejected and put to death the Meſſiah, were to ceaſe to be a people, be diſperſed, deſolate, &c. all which the *Jews* have ſufficiently felt to their coſt.

The deſtruction and laſting deſolation of the city, but more particularly of the temple, was indeed to be the finiſhing ſtroke of the chriſtian evidence againſt the *Jews*. We have ſhewn in a former volume †, how theſe evade the pregnant prophecies of *Jacob*, that *the ſceptre ſhould not depart from* Judah, &c. (9), and the reader has now ſeen what wretched ſhifts they make to elude this of *Daniel*'s week, at the expence of ſenſe and chronology. There ſeemed therefore ſtill wanting a more irrefragable proof, if not to convince, at leaſt to ſilence, that infatuated nation, with reſpect to this important article of the Meſſiah's being come at the appointed time, and of the vanity of thoſe that ſtill expect him; and this was the prophecy of his coming during the ſtanding of the ſecond temple. and rendering it more glorious by his preſence than that of *Solomon*, notwithſtanding its great diſparity in other reſpects, concerning which the reader may look back to what has been ſaid at the beginning of this chapter *. When therefore this temple was deſtroyed, it ought to have convinced them that he was really come, as his apoſtles and diſciples affirmed, though there had been a new one immediately built; how much more when all attempts for the rebuilding it have been hitherto fruſtrated? But of this we ſhall have a proper occaſion to ſpeak more fully in the ſequel.

We beg leave here only to obſerve further, that if the total de-

(8) *Matth.* xxiv. 15, *& alib.* † *Vol. II. p.* 441, G (9) *Geneſis* xlix. 10. * *See Vol. IX p.* 506, & K.

ſtruction

of *David* [P] (Q), with the glad tidings, that she was chosen, by the special favour of heaven, to be the happy mother of the

[P] MATTH. i. 18. LUKE i. 26, & seq. iii. 23, & seq.

struction of the city and temple, and the dispersion of the *Jews*, did not immediately follow the crucifixion of the Messiah, they became obnoxious to it from that time; and God seems only to have protracted the sentence during those forty years, to give them time to repent of that atrocious fact, which, as St. *Peter* observes (10), they had committed through ignorance. Accordingly we find, that vast numbers of them prevented it by a timely conversion (11), whilst the more obdurate sort, refusing to acknowledge that crime (12), and embrace the proffered mercy, were thereupon dispersed throughout the world, to be, against their will, a standing evidence of the truth of the scriptures and prophecies, and of their own judicial blindness and punishment.

(Q) We have taken notice in a former volume, that the *Jews* had a law which expressly forbad heiresses to marry out of their own tribes (13). It is true, the virgin *Mary* seems to have been far enough from being one of that sort, at least in possession, whatever she might be in reversion, or by virtue of the jubilee laws, according to which all lands and inheritances were to revolve to the original owner, or his next heir or heiress †. But there was still a much greater tie, which kept the virgins of the tribe of *Judah*, but especially those of the house of *David*, from marrying into another tribe or family, namely, the sure expectation they had, that the Messiah was to be of that lineage, and to be born in *Bethlehem*, the city and patrimony of that monarch; and how careful every family was to preserve their genealogy, needs not be repeated.

It is therefore in vain, that the *Jews* exclaim against the uncertainty of Christ's being of the seed of *David*, because *Joseph*'s and not *Mary*'s genealogy is deduced from him by the two evangelists, who is yet affirmed by them to have had no share in his conception. The certainty of the virgin's descent from that house is rendered evident enough by what we observed above, especially if we add the testimony of the evangelists themselves, who call her miraculous child the son or descendant of *David*. If it be asked, why they chose rather to give us that of her husband? it may be answered, that they conformed in it to the custom of the *Hebrews*, and even of the sacred writers, who deduce their genealogies from the male rather than the female line; for if Christ the son of *Mary* was the son or descendant of *David*, it must follow that his mother must be so too.

(10) *Acts* iii. 17. (11) *Ibid.* ii. 38, & *seq.* iii. *pass.* (12) *Ibid.* v. 28. (13) *De hac vid. Numb.* xxxvi. *pass.* & *Vol. III.* p. 20. † *De hac vid. ibid.* p. 191, & *seq.* & 200.

But

the promiſed ſaviour of the world, to whom ſhe ſhould therefore give the ſignificant name of *Jeſus* or *Saviour*, according to

But the greater difficulty is, to reconcile the variations of the two genealogies of St. *Mathew* and St. *Luke*, and we much queſtion whether the greater part of our readers would care to have all repeated that has been ſaid on that ſubject, tho' in ever ſo ſuccinct an epitome, eſpecially conſidering that the point has not been ſo ſufficiently cleared hitherto, as to leave no room for freſh cavils and objections. Yet that our ſilence might not be interpreted for a giving up of the cauſe, we ſhall ſubjoin a few obſervations we have been able to make, ſome of which, tho' intirely new, may yet furniſh the curious inquirers into theſe abſtruſe matters, with a better key to reconcile thoſe two genealogies, if not to clear and confirm the one by the help of the other, than they have as yet met with; and as we deſign the following remarks chiefly for ſuch of our ſtudious readers, we ſhall content ourſelves with giving them as hints for them to exert their talents upon, without confining ourſelves ſo much to method, as we do in other notes.

Firſt, then, we beg leave to obſerve, that the titles of father and ſon, as well as the terms *to beget* and *be begotten*, in the language of ſcripture, do not always imply an immediate, but frequently a remote ſucceſſion. Hence the phraſe often uſed by *Moſes*, *when thou ſhalt hereafter beget children and childrens children* (14) and the name of father or ſon given to a predeceſſor or ſucceſſor at the diſtance of two, three, or more generations, as will more fully appear by the ſequel. This being premiſed will ſerve as a baſis to the following remarks on the ſubject of thoſe two goſpel genealogies.

1ſt, St. *Matthew* gives one genealogy, and St. *Luke* another, and both in ſome names vary from the *Old Teſtament*.

2dly, St. *Matthew*, who begins his from *Abraham*, divides it into forty two ſucceſſions, called by him generations; that is,

fourteen before
fourteen under } the regal government.
fourteen after

3dly, The firſt fourteen are the ſame with thoſe in the *Old Teſtament*, and in St. *Luke*.

4thly, The next fourteen in St. *Matthew* contain the legal ſucceſſion of the line of *Solomon*, untill its extinction in *Jechoniah*, *al. Coniah* and *Jehoiachim* (15) when the line of *Nathan*, the ſon of *David* and brother of *Solomon*, took place.

5thly, The inheritance in the *Jewiſh* polity being unalienable farther than the jubilee, as was before hinted, and then revolving to the next ſurviving heir, the latter, tho' at ſome diſtance from the former, was called the ſon, that is, properly the ſucceſſor of the former. Thus *Salathiel*, who by St. *Luke*'s genealogy appears

(14) *Deut. paſſ.* (15) *Conf. Jerem.* xxii. 24. *ad fin.* 2 *Kings* xxiv. 8. *& ſeq.* 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 9, *& ſeq.*

to

to the prophecies long ſince written of him. Thoſe that relate to this particular head, are as follow: *Behold a virgin ſhall*

to have been the deſcendant of *Nathan* the ſon of *David*, is by St. *Matthew* ſaid to be begotten by *Jechoniah* (16), the laſt of the *Solomonic* line, becauſe he was the next ſurviving heir of the houſe of *David* after *Jechoniah*'s death. Had not therefore *Solomon*'s line been ſet down, and the end thereof noted, it could not have appeared from St. *Luke*, how *Salathiel* came by his title of ſucceſſion; for the line of *Nathan* could not have any claim to it, whilſt that of *Solomon* ſubſiſted, unleſs in an uncertain reverſion; and this will account for the difference between St *Luke* and St. *Matthew*, in theſe middle fourteen generations.

6thly, But there is likewiſe in this latter ſucceſſion a manifeſt variation as to the number from the books of the *Old Teſtament*. It has indeed been ſolved by ſaying that the evangeliſt aiming only at the three round numbers of fourteen generations abovementioned, had overlooked or purpoſely paſt by ſome of the redundant ones; and this anſwer has hitherto paſt for current.

But the difference ſeems to ariſe from ſomething more material, than the bare aim at an equality of numbers. The hiſtorical books ſet down all the kings in general that had reigned from *David* to *Jechoniah*; but St. *Matthew*, as a genealogiſt, ſeems to take notice only of thoſe who had a legal title, and to omit the others. Of this latter ſort we take *Ahaziah* the ſon of *Jehoram* by *Athaliah* to have been, who is ſaid to have been made king by the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* upon his father's death, becauſe his elder brother had been killed by *Philiſtines* (17), which ſeems to intimate, that they had choſen him in lieu of ſome infant ſon of his deceaſed brother. For had not this been the caſe, he would have ſucceeded of courſe without the people's choice. In the ſame claſs we may put *Joaſh*, who ſucceeded his father *Ahaziah*, and *Amaziah* the ſon of *Joaſh*, all who might ſucceed each other in prejudice of the elder branch, till this being extinct, made way for the younger in *Uſiah* or *Oſias*, the ſon of *Amaziah*, who is therefore called by the evangeliſt, the ſon (18), that is, as we have hinted above, the ſucceſſor of *Jehoram*, though at the diſtance of three generations above-mentioned.

Thus again *Zedekiah*, who was ſet up by the king of *Babylon*, in prejudice of his elder brother *Jechoniah*, is likewiſe omitted by the evangeliſt. Now when theſe irregular ſucceſſions are taken away, there will remain but the ſame fourteen which are mentioned in his genealogy.

7thly, The next variation between the two evangeliſts is in the laſt fourteen generations, and ariſes from the one's conſtant

(16) *Conf. Luke iii.* 27, *ad* 31, & *Matth. i.* 12. (17) *Vid.* 2 *Chron. xxii.* 1. & 2 *Kings viii.* 24, & *ſeq.* (18) *Matth. ubi ſupra, ver.* 8.

care

ſhall conceive, and bear a ſon, and ſhall call his name Emanuel, &c.

care of pointing out the paſſing of the inheritance as far as it goes in the elder branch. They both agree as far as *Zerubbabel*, after which St. *Matthew* goes on with *Abiud* and his heirs, down to *Eleazar*, where the line of *Abiud* ends; and then hefets down as his ſon and ſucceſſor *Matthan* (19), who is by St. *Luke* mentioned under the name of *Matthat*, and was of the line of *Rheſa* (20) the ſon of *Zerubbabel*. So that he entered into the regular ſucceſſion after the extinction of that of *Abiud*.

Thus again *Matthat* or *Matthan* dying childleſs, *Eli* was obliged, according to the *Moſaic* law, to take his wife, and raiſe up ſeed to him, and by him begot *Joſeph* the huſband of *Mary*, who, according to the ſame law, was ſtill reputed as the ſon of the dead elder brother. For this reaſon St *Matthew* rightly calls him the ſon of *Jacob*; whereas St. *Luke*, who did not proceed on the ſame method, calls him the ſon of *Eli*. The firſt gives us the name of his legal, the other of his natural father.

St *Matthew* might in all probability have fetched his genealogy from the records of *Bethlehem*, the patrimony of *David*, and wherein therefore none were entered, but ſuch as by a regular lineal deſcent were in actual poſſeſſion of it, and where the younger branch, though in actual poſſeſſion of the crown, could not be regularly inrolled, as long as there was any heir of the elder left alive, or till ſuch a time as this latter failed. St. *Luke*, on the other hand, who, as he tells us in the preface to his goſpel, propoſed to ſupply ſuch defects as he found in thoſe who had writ the hiſtory of *Jeſus Chriſt* before him, fearing leſt theſe omiſſions ſhould cauſe ſome confuſion, for want of pointing out when the younger ſucceeded the elder branch, had recourſe to the book of chronicles, where the ſeries of the ſucceſſions, both regular and irregular, legal and illegal, are exhibited. So that both had their genealogies from the moſt authentic, though different, records, and ſcrupulouſly adhered each to his own, according to the ſcheme they had in view, and conſequently, inſtead of claſhing, do more probably clear and confirm each other.

There is ſtill one difficulty left with reſpect to St *Luke*'s genealogy, *viz.* his introducing of *Cainan* in the line of *Shem*, adding thereto one generation, contrary to the *Hebrew* text in *Geneſis* and the *Chronicles*, and all the verſions of it, except the ſeptuagint, contrary to the concurring teſtimony of *Joſephus*, *Philo*, and other *Jewiſh* doctors, as well as to that of the antient fathers; all who not only omit *Cainan*'s name, but reckon only ten generations from *Noah* to *Abraham*, whereas with this there would be eleven.

This difference has given commentators more pains to reconcile than we think it deſerved, conſidering the likelihood there is of it

(19) *Ubi ſupra*, ver. 15. (20) *Ubi ſupra*, ver. 23.

&c. [q] (R). ----- *Unto us a child is born; unto us a ſon is given; and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder; and his*

[q] ISAIAH vii. 14.

having been jumbled into St. *Luke*'s text by the careleſſneſs of the tranſcribers, there being another *Cainan* mentioned in the verſe immediately following, which might be alſo, according to the old cloſe way of writing, in the very next line. But allowing it to have been originally in St *Luke*, it is plain, he muſt have had it out of the ſeptuagint, which verſion both he and the other ſacred writers his cotemporaries uſed, and the copy which he then had might have been corrupted after the ſame careleſs manner; for it doth not appear that all the copies of that verſion had this name, elſe it would be found in all the *Latin* verſions of it, as well as in *Joſephus*, *Philo*, and the fathers; and then they muſt have reckoned eleven inſtead of ten generations.

The ſame may be ſaid even on the ſuppoſition, that it was originally put in by the ſeventy interpreters; for as neither they, nor the tranſcribers of the *Hebrew* copy, which they took with them into *Egypt*, were infallible (at leaſt we think we have made it appear they were not, when we ſpoke of their verſion) how eaſily might that word have crept into the text by their inadvertency!

But if all this will not ſatisfy the ſcrupulous, what we have obſerved above of the diſtinction of natural and legal parents, will eaſily remove the difficulty; ſo that *Arphaxad* might be the natural father of *Sala*, and the legal one of *Cainan*, or *vice verſâ* There is therefore no need of having recourſe, as ſome have done, to injurious ſuppoſitions againſt the *Jews*, as if they had purpoſely ſcratched out the name of *Cainan* in their *Hebrew* copies, that they might take occaſion to cry down the ſeptuagint verſion; much leſs to other more violent means, to account for ſo ſmall a variation, which, for ought appears to the contrary, was occaſioned by the mere overſight of a tranſcriber, and the more probably, of St. *Luke*'s own copy, than of either original or *Greek* verſion

(R) This prophecy has been very much canvaſſed of late by our modern ſceptics, and as learnedly anſwered by ſeveral eminent hands. Thoſe diſputes are ſo recent, that we need not refer our readers to the authors who have wrote on either ſide. As for the difficulty that is raiſed, how the prophecy of a child thus miraculouſly born, could be a ſatisfaction to *Ahaz*, to whom it was addreſſed, unleſs it was fulfilled in his time, we have anſwered it in a former volume, to which the reader may, if he pleaſes, have recourſe †.

† *Vol IV. p.* 70, & (K).

name ſhall be called Wonderful, Counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace[r] (S); with ſome others of the ſame nature, which are not quite ſo manifeſt,

[r] Ibid. ix. 6.

(S) Our readers may perhaps be willing to know what anſwer or evaſion the *Jews* make uſe of againſt ſuch pregnant prophecies; and it will not be amiſs here to give them a ſpecimen of them out of one of their ſubtileſt and boldeſt champions (z1), by which he may gueſs at the reſt.

Firſt then, to the former of theſe prophecies, where the miraculous child is called *Jeſus* or *Saviour*, becauſe he was to ſave his people from their ſins, they in general, and this in particular, anſwer to this effect: Who has told you that the ſin of *Adam* has intailed any guilt on his poſterity? Was not that of his ſon *Cain*, who murdered his brother, a thouſand times greater than the biting of an apple? and yet no ſuch thing is ſaid of his poſterity being tainted with it. Beſides, where is there any mention made that the Meſſiah was to ſave his people from their ſins? and if there was, how did *Jeſus* ſave us from them, when you own he made us commit one infinitely heavier in crucifying him? In vain do you tell us of a redeemer of ſouls, we expect none but a redeemer of bodies, a Meſſiah that ſhall deliver us from ſlavery, and make us again a flouriſhing victorious nation and kingdom.

To the ſecond prophecy, the ſarcaſtic author above quoted gives the following anſwer in a kind of triumphing tone. We will join iſſue with you, tho' according to your interpretation, it ſhould have been written *his names* inſtead of *his name ſhall be called*) but waving that, how can his (*Jeſus*'s) name be called *wonderful, Counſellor?* Did not *Judas* rather defeat his counſel, when he betrayed him unknown to him? He could not be the *gibbor*, or *mighty one*, ſeeing he was put to death: He could not be the *Abbi*, the *everlaſting father*, or *father of eternity*, becauſe he was cut off in the midſt of his days Laſtly, he could not be called the *prince of peace*, becauſe he enjoyed none himſelf, neither have wars ever ceaſed ſince his time; yea, himſelf ſays, that he did not come to bring peace, but war upon earth.

Others endeavour to elude the force of the prophecy, by pretending that the impersonal ויקרא *vajicra*, *he ſhall call*, refers to God; and conſequently that all thoſe titles there mentioned refer to him, and not to the child there ſpoken of. But this evaſion is ſo ungrammatical and contrary to the plain import, in a vaſt number of parallel places, that others of them have diſowned it.

(z1) *Auctor. libr Nitzahon vid. Munſter. in loc. & not. in verſ. Hebr. Evang. S. Matth. c. i.*

nor

nor ſo univerſally agreed on (T). But the ſurpriſed virgin was ſo far from calling to mind thoſe prophecies, that ſhe looked on her virginity, which it is moſt likely ſhe had reſolved to preſerve under the guardianſhip of an aged religious huſband, as an obſtacle to the accompliſhment of the angel's word, till, aſſured at length by him of the miraculous conception of that divine child, with an humble confidence ſhe wholly ſubmitted herſelf to the will of heaven. The angel having at the ſame time acquainted her with the pregnancy of her couſin *Elizabeth* in her old age, ſhe went up into the mountainous country to congratulate her and her huſband upon it. At the firſt embracing of theſe three holy perſons, whoſe ecſtatic joy can only be gueſſed from the pathetic account which the evangeliſt has left us of it [r]; *Elizabeth*, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, felt her child give a leap in her womb, from which ſhe began to conceive a higher notion of her viſitor, and which ſhe expreſſed in terms of the

[r] LUKE i. 43, & ſeq.

(T) Of this kind is that of *Jeremiah* (22); *The Lord will create a new thing upon the earth, a female* (or woman *ſhall incompaſs a man*; which the context plainly ſhews to allude to the days of the Meſſiah, and moſt probably, from the natural ſenſe of the words, to the miraculous pregnancy of this virgin. However, the *Jews* not only take them in a very different ſenſe, but exclaim againſt us for urging this text to them.

Eſpecially the *Jewiſh* author above quoted, who here, as everywhere elſe, rather expoſes his inveterate rancour againſt the *Chriſtians*, than his ſkill in the prophetic writings. It would doubtleſs offend our reader's ears, to tell him what a filthy word this vile wretch has found for the bleſſed mother of Chriſt, by the alteration of the firſt letter of her name, or the blaſphemies which moſt of their other writers vent againſt him and his religion. It ſhall ſuffice to have given this hint of it once for all. We ſhall ſpare them for the future, ſince their diſtorting the obvious ſenſe of the ſacred writings, whilſt they acknowledge the divine authority of them, doth but the more evince the truth of the one, and the invincible obſtinacy of the other.

Another text hitherto miſunderſtood and worſe tranſlated, and which we think to be prophetical of the birth of Chriſt of a virgin, is that of the *Proverbs*, chap. xxx. verſe 19 *The way of the man, not with the maid*, as our verſion renders it, but *in the virgin*; but this we have had occaſion to explain in a former volume, to which we refer the reader *.

(22) *Cap. xxxi. 22.* * *Vol III p. 325, (P).*

deepeſt reſpect and gratitude. *Mary*, on her part, being filled with rapturous joy at what ſhe had heard, teſtified her humble ſenſe for all the divine favours ſhe ſaw herſelf bleſt with, in that moſt heavenly canticle, which the ſame evangeliſt has preſerved to us; and, after three months abode, returned to her homely habitation at *Nazareth*. During her ſtay there, *Elizabeth* being delivered of the promiſed ſon, gave him the name of *John* (U), as his father had been commanded by the angel; and *Zacharias*, having teſtified his conſent to it in writing, found his tongue immediately looſed, and his heart filled with the Holy Ghoſt; and broke out into an euchariſtic and prophetic hymn, which inſpired the wondering byſtanders with ſingular hopes concerning this new-born child [t].

The Trachonitiſh *robbers ſuppreſſed.*

During this time, that part of *Judæa*, which is called *Trachonitis* (W), and which was very rocky and mountainous, had been the receptacle of a great number of banditti and free-booters, who, as we have already hinted, lived chiefly upon the plunder which they got by their conſtant excurſions, ſometimes towards *Judæa*, ſometimes towards *Arabia*. What was ſtill worſe, they infeſted the roads that led from the *Babyloniſh* territories to *Jeruſalem*, and hindered the concourſe of the *Jews* of thoſe quarters to the annual feaſts. *Herod*, who had already been at a vaſt deal of pains to ferret them out of their dens and lurking-holes, bethought himſelf at length of a way of ſuppreſſing them effectually. He began with enlarging and fortifying a village, which was conveniently ſituated in the heart of the country, and became

[t] Ibid. v. 67 ad fin.

(U) In the *Hebrew* יוחנן *jochanan*, a name very expreſſive of that gracious diſpenſation, which heaven was going to diſplay by the goſpel, of which this child was appointed the harbinger.

(W) This region, which had *Arabia Deſerta* on the eaſt, *Batanea* on the weſt, the land of *Damaſcus* on the north, and *Iturea* on the ſouth, ſeems to have had its name from two famous mountains, which an antient geographer calls *Trachones* (23). The greateſt part indeed of it, according to *Joſephus*, who places it between *Paleſtine* and *Cæle Syria*, had ſuch ridges of rocks and mountains, eſpecially on the ſides of *Arabia* and *Iturea*, that ſome of them had caverns large enough to lodge a thouſand men (24).

(23) *Strab Geogr. l. xvi* (24) *Vid Joſeph ubi ſupra, l. c. 7. Euſeb. in loc jab voc. Hanath. Hieron loc. Hebr.*

in

in time a conſiderable town. Hither he invited a certain *Jewiſh* captain, named *Zamaris*, who was gone at the head of five hundred well-armed men to ſettle in a caſtle in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*; and gave him and his men ſo many encouragements and immunities, that they came and fixed their abode there, and ſoon cleared all that country of that plundering vermin [w]. *Zamaris*, who was both valiant and religious, did not only ſignalize himſelf in this province, but left a noble off-ſpring like himſelf, whoſe very names were ſufficient to deter the reſt of that gang from ſettling there any more.

Chriſt the ſaviour of the world born.

THE virgin *Mary*, who was returned, from her viſit to *Zacharias*, to *Nazareth* the place of her abode, began now to give ſuch ſigns of her pregnancy, as made her aged ſpouſe, who had wholly abſtained from matrimonial converſe with her, to conceive ſome ſtrong ſuſpicion of her incontinency. He was thereupon contriving ſome means to give her a private divorce, without expoſing her to the rigour of the law; when he was appriſed by an angel, that her conception was altogether miraculous, and that he ought not to heſitate one moment to take her and her child under his patronage, ſince that miraculous ſon was appointed by heaven to be the ſaviour of his people. *Joſeph* immediately obeyed, and took her to his home, but lived in perfect continence with her till the time of her delivery [w], if not of his death (X). In the mean time,

[u] Antiq l. xvii. c. 2. [w] MATT. i. 18, & ſeq.

(X) This laſt is the moſt received opinion, and it is certain that the particle *till*, eſpecially according to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, doth not always imply the duration of a thing to ſuch a time, but often carries a continuation unto the end; otherwiſe Chriſt would have his ſeſſion at the right hand of God no longer than till his enemies were made his foot ſtool (25). *Timothy* would have been obliged, according to St *Paul*'s exhortation (26), to have vacated to the ſcriptures and other epiſcopal duties, no longer than till the coming of that apoſtle to him; and *Jacob* would have been no longer intitled to the divine protection, than till God had performed the promiſe of bringing him ſafe to his own home again (27). The reader may ſee many more inſtances of the like nature in the famous concordance of indeclinables printed by *Froben* (28).

(25) *Pſalm.* cx 1. (26 1 *Timoth* iv. 13. (27) *Genes.* xxviii. 15. (28(*Sub voc. Donec.*

time, *Bethlehem*, the city of *David*, and not the obscure city of *Nazareth*, being the place pointed at by the prophet for the birth of the Messiah [x], the divine wisdom so ordered it, that the decree of *Augustus* for taking a fresh survey of the *Roman* empire, and the number and estimate of all persons, estates, riches, &c. (Y) should reach *Judæa* about this

Augustus's decree.

[x] Mic v. 2.

If it be objected, why *Joseph*, who is by St. *Matthew* called a righteous man, should scruple to expose his wife to the rigour of the *Mosaic* law, which condemns all such to death; it is answered, that the word *righteous* is here used by the evangelist in opposition to one of a severe and rigorous disposition, and rather means a *charitable* person, who, though he abhors the crime, yet thinks there is a debt of mercy and compassion due to the offender; and who could have a greater claim to it, than a young and unexperienced virgin?

(Y) When this way of surveying came in vogue in the *Roman* empire, how, and by whom, it was performed, shall be shewn in the *Roman* history. We need only take notice, that *Augustus* called three of these to be made in his time, of which this was the second; it had been began somewhat above seven years before the vulgar or christian æra, that is, above three years before the birth of Christ; and it might be well all that time going through the provinces of *Cœle Syria*, *Phœnice*, and part of *Judæa*, before it came to *Bethlehem* (29), since that which had been made by *David*, of the single province of *Judæa*, (though it doth not appear that the commissioners were to take an estimate of the estates, but only the number of fighting men) had taken up three whole years, though they were recalled before they had gone through with it (30).

It may not be amiss to observe further concerning this decree of *Augustus*, that there is a kind of dissonance between St *Luke* and *Josephus*, the former calling it a decree for taxing the empire, and the other affirming, that no tax was paid in *Judæa* during *Herod* and his son *Archelaus*'s reign, and that it did not begin till the deposition of the latter, when that province was put under a *Roman* governor or president. This was not till twelve years after, when *Cyrenius*, as he is called by the *Greeks* and the evangelists, or, in the *Roman* style, *Pub. Sulp. Quirinius*, was sent president of *Syria* (31).

The difference is easily reconciled; the decree issued out by *Augustus* was in order to have the empire taxed according to the esti-

(29) *Conf.* Sueton *in Octavio*, & *Luc. ii* 1, & *seq.* (30) 2 *Sam xxiv* 1, & *seq. See also Vol. III. p.* 543, & *not* R. (31) *Antiq l xviii. c.* 1.

mate

this time, which obliged the pregnant virgin and her husband to repair thither, to be inrolled with all those that were of the house and lineage of *David*. The great concourse of people coming to that place, put this poor little family under two inconveniencies, *viz.* a long stay, and the want of a lodging and proper entertainment; yet was this also conducted by a special providence, that he, who was to be the pattern of humility, should begin and end his race in the same low and dejected path. Accordingly when the pregnant virgin found herself near the time of her delivery, she was forced to take up with the mean accommodation of a stable, where having brought forth her god-like son, she wrapped him up in swaddling-cloaths, and, for want of a better, made the poor manger serve him for a cradle.

Christ's birth proclaimed by angels.

BUT this humble rising of the sun of righteousness did soon break out into its peculiar lustre, when an angel, at the head of an heavenly host, proclaimed his wondrous birth to the watching shepherds, and celebrated it with that noble hymn, *Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, good will towards men*; and here began the first part of the character of that divine child, hinted above out of the prophet, to be displayed, *And he shall be called Wonderful*; wonderfully conceived, wonderfully born, and as wonderfully manifested. Accordingly the angel, having declared to the shepherds, that on that day was born in the city of *David* a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord, gives them these wonderful signs to discover him by: *Ye shall find the babe wrapped up in swaddling cloaths, and lying in a manger* [y]; and the shepherds going to the place, and finding all things as had been told to them, became themselves the publishers of the joyful news, and began to fill the neighbourhood with hopes of their long-expected and now assured deliverance. The child's parents, according to the *Mosaic* law, circumcised him on the eighth day, and gave him the name of *Jesus*, as they had been directed by the angel [z] (Z).

ANOTHER

[y] LUKE ii. 8, & 12. [z] Ibid. ver. 21. MATTH. i. 21.

mate made by this survey. *Judæa*, though then subject to *Rome*, was excepted by the favour of the emperor, till the deposition of *Archelaus*, when it began to take place there under that new president. This sense, which seems the obvious one of the evangelist, doth in no way really cath with the *Jewish* historian (32).

(Z) This wonderful advent of the Saviour of the world happened, according to the best computation we have, that of our

(32) *De hoc vid Usser. Prid Calmet & al*

most

The temple of Janus *ſhut.*

ANOTHER remarkable occurrence, and very proper to uſher in both this character of *Wonderful*, as well as the other

moſt excellent *Uſher*, in the four thouſand year of the world; and falls in exactly with an old tradition of the *Jews* mentioned in a former vo ume, that the world ſhould laſt two thouſand years before the law, two thouſand under the law, and two thouſand under the Meſſiah, according to the ſix days of the *Moſaic* creation; after which was to follow the ſeventh, or millennium †.

Accordingly we find that there was, about this time, an univerſal expectation of him among all the *Jews*, and even among the *Heathens*, who might have it probably from them; the ſacred books having by this time been a conſiderable while tranſlated into *Greek*, as we have ſeen in a former ſection. Neither is it improbab e, they might ſtill retain a kind of traditionary notion of him from the prophecy of *Balaam*, concerning the wonderful ſtar that was to riſe out of *Jacob* (33); and this may be the reaſon why theſe ſo readily embraced chriſtianity, whilſt the *Jews*, blinded with prejudice, and ſoothed into the hopes of a conquering deliverer, rejected both him aud his doctrine. But of this hereafter.

We have ſeen a little h'gher, how the *Jews* evade thoſe prophecies, which fixed the coming of Chriſt to this time by ſeveral manifeſt indices; and need we wonder they ſhould do the ſame thing by this tradition? Their common ſalvo, that the ſins of the nation have retarded his coming, is a plain acknowledgment, that they look upon the time as long ſince expired, though they will hardly own it in ſo many words. But here they go from a received notion of their doctors, that though God may protract, or even remit the evils he denounces againſt men, as he did in the caſe of the *Ninevites*, yet he never doth ſo with his promiſes, but punctually performs them in due time According to which notion they uſed to try a true from a falſe prophet; that is, they did not condemn him, if his threatning did not come to paſs, but only when his promiſes failed.

This notion of the Meſſiah's coming being retarded on account of the ſins of the nation, is indeed the natural offſpring of a much greater error; their expecting him to have appeared in the pomp and grandeur of a conquering and victorious monarch, who was to free them from the *Roman* yoke, and bring this and all other nations under that of the *Jews*; for this is the ſenſe they put on all thoſe prophecies which ſet forth the glories of his kingdom; and theſe being the chief bleſſings they expected from him, and on which they ſet the higheſt value, what more likely cauſe could be aſſigned for his delay than that of their ſins?

† *Vol. III. p.* 193. (33) *Numb. xxiv.* 17.

But

ther of *Prince of Peace*, was, that the temple of *Janus* was then ſhut, which was never done, but when the empire enjoyed a profound peace [z], as it did at this time, and continued to do twelve whole years (A). But the moſt ſignal manifeſtation of this new-born Saviour, and which put the whole city of *Jeruſalem* into an uproar, was the arrival of the *Magi*, or *Wiſe-men* from the eaſt (B), to that metropolis, under

[z] See the authors quoted under the following note.

But could they have opened their eyes to the oppoſite part of his character, which is there as plainly and expreſsly foretold, and in the very ſame chapter of the ſame prophet (34), namely, that of his humiliation and ſufferings, of his being rejected, reproached, blaſphemed, and perſecuted, even to death; they muſt have concluded, that nothing leſs than their ſins could be the cauſe of his coming being ſo long ſuſpended. On the contrary, they would have ſeen, that ſince a perſon of his glorious, beneficent, and irreproachable character was to be ſo cruelly treated, ſo unjuſtly and ſo inhumanly butchered by his own people, no time could be fitter for his coming, than when their nation was come up to the height of ingratitude and injuſtice, of infatuation and inhumanity, as it really was, when thoſe prophecies were fulfilled in him.

(A) This was the fifth time of its being ſhut ſince the foundation of *Rome*; the firſt time was under *Numa*; the ſecond at the end of the *Punic* war; the third under *Cæſar Auguſtus*, after the defeat of *Marc Antony* and death of *Cleopatra*, twenty nine years before the birth of Chriſt; the fourth four years after, or twenty five years before Chriſt, on the reduction of the *Cantiberians* or *Cantabrians* in *Spain*; and the fifth at this time of our Saviour's birth and under the ſame emperor (35).

(B) It would doubtleſs prove an inquiry worth making, could we come at any tolerable certainty concerning theſe wiſe men, who they were? what part of the world they came from? what time of the year they arrived at *Jeruſalem*? how many they were? and many more ſuch queſtions, which have been ſtarted to little purpoſe, and to which no ſatisfactory light can be given. However, to ſpare our curious readers the trouble of conſulting the various accounts that have been given of them, we ſhall here ſubjoin the moſt that can be found concerning them.

1ſt, It is generally agreed, that they were of the ſect of the *Mages*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume †,

(34) *Iſaiah liii. paſſ vid.* & *Pſ. xxii. paſſ* & *alib. plur.*
(35) *De his vid Plutarch in Numa. Liv. lib. i. Flor. lib. ii. Dio Caſſ. l ii.* & *al. Oroſ. L. vi, c* 20, & *ſeq.* † *Vol. IV. p.* 501, & *ſeq.* & *V. p.* 115. & *not.* R.

persons wholly addicted to the study of philosophy, astronomy, and divination; and are supposed by some to have been the disciples or descendants of *Balaam*, whom we have mentioned a little higher, on account of his notable prophecy of the Messiah. This will not appear improbable, if we consider, that both they and their supposed master are said to have come from the east (36). Now the latter is said to have been sent for from the city of *Pethor* (37), which is there affirmed to have been situate on the banks of the river of the land of the children of his people, or, as the targum of *Onkelos* renders the place, on the river *Euphrates*, and elsewhere is said by *Moses* to have been a city of *Mesopotamia* (38). So that this country of *Arabia Deserta* seems most probably to be the place they came from; for they generally bear the name of *eastern* in the sacred writings. Another antient author, whom we shall have occasion to mention under the next note, tells us, that they were *Chaldeans* by birth, and by profession great astronomers; and that it was by the help of this art that they understood what this new risen star pre signified, which made them take their journey into *Judæa*, where the new *Jewish* king was born. Now *Chaldea*, properly so called, being situate along the river *Euphrates*, was still nearer *Judæa* than the other two above-mentioned.

This will also give us some light into another question concerning them, *viz.* How long they were in coming from their country to *Jerusalem?* for if they came from the latter, they might easily reach it on their camels or dromedaries, the usual, but expeditious, carriage of those parts, in and about a fourteenth night; and if from the former, through the latter, one week or ten days more might suffice. For upon the supposition above mentioned, of their coming from *Mesopotamia* and the banks of the *Euphrates*, the greatest distance from that river to *Jerusalem* will not much exceed six hundred miles. What further seems to confirm this conjecture is, the prophecy of the kings of *Sheba* and *Saba*, or *Arabia*, bringing their gifts to the king Messiah. For of him is this psalm (29) allowed by *Jews* and *Christians* to have been writ.

Some ancient authors indeed, who have fetched them from the remotest parts of *Persia*, have allowed them a two years travel, and found their supposition on the inquiry which *Herod* made of the exact time of the star's appearing to them, and his destroying all the male infants from two years and under (30); but what quite overturns this conjecture, and proves that they must have been at *Bethlehem* within less than forty days after his birth, is, that this was the place where they found him; whereas after his parents had presented him to the Lord at *Jerusalem*, which was to be

(36) *Conf. Numb.* xxiii. 7. & *Matth.* ii. 1. (37) *Numb.* xxii. 5 (38) *Deut.* xxiii. 4. (29) *Psalm.* lxxii. 10. (30) *De his vid. Calmet. Comment. in Matth.*

done

done at the end of forty days, they are ſaid to have gone and dwelt at *Nazareth*, their uſual habitation (31).

Beſides, if they had been two years in coming, the ſtar muſt be alſo ſuppoſed to have appeared to them ſo long before, and to have directed them all that time, which is abſurd, as we ſhall further ſhew under the next note *Herod* therefore, by ſlaying all the males under two years, might only do it for his greater ſecurity, and from ſome doubt either that the *Magi* might not have obſerved the firſt appearance of the ſtar, or that they had purpoſely concealed it from him, out of a forecaſt they had of his bloody deſign againſt the child. We have ſeen already through his hiſtory, that he was never ſparing of the lives of his ſubjects, whenever his jealouſy or reſentment rendered them obnoxious to him.

Neither ſacred nor ancient eccleſiaſtical writers tell us, how many in number, or of what quality, they were; but this has not hindered thoſe more recent fixing theſe and many more minute circumſtances, even as far as their names, age, complexion, dreſs, retinue, and ſuch like. As for their number, the moſt received opinion is, that they were but three, and this notion ſeems founded on the three kinds of preſents they brought with them, as if each of them had preſented a different one. But this is ſaid without foundation. An old apocryphal book has multiplied them to twelve; and adds, that they were choſen from their whole nation, and went every night on the high mountains to watch the appearance of the ſtar (32).

Thoſe that give them the title of *kings*, found their opinion partly on the text above-quoted out of the pſalmiſt, and partly on a notion, which *Tertullian* had taken (33), on what ground is hard to gueſs, that all thoſe eaſtern nations were governed by kings choſen out of the ſect of the *Mages*. To the royal crown the *Armenians* (34) have added to them that of martyrdom, which they pretend they ſuffered in that country The great conſtable of *Armenia*, in his letter to the king of *France*, (St. *Lewis*) adds, that they came thither from the province of *Tangut* (35). All this is ſaid on the authority of a tradition they have among them, and not from any authentic records; ſo that we may oppoſe to it that of the city of *Cologne*, which pretends that they died there in their way home, and ſhews not only their tomb, but their three heads, in the cathedral of that city. Their epitaph, which is in *Latin* verſe, gives them the names of *Gaſpar*, *Melchiar*, and *Balthazar*.

We ſhall add one tradition more concerning them, which is, it ſeems, as ſtifly believed in ſome parts of the *Indies*, as the two

(31) *Luke* 11. 39. (32) *Auth. ap. imperf in Matth. homil.* 2. (33) *Cont. Marcion l* iii. *& lib. cont. Judæos.* (34) *Vid. Chardin's travels into* Perſia, *tom.* 3. (35) *Spicileg. ap Calmet. ubi ſupra.*

der the guidance of a miraculous ſtar (C), which ceaſed not to go before them, till it had brought them to the place and perſon

laſt are in *Armenia* and *Germany*. We have it on the credit of *Jerom Oſorius*, biſhop of *Algarba* in *Portugal*, who aſſures us he had it from perſons of undoubted credit, well verſed in the ancient monuments of thoſe countries, and is to this effect:

Chiperimal, king of *Crangavor*, in the kingdom of *Calecut*, having undertaken ſome long voyage by way of expiation for an inceſt he had committed, came into *Carmania*, where he met with two *Mages*, going into *Judæa* to pay their homage to a miraculous child newly born of a virgin. The king begged leave to accompany them, and on his return cauſed a ſtately church to be built in honour of the virgin and her ſon, and in which he cauſed her image to be ſet up, holding the child in her arms. We ſhall ſtop here, ſeeing there is no going further in ſearch of them, without danger of being ſtill more bewildered.

However, before we diſmiſs this note, it will be very proper to take notice, once for all, that from the very earlieſt times of chriſtianity, there ſtarted up a number of heretics, who, the better to colour their impious tenets, trumped up divers falſe goſpels and writings, under the names of ſome of the apoſtles or moſt famous diſciples of Chriſt, and ſtuffed them with ſuch variety of miraculous circumſtances and ſtories, as obliged the heads of the church to condemn and explode them, as they juſtly deſerved. But though the books vaniſhed, except their names and ſome few fragments of them, yet the memory of thoſe addititious ſtories and miracles was not ſo eaſily extinguiſhed among the vulgar, who were ignorant of their foul origin; but was propagated by a kind of popular tradition, which was afterwards too indiſcriminatively received by the writers of the fourth, fifth, &c. centuries, eſpecially where they thought it ſerved to clear a text, or ſupplied thoſe circumſtances of men and things, which had been omitted by the ſacred writers.

Thus the various notions about the wiſe men, mentioned above, of the miraculous ſtar, we ſhall ſpeak of in the next note, and many more of the like kind, too groſs to deſerve a place here, ſeem to have flowed from the pſeudo-goſpels of *Joſeph the carpenter*, of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, of *the infancy of Jeſus*, and ſome others, falſely attributed to one or other of the apoſtles; but in time their origin being forgot, they were received as common traditions, and quoted as ſuch by ſome of the latter fathers. So that it would be unjuſt to charge thoſe great and good men, with either forgery, or even with a fondneſs for what we call pious frauds, ſeeing the perſecuted ſtate of the church during ſo many centuries made their miſtake almoſt unavoidable, which was in better times happily diſcovered and rectified.

(C) We have likewiſe a great variety of conjectures concerning this

perſon they were in ſearch of. However, as they looked upon him as the king of the *Jews*, they firſt repaired to the

this wonderful ſtar, according as men are inclined either to leſſen or to multiply miracles. Of this ſecond ſort are thoſe who think it to have been a mere comet, only with ſome peculiar luſtre, or ſome other index, well underſtood by the wiſe men (36); and others, who make no more of it than a meteor, vaſtly below the orb of the moon †; though either of theſe can hardly be admitted without the interpoſition of a miracle, ſince the ſuppoſition of an extraordinary luſtre in the former, and the long and regular motion of the latter, contrary to all that we underſtand of meteors, ſeems to have required a ſupernatural hand. Since therefore a miracle muſt be admitted, and it is plain God was never leſs ſparing of them than upon this glorious juncture; others have with greater probability believed it to have been a luminous body created on purpoſe; others, that it was the very light which had appeared to the ſhepherds, which having been ſeen at a diſtance to the wiſe men like a ſtar, came laſtly to appear to thoſe in a more refulgent manner (37). Some think it was an angel in that figure (38); others have run ſtill greater lengths, making it to have been the Holy Ghoſt, appearing in that viſible ſhape, and have attributed ſuch an unuſual brightneſs to it, as even eclipſed the ſun; if ſo, 'tis a wonder no cotemporary authors, either ſacred or profane, ſhould have ſaid ſomething of it.

And this will in a great meaſure explode the notion of thoſe we mentioned in the laſt note, who make the wiſe men to have been two years in coming to *Jeruſalem*, and the ſtar to have gone all that time before them; ſince its long continuance and irregular motion, with reſpect to other heavenly bodies could not but awaken the attention and wonder of all thoſe countries, in which it muſt have been ſeen. But this difficulty has been removed, by pretending that it appeared either to none but to the *Magi*, or only two or three times, enough for thoſe who were watchful obſervers of it, but overlooked by all the reſt. But this is ſaid without foundation, or even ſhadow of probability; and the queſtion of the *Magi* at *Jeruſalem* ſeems much rather to imply, that it had been ſeen at leaſt in all the countries between *Judæa* and their own.

We will not take upon us to ſay which of all theſe hypotheſes is the moſt probable, ſince the ſacred hiſtorian has left us in the dark, and the reſt of ancient hiſtorians are quite ſilent about it. We ſhall only ſubjoin here what the *Platonic* philoſopher *Chalcidius* ſays of it (39):

(36) *Orig. Maldon. Grot. Le Clerc in Matt* ii. *Whiſton, & al.* † *Calmet, ubi ſupra.* (37) *Leo Mag. in Matt. Lightfoot, & al.* (38) *Chryſoſt. Theophylact. & al.* (39) *Comm. in Timæum Platon. p.* 19.

It

Wise men come from the east to Bethlehem.

the metropolis, where he was most likely to be either born or heard of. Upon their first inquiry after him, *Herod* and the whole city was moved, and the grand sanhedrin, being consulted about the place of his birth, directed them to *Bethlehem*, the place mentioned by the prophet above quoted. Whatever hopes the rest of the *Jews* might conceive from this wonderful phænomenon and the tidings of the new-born *Messiah*, *Herod*, who dreamt of nothing but of an earthly kingdom, began to look upon that wonderful child as a dangerous rival, and resolved from that instant to nip him in the bud. To this end, he caused the *Magi* to be privately brought to him, and having carefully sifted them concerning the time of the star's appearance, and other circumstances which might serve his bloody design, he dismissed them with these words; *Go and search diligently for the child; and when you have found him, bring me word, that I may go lik-wise and pay my homage to him.* They set out accordingly, and were not a little overjoyed, when, upon their leaving *Jerusalem*, they beheld the same star still going before them, till it stood and shot its rays perpendicular upon the house where the child and his parents were. Here they approached the divine babe with suitable reverence, and having laid open their treasures, they offered him the presents of gold, frankincense, and myrrh (D); and being warned not to go back to *Jerusalem*, they

It is not easy indeed to guess at the time in which he lived; but that he was a christian, the very passage itself plainly shews: "Let us "now turn our thoughts (says he) to another, and more holy "history, and such a one as is more worthy of our admiration. "I mean that which mentions the appearance of a star, not of the "nature of those which portended either a sickness or mortality, "but which manifested the descent of God upon earth, to dwell "among men, and to bless them with his choicest favours Some "of the *Magi*, or wise men of *Chaldæa*, having observed this "star in the night, and being thoroughly versed in astronomy, "went immediately in search of this new-born God, and having "found him, presented him with gifts suitable to his divine cha-"racter" The reader will find in the next note, what may have been probably the meaning of this last expression

(D) The piety of some ancient times, when allegory was in greatest vogue, and mysteries were diligently looked for in every part of holy writ, hath led men into such lengths, as it would be dangerous to follow in these days. Particularly in these presents, which the wise men offered the holy *Jesus*, they have pretended to find out, either his three distinct offices of king, priest, and prophet

they returned home by another way [b]. As soon as the child was forty days old, the time prescribed for the purification of women after the birth of a son [c], his parents brought him to *Jerusalem* to be presented to the Lord in the temple, and to be redeemed according to the law concerning the first-born [d]; with the price of five shekels, or of a lamb, or a pair of doves; or young pigeons; which last was the price appointed for the meaner sort. And into such low condition was the family of *David* reduced (by this time), and so poor were the parents of the world's inestimable redeemer, that they were fain to redeem him at the lowest price. Here they were met by a venerable old man, named *Simeon* (E); a person of consummate

[b] MATTH. ii. 1, & seq. [c] LEVIT. xii. 2, & 6. [d] EXOD. xiii. 2. NUMB. xviii. 15. See 219, & (F).

prophet, or his divinity, royalty, and manhood (40); or, lastly, the divine virtues he was endowed with, and was to communicate to his true followers, *viz* purity by the myrrh, which is an excellent ingredient to preserve from corruption; incense, the smoke or perfume of which is said to be the prayers of the faithful (41); and charity or beneficence, the most acceptable perfume that can be offered to the deity, and implied in the gold.

Others, grieving to see their fellow-christians feed their piety with such far-fetched notions, have sought a nearer meaning by running into another extreme, and concluded, that nothing else seems intended by those gifts, than the supplying the present and future indigencies of the child and his parents, who were shortly to be forced to take a long journey into *Egypt*. So that the gold was to defray their expences, the myrrh to preserve the babe's tender limbs in his travels, and the incense to dispel the common damps and ill smell, either of his stable, or of those caravanzeras or inns, in which they would be obliged to lodge.

But there is a middle way between those extremes, which is, that the *Magi* offered these presents to this new-born monarch, as they looked on him merely as the future king of the *Jews*, and without any regard to his divinity, of which it does not sufficiently appear that they were apprised. Only they supposed, by the wonderful phænomena that preceded and accompanied his birth, that he was likely to prove such a glorious monarch, as that his reign would eclipse those of all his ancestors; but whether on account of his greater power, conquests, or for what other reason, it is not likely they could know without a particular revelation.

(E) The shortness of the evangelist's account concerning this ve-

(40) *Ambrose in Luke* ii. 6. *Leo Serm de Epiphan Theoph in Matth.* 2. *Bern & al mult.* (41) *De his Vid Baron sub An. C.* 1. *sect.* 40. & *Calmet. sub Simeon IV.*

ner-

mate piety, and endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy; to whom it had been revealed, that he ſhould not ſee death before he had beheld the promiſed Meſſiah. Being therefore directed by the Holy Ghoſt to the temple at the ſame time, he took the babe in his arms, and having foretold to his mother the ſorrows with which her pious ſoul would in time be pierced, on account of the many blaſphemies and perſecutions which this divine ſon was to be expoſed to; and being now aſſured that nothing could add to his happineſs but the joys of a future life, ſung his own requiem in a ſhort ecſtatic hymn, and reſtored the babe to his parents. His teſtimony was accompanied with that of a venerable old propheteſs, named

nerable perſon, has been abundantly ſupplied by the pious and fruitful fancies of later writers, who have each contributed their mite towards the raiſing of his character. He has been by many (42) affirmed to have been a prieſt, and to have been then performing his function in receiving the child in his arms, according to the cuſtom of redeeming the firſt-born. There is indeed nothing can make this incredible or improbable, if we except the ſilence of St. *Luke*, who, it is not likely, would have over looked his being a prieſt, if he had been really ſuch.

Some have affirmed him to have been the ſame with *Simon*, furnamed *The Juſt*, diſciple of the famous *Hillel*, often mentioned in this hiſtory, who was alſo the maſter of that *Gamaliel*, at whoſe feet St. *Paul* had been brought up 43), and that whilſt he was endeavouring after an expoſition of the prophecy, quoted a little higher, *A virgin ſhall conceive, and bear a ſon*, this revelation was made to him, that he ſhould not die before he had ſeen it fulfilled. So that when he came to ſee the miraculous mother and child, he broke out into that divine and prophetic ecſtaſy mentioned by the evangeliſt, and died ſoon after. *Epiphanius* adds (44), that the noble teſtimony he gave to this new born Saviour did ſo exaſperate the ſtubborn *Jews*, that they denied him common burial.

Another ſet, which makes him one of the ſeventy interpreters of the *Greek* verſion mentioned in a former ſection †, tell us, that when he came to tranſlate the prophecy juſt now mentioned, he found his faith ſtagger; but that his doubts were happily diſpelled by this revelation, that he ſhould ſee the accompliſhment of it before he died (45). So that at that rate he muſt have lived to a good old age, ſince at the loweſt that verſion was made above two hundred years before Chriſt, and thoſe interpreters were ſcarcely choſen out of the youngeſt tribe.

(42) *Allat. Diſſert. de Script. Simeon ſub. init.* (43) *Acts* xxii. 3. (44) *De vit. & mort. prophet.* † *Vid. Vol.* IX. *p.* 576, *& note.* (45) *De his vid. Allat. ubi ſupra.*

Anna,

Anna, who had dedicated the remainder of her life from her widowhood to the ſervice of God and of his temple; and coming at that inſtant to the place, began likewiſe from thenceforth to publiſh this new-born Saviour to all the faithful *Iſraelites* [e].

WHAT bloody expedient the jealous *Herod* pitched upon to fruſtrate all theſe predictions, by ridding himſelf of this ſo dreadful child, and how he was diſappointed in it by a peculiar providence, will be ſeen in the next ſection; and we ſhall cloſe this, according to our promiſe, with a ſhort view of the ſects at this time reigning in *Judæa*, that the reader may ſee how it came to paſs, that a Meſſiah, ſo plainly and frequently foretold from the beginning, ſo miraculouſly conceived and born, proclaimed by angels, atteſted by prophets, and confirmed by innumerable miracles, the infallible ſeals of heaven, came yet to be rejected and perſecuted even to death, and beyond, by thoſe who were the keepers and expounders of thoſe oracles, which foretold and typified him, and eye-witneſſes of all his ſtupendous works. For though we are writing the hiſtory of the *Jews*, and not of the chriſtians, yet, for as much as the deſtruction of their temple, city, and common-wealth, was owing to their refuſing to acknowledge the Meſſiah, after he had fulfilled in his own perſon all that the prophets had written of him [f]; it will be neceſſary to examine by what prejudices and infatuation they brought this total and laſting deſolation upon their country and nation; and, upon a review of the doctrines peculiar to each ſect, it will be found, that their invincible attachment, each to their own tenets, were the main cauſes and haſteners of it. For, on the one hand, that erroneous and pernicious opinion, which every one of them obſtinately held of a temporal Meſſiah and conquering deliverer, was attended with two very fatal conſequences, namely, the rejecting the Meſſiah, whom they ſaw appear in a quite oppoſite character; and their ſeeking him in thoſe impoſtors, who flattered them in their deluſion, and ripened them into an open rebellion. Such was *Judas Galileus*, the head of the *Gaulonitiſh* ſect or faction, which proved the mother of infinite miſchiefs to that infatuated nation, and haſtened their total ruin; to ſay nothing of ſeveral other pretenders to the character, either of the Meſſiah, or of his forerunner, which drew ſtill vaſt multitudes after them. On the

Cauſes of the Jews *incredulity.*

[e] LUKE ii. 22. ad 38.

[f] Ibid. & ult. ver. 27, & ſeq. ACTS iii. 12 ad 22, & alibi paſſim.

other hand, the irreconcileable hatred which every ſect bore, either to each other on account of their different tenets, or againſt chriſtianity, which was ſtill more oppoſite to their own, did ſo weaken and diſtract the whole body, that, inſtead of joining their united counſel and ſtrength againſt their oppreſſors, they did as much ſtrengthen them by their mutual feuds and perſecutions, as they did exaſperate them by their ſeditious and hoſtile behaviour, and made their own ruin ſo much the eaſier to complete. All which will be better ſeen by the ſequel, eſpecially by a ſhort view of each of thoſe ſects.

Joſephus reckons four principal ones among the *Jews*; 1. The *Phariſees*; 2. *Sadducees*; 3. *Eſſenians*; and, 4. the *Galileans*, or the *faction of Judas Galileus* [a]. The Evangeliſts add that of the *Herodians* to the two former, and mention nothing of the two laſt, probably becauſe they did not oppoſe the goſpel with that inveteracy which the others did. How powerful and numerous the *Phariſaic* ſect was among the meaner, and what ſway that of the *Sadducees* did bear among the opulent, and what perpetual wars each waged againſt the other, has been already frequently hinted, and will now be better underſtood by a ſhort review of their different tenets.

Phariſees. I. The riſe of the *Phariſees* is very much unknown; they claim indeed their famous doctor *Hillel*, often mentioned in this chapter, for their father, as he is ſuppoſed by ſome to have lived during the pontificate of *Jonathan*, about a hundred and fifty years before the birth of Chriſt, but by others later; and more juſtly too, ſince if he be the *Pollio* mentioned by *Joſephus* along with the famous *Sameas*, he muſt have lived about the time of *Herod*, long before whom the *Phariſaic* ſect was in high repute. 'Tis therefore likely, they claim him rather as an ornament, than as the author, of their ſect. The reader may ſee what we have already hinted concerning thoſe too great men in a former ſection †. As to the *Phariſees*, it is probable, they did not begin to diſtinguiſh themſelves, till the oppoſite ſect of the *Sadducees* ſtarted up, and made them by degrees run into the other extreme. This ſeems evident from the etymon of their name, whether we derive it with the generality of critics from the *Hebrew* פרשׁ, to *divide* or *ſeparate*, or with others [b], from another ſenſe of that word, ſignifying *recompenſe*, or *retribution*, in oppoſition to

[a] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1, & ſeq Bell Jud. l. ii c. 7. & alib paſſ.
† Before Page 131, note. [b] Vid. Basnage hiſt des Juifs, tom. 2. l. ii. ch. 18. ſect 2.

their

their antagoniſts, who denied and derided it, at leaſt as to a future life.

WE have formerly had occaſion to mention one of their favourite tenets, namely that of an oral tradition conveyed down from *Moſes*, and to which they attributed the ſame divine authority as to the ſacred books *. This being ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the *Sadducees*, as well as the *Samaritans*, and the *Caraites* (a ſect of which we ſhall give ſome account at the cloſe of this ſection) made them equally deteſted by them. But none more incurred their hatred and reſentment than our Saviour, who took all proper occaſions of reproving them for the unjuſtifiable preference which they gave to this pretended tradition to the written word of God, and for condemning thoſe as apoſtates worthy of death, who paid not the ſame, or even a greater, regard to the former, than to the latter.

ANOTHER tenet of theirs, in oppoſition to the *Sadducees*, was, that of the being of angels, the immortality of the ſoul, reſurrection, and future rewards. But as to this laſt, they firſt excluded all that were notoriouſly wicked from having any ſhare in it, and ſent them immediately after their death into everlaſting puniſhment. *Joſephus*, who was himſelf a ſtrict as well as learned *Phariſee*, affirms, that thoſe ſpirits, which they called devils, were no other than the ſouls of ſuch wicked men, who, ſtill retaining their miſchievous propenſity, were ever ſeeking to annoy thoſe of the living by obſeſſions, *&c.* In the next place, this reſurrection, in thoſe that were admitted to it, was no more than a tranſmigration from one body to another, more or leſs happy, according to their behaviour in their former ſtate. Thus the diſciples aſked our Saviour, who had ſinned, the blind man before them, or his parents, that he ſhould be puniſhed with blindneſs [c]; and thus *Herod* and the multitude ſuppoſed Chriſt to be either *John the baptiſt*, *Elias*, or ſome other prophet riſen from the dead [d]. When therefore that divine maſter came to preach to them a more glorious reſurrection, this proud ſect could not but look upon it as a derogation to what they thought their ſuperior authority and judgment, which was therefore the more offenſive to them, as coming from ſo mean, illiterate, and contemptible a perſon.

A THIRD tenet was, that all things were ſubject to fate, or, as ſome expreſſed it, to the heavens, except the fear of God. It is not eaſy to gueſs what they meant by it: *Joſ-*

* See Vol. III. p. 156, & IX. p. 524. (Z). & alib. [c] JOHN ix. 2. [d] MATT. xiv. 2. xvi. 14 & alib.

phus [e] indeed will have it, that they designed to reconcile, by this unaccountable jumble, the fatality or predestination of the *Essenes* with the free-will of the *Sadducees*. If so, this is not the only absurdity, or even contradiction, which they held; but our learned bishop *Bull* seems to have proved, that they attributed all to fate, or to that chain of causes, to which the creator had subjected all things from the beginning [f]; among which the influence of the heavenly bodies was looked upon to be one of the principal. This seems hinted at by S. *James* in the beginning of his epistle to his new converts, where he explodes that *pharisaical* leaven by the most beautiful opposition of the immutability of God, the giver of all good, to the mutability of the planets, which, according to that notion, must necessarily vary their aspects from a benign to a malevolent one, and, *vice versa*, even by the natural change of their courses [g].

HERE was then a new source of dislike to Christ's doctrine, which affirms men to be the authors of their own unbelief, disobedience, obstinacy, and so answerable for that and all the train of evils which it brings after it [h]. It must be owned, however, that some critics have given a different sense to *Josephus*'s words, and whilst one makes the *Jews* from it to fall into the worship of angels, as having the government of those heavenly bodies [i], others have endeavoured to disculpate them even from their known attachment to astrology, by pretending that by the heavens is meant no more than the eternal decrees of God, which are yet supposed very consistent with the notion of a freedom of will [k]. Both sides had an end to serve, and seem to argue according to their different notions, which it is not our business to enter further into, much less to reconcile the notion of the *Pharisees*, if it was really theirs, of a freedom of will, with the absolute and eternal decree of the supreme Being. Sure, it seems, from the address of the proud *Pharisee* with, *God, I I thank thee* [l], that he looked up n him as the original source of all those fansied virtues he there boasts of, whatever channel he might suppose they flowed to him from; and doth not this at least intimate that he looked upon the want of those virtues in the despised *Publican* to be owing to his being de-

[e] JOSEPH ubi supra. Vid & Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. & xviii. c. 1, 2. [f] HAIMON. Apost differt poster c 15. [g] JAMES c i ver. 13, 16, 17. Vid. & BLACK. vindication of of the sacred classics. [h] Vid int. al MATT. xxiii 37. [i] BARONIUS ap. BASNAG ubi supra, sect. 7. [k] BASNAG. ibid. & seq. [l] LUKE xviii. 11.

privedy

privèd, by the ſame arbitrary divine will or decree, of that ſuperior grace which produced them in him? All which is contrary likèwiſè to the doctrine of Chriſt, which teaches us, that God diſtributes to every man a ſufficient ſhare of it to profit withal, and increaſes it according to the improvement they make of it.

BUT their moſt diſtinguiſhing character, and that which rèndered them moſt obnoxious to the juſt cènſures of Chriſt, was, their ſuperogatory attachment to the ceremonial law, their frequent waſhings, faſtings, and prayings, their public alms-deeds, hunting after proſelytes, ſcrupulous tithings, affectèd gravity of dreſs, gèſture, and mortified looks; their building the tombs of the prophets, to tell the world that they were more righteous than their anceſtors who murdered them, though themſelves were then plotting the death of the beſt and greateſt of all the prophets; their over-ſcrupulous obſervance of the ſabbath to the excluſion of works of the greateſt charity, and many more of the like nature; whilſt they were wholly negligent of the moral and eternal law of mercy and juſtice, of charity, humility, and the like indiſpenſable virtues. The beſt of them, contenting themſelves with abſtaining from the finiſhing act of any ſin, indulged themſelves in all the thoughts, deſires, and complacencies which came ſhort of it; whilſt others, more hardened in their vices, made no ſcruple, not only to covet, but to devour, poor widows houſes, to commit the vileſt of oppreſſions, injuſtices, and cruelties, and to encourage it in their own diſciples, under the ſpecious cloak of religion and ſanctity. Well might Chriſt then compare them to whited ſepulchres, beautiful indeed without, but within full of rottenneſs and corruption [m].

HENCE that fatal and judicial infatuation, which made them overlook all the miracles which he wrought before their eyes, becauſe he choſe to do ſome of them on the ſabbath; as if healing the ſick, giving ears to the deaf, eyes to the blind, life to the dead, *&c.* was a violation, inſtead of a hallowing, of that day, and muſt denominate him *a profane perſon*, *a ſabbath-breaker*, *a falſe prophet* and *ſeducer*, or any other odious name, rather than what thoſe miraculous works, long before foretold by the prophets, demonſtrated him to be, *the Meſſiah and redeemer of mankind*.

THE laſt erroneous notion we ſhall mention of theirs, which was indeed common to the other ſects, but did more exactly tally with the haughty, rapacious, and cruel temper

[m] MATT. xxiii. 27, & alib.

of

of the *Phariſees*, was their expectation of a glorious conquering Meſſiah, who was to bring the whole world under the *Jewiſh* yoke. Inſomuch that there was ſcarce a kennel-raker among them, that did not expect to be made preſident of ſome opulent province under him. How unlikely then was it, that a meek and humble *Jeſus*, whoſe doctrine breathed nothing but humility, peace, diſintereſtedneſs, ſincerity, contempt of the world and worldly things, and univerſal love and beneficence, ſhould ever be reliſhed by that proud, covetous, and hypocritical ſect; or even by the reſt of the populace, as long as theſe their demagogues ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it! But we ſhall inlarge no further upon them, thoſe who are deſirous to know more, may conſult the authors quoted in the margin [n].

Sadducees. II. The *Sadducean* ſect was no leſs oppoſite to the doctrine of Chriſt. We have already given ſome account in a former ſection † of their riſe, and of their favourite tenet, that there was neither reſurrection, reward, or puniſhment, nor even life after this. They added, that God was the only immaterial being, in conſequence of which they admitted neither angels, nor any ſpiritual ſubſtances, but him. Whether this was the original doctrine of *Saddoc* their founder, as the *Talmudiſts* and *Joſephus* affirm, or whether theſe, and ſome of their other epicurean principles, were afterwards gradually introduced by his looſe diſciples, in order to rid themſelves of the dread of a ſad hereafter, as ſome moderns think; 'tis plain this tenet was very rife with them in our Saviour's time, which made them take ſeveral opportunities of oppoſing and ridiculing this doctrine of the reſurrection [o].

Another of their tenets, equally oppoſite to the *Phariſees* and to the doctrine of *Chriſt*, was, that man was made abſolute maſter of all his actions, and ſtood in no need of any aſſiſtance to chuſe or act [p]. For this reaſon they were always moſt ſevere in their ſentences, whenever they ſat as judges. *Joſephus* adds in another place [q], that they looked upon the deity as above intermeddling with human affairs, which is in effect denying a providence, and conſequently all religion. But this favours too much of the *phariſaical* ſcandal, and it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that men of ſuch principles ſhould not only continue uncenſured and uncondemned

[n] Lightfoot, Druſius, Serrarius, Calmet, Pref. in comm. in Marc. & Prid. Connect. ſub. A. C. 107. † Before, Page 80. 81, & (W)

[o] Matt. xxii. 23, & ſeq. & alib. plur.

[p] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9.

[q] Bell. Jud l. ii. c 7, & alib.

by

by the ſanhedrin, but be permitted to have acceſs to the temple, to propoſe their queſtions and objections, and perform their devotions there as freely as any *Phariſee*; and, which is ſtill more ſurpriſing, ſhould be ſuffered to fill the higheſt dignities in church and ſtate. Beſides, ſuch principles ſeem altogether incompatible with their allowed belief of the *Moſaic* books, though they had rejected all the reſt, as they are by ſome ſuppoſed to have done[r]; but *Scaliger*, we think, has ſufficiently cleared them of even this laſt imputation[s], which has no other foundation, than that of our Saviour's chuſing to confute them only from the pentateuch.

IT is true, they rejected all the pretended oral traditions of the *Phariſees*, and ſtuck cloſe to the text of the ſacred books; perhaps they might alſo give the preference to thoſe of *Moſes* above all the reſt. All the other *Jews* did ſo, and do to this day; but had they abſolutely denied the authority of the latter, it is not likely they could have eſcaped being ſeverely reproved for it either by our ſaviour and his apoſtles, or even by *Joſephus*, who gives them ſuch a foul character in other points; and yet he owns[t], that they received τα γεγραμμενα, *the written books*; which expreſſion is too general, and too much in their favour to have flowed from his pen, could he have charged them with rejecting any of them[u]. Thoſe who will have them to receive only the pentateuch, add another argument to that abovementioned, and equally inconcluſive, *viz.* that the other ſacred books did too plainly impugn their particular doctrines; but muſt not they for the ſame reaſon have rejected thoſe of *Moſes*? Are there not numberleſs inſtances of angels and ſpirits? and are there not likewiſe ſeveral pregnant proofs in them, if not of a reſurrection, at leaſt of the rewards and puniſhments of a future life[w]? The very *Phariſees* themſelves laid down as a fundamental principle, that it was not enough to believe the reſurrection, unleſs one believed alſo that it was contained in the law, ſo they call the pentateuch.

ADD to all this, that the reading of all the other books in the temple and ſynagogues having been introduced long before, as we have elſewhere obſerved †, it is not likely they would have aſſiſted at it; and yet we do not find, that they abſented themſelves from it, either upon that or any other

[r] HIERON. in Matth. ORIG. cont. Celſ. l i. SERRAR. trihæreſ. l. ii. PRID ubi ſupra. [s] Elench trihæreſ. cont. Serrar. c. 16. [t] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. [u] Vid. LE CLERC hiſtor. eccleſ. proleg. ſect. 1. ſect. 3. [w] Vid. SCALIGER. ubi ſupra. † Vol. IX. p. 525, not.

account.

account. What therefore the learned rabbi last-quoted says of them, seems most probably to have been their case, namely, that they did not reject them, but only expounded them in a different sense from the other *Jews*.

Some other pretended erroneous tenets they are charged, by *Josephus* and the *Talmudists* [x], to have held, particularly that of condemning polygamy, as forbid by the *Mosaic* law; but as they were not opposite to the christian doctrine, nor an obstacle to their receiving it, we shall pass them by. Those we have already mentioned were more than sufficient to frighten them from it. The notion of a future life, universal judgment, eternal rewards and punishments to men, whom a contrary doctrine had long soothed into luxury, and an overgrown fondness for all earthly happiness, which they looked upon as the only reward they were to expect for their obedience, must of necessity appear strange and frightful; and, as such, could not chuse but meet with the strongest opposition from them; especially if we add what *Josephus* observes, that they were, for the generality, men of the greatest quality and opulence, and consequently too apt to prefer the pleasures and grandeur of this life to those of another. The *Jewish* historian concludes their character, in opposition to those of his own sect, with telling us, that they were a set of men, churlish and morose towards each other, and cruel and savage to all besides [y].

Some have looked upon this sect to have been quite cut off at the total destruction of *Jerusalem* [z]. It is true, indeed, that they were very much weakened and thinned by the *Romans* on account of their riches and credit; but their doctrines, so pleasing to flesh and blood, were not likely to continue long without fresh advocates. Accordingly, we find them so well revived and numerous in *Egypt*, even from the middle of the third, or beginning of the fourth, century, that *Ammonius*, *Origen*'s master, thought it high time to write against them, or rather against the *Jews*, for suffering them to propagate their irreligious principles. Some, we are told, are still to be met with in *Africa* and elsewhere, who still deny a future life, and hold all the other tenets of that sect [a]. Perhaps were they less odious to the sober part of mankind, we

[x] Glossar. in sanhedr. Vid & Menas. Ben. Israel., lib. i. de resurrect mort. c 6. [y] Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7. in fin. [z] Vid. Simon hist crit. V. T. Prid. connect. ubi supra [a] Vid. Basnag. ubi supra. l ii. c. 15. pass. Carpzov. dissert. de sect. Jud. in prol. in evang Marc. & al. sup. citat.

should

ſhould find them more numerous than they appear. However, bad as they are, we are told by a *Jewiſh* chronologer [b] of a learned *Spaniſh* rabbi, named *Alpharag*, who in the twelfth century wrote a book in defence of that ſect, wherein he affirmed, that the purity of the *Jewiſh* religion was only to be found among them; whilſt the *Phariſees* clogged it with an infinity of needleſs and intolerable ceremonies.

Herodians

III. THE *Herodians* are ſo little known, that we need not wonder at the vaſt variety of opinions, which both the antient fathers and the moderns have entertained concerning them, and of which the bare mention would ſwell us beyond our bounds. *Joſephus*, as we hinted above, makes no mention of them; and if the moſt general notion be right, that they were a ſet of men who cried up *Herod* as the Meſſiah, we need not be ſurprized, that this flattering hiſtorian ſhould paſs by a ſect which applied thoſe prophecies to that *Jewiſh* monarch, with which himſelf was complimenting his favourite emperor *Titus Veſpaſian*, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. How *Philo* comes likewiſe to be ſilent of them, is paſt our finding out.

FOR it is plain from the evangeliſts, that they made a conſiderable ſect or party in our Saviour's time; that they differed from thoſe of the *Phariſees*, *Sadducees*, and *Eſſenians*; and that they held ſome particular tenets of a dangerous nature, ſince Chriſt thought fit to forewarn his diſciples againſt their leaven [c]. It is true, ſome have confounded them with the *Sadducees* [d], becauſe St. *Matthew* in a parallel place [e], mentions them inſtead of the *Herodians*. But as they are often mentioned elſewhere, in contradiſtinction to them [f], it is likely, that one evangeliſt only ſupplies what the other has omitted. Hence it follows likewiſe, that they were not a kind of *Jewiſh* confraternity inſtituted in honour of *Herod*, and like unto the *Roman ſodales*, *auguſtales*, &c. (which were not inſtituted in that empire till a long time after *Herod*'s death) as ſome have imagined [g], but a real ſect, diſtinct from the reſt in their principles and intereſts.

[b] GANTZ. Tzemach David. [c] MARC. viii. 15. [d] HAMM. LE CLERC. & al. in loc. ſup. citat. HARDUIN. num. [e] MATT. xvi. 6. [f] Conf. loc. ſup. citat. cum MATT xxii 16. & alib [g] SCALIG anim. in chron. EUSEB. 1882. CAUSABON. proleg. in exercit. Baronian.

There is likewiſe a different opinion concerning them, among thoſe who affirm them to have believed *Herod* to be the Meſſiah, namely which of the kings of that name they gave that title to [h]. Some thought it was to *Herod* I. ſurnamed *the great*, on account of his ſuperior proweſs, riches, magnificence, and of his kingdom's extending even beyond *Paleſtine*, which was more than any of his ſucceſſors could boaſt of. They add, that he cauſed all the genealogies and records concerning the family of *David* to be deſtroyed, to prevent their being urged in oppoſition to his own lineage. But all this is eaſily confuted by the ſingle conſideration, that if he had been the perſon whom they took for the Meſſiah, his dreadful death, which was looked upon as a judgment from heaven, to ſay nothing of his wicked and hateful reign, would long before have convinced them of their error. Whereas we find them ſtill very numerous, famed, and zealous for their ſect in our Saviour's time, above thirty years after that monarch's death. Thoſe therefore, who think that his ſon *Herod*, ſurnamed *Antipas*, the ſame who took the infamous *Herodias* from his brother *Philip*, and cauſed *John the Baptiſt* to be beheaded on her account, to have been the Meſſiah cried up by this ſect, ſeem to judge with more probability. It is true, his dominion was confined within much narrower bounds than his father's; but then it is as plain, notwithſtanding all *Joſephus*'s panegyrics on him, that his ambition was as unlimited; witneſs his joining in the conſpiracy with *Sejanus*, and the vaſt magazines he had filled with arms, and of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. It is not therefore improbable, that this prince, no leſs politic than ambitious, who is on that account called *a Fox* by a more impartial judge [i], might take the advantage of the univerſal expectation which the *Jews* were then in of the Meſſiah, to form a party or ſect of paraſites, who ſhould give it out that he was the glorious perſon they looked for; and that nation did not want for men at this time, baſe enough to flatter his ambition with that ſacred title.

However, other critics have with greater probability reduced that ſect into a kind of *Herodian* faction, ſet up in oppoſition to the *Phariſees* and *Zealots*; and that the *Herodians* maintained the lawfulneſs of acknowledging and paying tribute to the kings that were ſet over them by the *Romans*,

[h] Vid. Prid. connect. in fin. part ii. l. v. Carmer. diſſert. de ſect. Judæor. & al. [i] Vid Basnag. hiſt. des Juifs, tom 2 part. 2. ch. xxiv

which

which was absolutely denied by the latter. The former likewise excused several unlawful innovations, which had been made by *Herod the Great* and his successors, as the effects of necessity rather than choice; whereas the latter cried them down as heathenish, idolatrous, and the effects of a base complaisance for the *Roman* emperors. Another critic, often quoted in this chapter [k] for his new genealogies of the *Herodian* family, pretends, that they were a sect of platonic philosophers, whom *Antipater* had brought from *Athens*; and adds, that they held pretty much the same doctrines with the *Sadducees*, or rather that those in *Judæa* were the same with them. The reader may see that sanguine author sufficiently confuted by *Basnage* in the place above-quoted. *Beza* on the contrary infers, that they agreed with the *Pharisees* in denying the lawfulness of the tribute, from the insnaring question they came to put to our Saviour [l]. But it is rather plain, that their design, and more especially, that of the *Pharisees*, who sent them to him, was of another nature. These had been just before determining at any rate to intangle him in his answers, that they might find some matter to accuse him, because he had been setting forth a parable that touched them to the quick. They therefore sent their own disciples in company with the *Herodians* to intrap him with the question in dispute between them, *Is it lawful to pay tribute to* Cæsar [m]? If he answered in the affirmative, they could object against him that he was an impostor, and not what he pretended, the Messiah, who was to free them from all foreign yoke and impost; and upon this they could intent a criminal process against him, which would make them amends for his having given the preference to their antagonists. And if he answered in the negative, they gained a victory over them, and at the same time exposed him to their resentment, or rather to that of the civil power, which, they knew, would not fail to crush both the doctrine and its divine preacher, especially at such a juncture, when there was another new faction started up into a sect, which began to appear somewhat dangerous.

IV. THIS was that of the *Gaulonites*, so named from *Judas* the *Gaulonite* [n], or *Galilean*, as he is called by St. *Luke* [o]. It began to appear soon after the banishment of *Archelaus*, when his territories were made a *Roman* province, Gaulonites.

[k] HIERON. cont Lucifer. TERTUL. de præscript. EPIPHAN. hæres. Herodian. [l] In MATTH xxii 16. [m] Vid. MATTH. ubi supra, a ver. 2. ad 17. [n] Vid. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1, 2. [o] ACTS v. 37.

and the government given to *Cuponius*. For the *Jews* looking upon this as an open attempt to reduce them into slavery; *Judas* took the advantage of their discontent to put himself at their head, and to ripen them for an insurrection. *Augustus* furnished him with a plausible pretence for it, by issuing out his edict to have the whole province of *Syria* new surveyed and taxed about this time. *Judas* therefore who was a man of uncommon ambition, took occasion from it to display all his eloquence, to convince the *Jews*, that such a submission was no less than base idolatry; and setting up men upon the level with God, who was the only Lord and Sovereign that could challenge their obedience and subjection. The party which he drew after him became in a little time so considerable, that they put every thing into confusion, and laid the foundation for those great mischiefs which ensued, and which will be seen in the sequel.

This sect, as well as that of the *Herodians*, lasted no longer than till the destruction of *Jerusalem*; a learned author lately quoted thinks them to have been the same sect, only called by different names, by *Josephus* and the evangelists †; but what has been said above concerning that of the *Herodians*, we think, sufficiently shews the contrary. Had their sect been the same, they ought to have been more properly called *Anti-Herodians*, since that monarch's authority was equally exclaimed against by their chief, as that of the *Romans*; and if their doctrine, against which our Saviour forewarns his disciples, had been the same with that of the *Gaulonites*, would it not have been equally absurd to have called it the leaven of *Herod*? *Josephus* tells us, that it differed in no point but this from that of the *Pharisees*; and the evangelists introduce the *Pharisees* and *Herodians* as coming by one consent to enquire of Christ concerning the lawfulness of the tribute, from all which it seems at least very probable, that they were only two different parties, who split themselves into two extremes from the *Pharisaic* sect; whilst these last kept, as it were, in a medium between the base complaisance of the *Herodians*, and the seditious spirit of the *Gaulonites*, not perhaps so much out of a conscientious principle, much less out of any love, either to *Herod*, or to the *Romans*, as from a fear of their power and resentment.

Essenians. V. The *Essenians*, though not taken notice of by the writers of the *New Testament*, did yet make a considerable sect among the *Jews*, and are very much celebrated by *Josephus*,

† Vid. Prid. & Basnag. ubi supra.

ſephus [p], *Philo* [q], by *Pliny* [r], and by ſome of the fathers and other chriſtian writers, both ancient and modern [f]; and if they were the ſame with the *Haſſidim* or *Hardanim*, as ſome have thought, we may add alſo, by the books of the *Maccabees* and other *Jewiſh* writers. But this laſt is a mere conjecture, founded only on a fancied conformity between ſome of their principles, and auſtere way of living. The far greateſt part of the *Eſſenian* ſect was chiefly in *Egypt*; there was but a ſmall number of them in *Judæa*, probably by reaſon of the grievous perſecutions and inteſtine broils, that raged almoſt perpetually in it. And this may be one reaſon, why the evangeliſts make no mention of it; to which we may add another, namely, that their eremitic life, which ſecluded them from places of great reſort, and their over-weaning pretence to a ſuperior ſanctity, which inſpired them with a contempt for the reſt of the world, might make them leſs curious about Chriſt's perſon and doctrine. They might think, that if he was really the Meſſiah, he would not fail to come to ſeek them; and if he was not, he had already enemies enough to oppoſe him; and it was beneath them to leave their beloved ſolitude and contemplative life, merely to declare themſelves againſt him. What wonder then, that the ſacred writers ſhould overlook a proud, recluſe, and remote ſect, which neither embraced nor oppoſed the goſpel, and whoſe affectation to a greater and ſupererogatory degree of holineſs ſtood condemned by the frequent cenſures which Chriſt pronounced againſt that of the *Phariſees*?

IT would be next to impoſſible to trace out their origin, or even the etymology of their name, with any certainty (A).

Pliny

[p] Antiq. l. iii c. 9. xviii. 12. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7. & alib. paſſ. [q] Tract. quod omnis probus liber. [r] Hiſt lib. v. c. 17. [f] EPIPH. hæreſ. 29. de Nazar c. 4. · SUID. ſub. voc. προγονοι SERRAR. trihæreſ. l. iii c. 1. & al. inf. citat.

(A) *Joſephus* has evaded giving us the etymology of that name, moſt probably, becauſe he knew not well where to fetch it from; and *Philo*, who derives it from the *Greek* Οσιος, *holy*, owns it to be ungrammatical; but this has not hindered other critics from aiming at it. *Epiphanius* (1) has gone the fartheſt for it of any, when he derives it from *Jeſſe* the father of *David*, or, as it is to be read, according to the *Hebrew*, ישי, *jiſai* or *jiſſhai*. *Salmaſius* derives it from the city of *Eſſa*, mentioned by *Joſephus*, as the place where *Zeno* had repoſited his treaſure (2).

(1) *Hæreſ* 29. *de Nazar*. c. 4. (2) *Antiq. l. xiii. c.* 23.

Pliny, in the place above-quoted, tells us, from what authority is not eaſy to gueſs,, that they were of ſeveral thouſand years ſtanding; and, what increaſed his wonder, that they had ſubſiſted ſo long without procreation. But he was in part miſtaken, becauſe, though one branch of them condemned all intercourſe with the women, as apt to extinguiſh devotion; there was another ſort who declared as much againſt celibacy, as tending to extinguiſh the race of mankind, as we we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. But to come to more authentic evidence, the firſt *Eſſenians* we read of are in the fourth book of *Maccabees*, under the name of *Haſdanim* [t], and in *Joſephus* [u], where both agree that they were already ſettled in *Judæa* in the time of *Jonathan*, the brother and ſucceſſor of *Judas Maccabæus*, about a hundred and fifty years before Chriſt. We have had occaſion to mention, out of theſe two authors, one *Judas* a prophet of that ſect, who foretold the death of *Antigonus*, brother to *Ariſtobulus*, then king of the *Jews*, and which came to paſs accordingly, though to the great ſurprize of even the prophet himſelf *. And it is not improbable, that this anchoretic ſect took its riſe a little while before the time of the *Maccabees*, when the faithful *Jews* were forced to live in deſerts and caves, to avoid perſecution. As for thoſe who ſuppoſe them to have been a branch of the *Rhecabites*, who flouriſhed ſo long before the *Babyloniſh* captavity [w], and of whom we have ſpoken largely in our fourth volume †; we can only ſay they gueſs very much in the dark.

We have already hinted their different opinions concerning marriage and celibacy. Thoſe, who allowed the former, were yet very ſparing of matrimonial intercourſe, and wholly abſtained from it on the night before the ſabbath and other feſtivals, on faſt-days, and the like; and, at other times, they were no leſs careful to waſh, and uſe other purifications after it. The other branch, who condemned it, did likewiſe diſallow all ſervitude, and thought the diſtinction

[t] Cap. 6. [u] Antiq. l. xiii. c 9, & 19. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3, & 7. * See before ſect. 3. p 86, (C). [w] Vid. Suid, ubi ſupra. † p. 48, & ſeq. & (Γ).

If the reader be curious about ſuch things, he need but read *Serrarius* (3), where he will find at leaſt a dozen different opinions concerning the derivation of that word, enough, we think, to give him a diſguſt to etymological conjectures.

(3) *Tribæreſ. l. iii. c.* 1. *Vid. & Calmet. diſſert. de ſect. Jud.*

of

of maſter and ſervant to be againſt the law of nature, for which reaſon they never indulged themſelves the uſe of the latter; and when any of them was, either through old age, ſickneſs, or other accident, rendered incapable of helping himſelf, he received all proper aſſiſtance from the younger, who all expreſſed an uncommon readineſs, or even emulation to perform that duty to him. But the other ſort allowed themſelves ſervants for all inferior offices.

THEY likewiſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves, in their rules and manner of life, into laborious and contemplative, otherwiſe called *Therapeutes*, the firſt ſort of them divided their time between prayer and labour, ſuch as the exerciſe of ſome handicraft, or the cultivation of ſome ſpot of ground, where they ſowed and planted ſuch roots, herbs, corn, *&c.* as ſerved for their food; and the latter between prayer and contemplation, or ſtudy. In this laſt, they confined themſelves to that of the ſacred books and morality, without troubling themſelves with any other branch of philoſophy. A late learned author, has indeed ranked them among the *Pyrrhonian* or *Sceptic* philoſophers [x]; and it is true, they were very modeſt in their affirmations in point of divinity, and condemned the dogmatic aſſurance of the other ſects; but that they ever deigned to dive into the writings of the academy or other philoſophers, ſeems improbable, from the ſingular contempt they ſhewed of all the other *Jewiſh* ſects; how much more, of thoſe of the heathens?

FOR with reſpect even to the former, they refuſed to converſe with them, for fear of contracting ſome pollution; and this notion they carried ſo far, as even to abſent themſelves from going to the temple, and contented themſelves with ſending their offerings to it by other hands.

BOTH the contemplative and laborious had their ſynagogues, their ſtated hours for prayer, for reading, and expounding the ſacred books. This latter province was always performed by the elder ſort, who were ſeated at the upper end, according to their ſeniority, whilſt the younger, who were admitted to read the proper paraſhas or leſſons, were placed at the lower end. Their expoſitions were generally of the allegorical kind, in which they ſeemed to have out-vied all their *Jewiſh* brethren. But they paid the greateſt regard to the five books of *Moſes*, and looked upon that lawgiver as the head of all the inſpired penmen; inſomuch, that they condemned to immediate death whoſoever ſpoke diſreſpectfully

[x] HUET. foibleſſe de l' entendement, & l. i. c. 14. ſect 61.

either

either of him or of his writings. Upon this account they ſtudied, read, and expounded him more than all the reſt, and ſeem to have chiefly drawn all their divinity from the pentateuch. The doctrines and expoſitions of the elders were received with implicit faith, and in their practice they conformed with an intire ſubmiſſion to all the rules of their ſect. To give a full account of them, were to copy out *Joſephus* and *Philo*, who have writ more copiouſly about them, and to whom we chuſe rather to refer our readers, who want a fuller detail. As for us, we ſhall content ourſelves with giving them a ſhort ſketch, out of thoſe two authors (B), of their faith and practice, as far as they differed from the other *Jewiſh* ſects.

With reſpect to their faith, they believed the being of angels, the immortality of the ſoul, a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, like the *Phariſees*, but ſeem to have had no notion of the reſurrection. They looked upon the ſouls of men as compoſed of a moſt ſubtile æther, which immediately after their ſeparation from the body, or from their cage or priſon, as they affected to call it, were adjudged to a place of endleſs happineſs or miſery: that thoſe of the good took their flight over the ocean into ſome warm and delightful regions prepared for them, whilſt thoſe of the wicked were conveyed into ſome cold and intemperate climates, where they were left to groan under an inexpreſſible endleſs weight of miſery. Some other *Pythagorean* notions are likewiſe attributed to them[y], neither with certainty, nor of great moment. One thing, however, is remarkable, that among their offerings, which they made to the temple, they never ſent any living creatures to be ſacrificed there. But whether they did it with any regard to the *Pythagorean* doctrine of tranſmigration, or from any other motive, we will not de-

[y] Vid. Antiq. ubi ſupra, & l. xv. c. 13, ad fin.

(B) It will not be amiſs to obſerve to our readers, that their accounts of this ſect differ in ſome particulars, which may be probably owing to the difference there was between thoſe of *Judæa* and thoſe of *Egypt*. *Joſephus*, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, was better acquainted with the former, and *Philo*, who was of *Alexandria*, with the latter; and both may have deſcribed them according to the particular informations they had received concerning each.

However, *Philo* agrees with *Joſephus*, that thoſe of *Judæa* amounted to but about four thouſand, but he makes thoſe of *Egypt* to have been vaſtly more numerous.

termine

termine; much leſs pretend to reconcile this abſtinence from bloody ſacrifices with their pretended regard to the *Moſaic* law and writings, where they are abſolutely injoined.

THEY were likewiſe intirely oppoſed to the *Sadducean* doctrine of free-will, and attributed all to an eternal fatality or chain of cauſes, little ſhort of that of *Spinoſa*; ſo that they ſeem to have run into the other extreme, whilſt the *Phariſees* appear to have kept a kind of medium between them. The *Eſſenians* were averſe to all kinds of oaths, and affirmed, that a good man's life ought to be ſuch, as that he may be credited in every thing without them (C). The *Therapeutic* ſort placed the excellency of their contemplative life in raiſing their minds ſo far above the earth, as to be able to ſee from thence what was done in heaven (D). When they had attained to this degree, they could dive into the nature of angels, give them proper names, or rightly interpret thoſe already given, and pry ſo far into futurity, as to acquire the character of prophets. We have had occaſion to mention ſome of them already at the beginning of this article, and in the courſe of this chapter. All we need to add is, that when they had once gained this name, they failed

(C) And yet they ſeem to have injoined ſomething like them on their novices, before they were admitted profeſſed members of their ſociety; from which ſome conclude, that they did not wholly condemn them, but only ſuch as were tendered or taken without manifeſt and abſolute neceſſity (4).

(D) We need not remind our readers, that every nation and religion, not to ſay every age, has produced men of this ſublime mould, who have trampled all ſublunary things under-foot, to raiſe themſelves up to a more intimate acquaintance with the deity. We read among the heathen of *Plotinus*, a *Platonic* philoſopher, who pretended to be aſhamed to have a ſoul ſo refined as his, confined into a lump of matter, and of a *Porphyry*, who boaſted of a viſion and divine intercourſe, even before he was got into his dotage 5.

The *Perſes*, *Mohammedans*, and almoſt all the nations of *India*, have had their *Therapeutes* and viſionmongers; and it would be difficult to name one church or ſect of chriſtians, that has not abounded with ſuch myſtical and ſuper rigid enthuſiaſts: but, in ſpight of all their auſterities and pretences to greater degrees of ſanctity and mortification, the uncharitable contempt they have expreſſed for the reſt of the world has eaſily diſcovered what ſpirit they were of.

(4) *Vid int al. Le Clerc, eccleſ. hiſt prolog. ſect.* 5. *Calmet. ubi ſupra & al.* (5) *De his vid. Bayl. Dict. ſub voc.*

not to be highly reſpected, not only by their own fraternity, but by both kings and people. We have ſeen in a former ſection even a *Herod* ſhew a more than ordinary regard to the whole ſect, for the ſake of one of them, who had foretold his acceſſion to the *Jewiſh* crown; and at a time when they were ſtrenuouſly oppoſing his favourite ſcheme, of obliging the whole nation to ſwear allegiance to him.

In their practice they outdid all the other ſects in auſterity. If we may credit *Philo*, it was a fundamental maxim with them, upon their entrance into the *Therapeutic* life, to renounce the world and all their worldly properties, which they, it ſeems, generouſly divided among their friends and relations, whom they left behind them in it (E). They never eat till after ſun-ſet, and the beſt of their fare was coarſe bread, with ſome ſalt and hyſſop, or ſome ſuch ſtomachic herbs. Some of them, if we may believe *Philo*, would eat but every third, and others every ſixth, day; and all of them very ſparingly, even of that poor chear they were allowed. Their cloathing was made of coarſe wool, plain, but white. They condemned all ſorts of unctions and perfumes as luxurious and effeminate. Their beds were hard, and their ſleep ſhort. In a word, as they looked upon all theſe auſterities as the moſt effectual means to procure the favour of heaven and the eſteem of the brotherhood, to ſay nothing of that of the world, they never thought they could carry them to exceſs. Their heads or ſuperiors were generally choſen according to ſeniority, unleſs there ſtarted up ſome of the brotherhood, more conſpicuous for learning, piety, prophetic ſpirit, or any other diſtinguiſhing merit. But ſome there were ſo very contemplative, that they never ſtirred out of their cell, nor even looked out at a window during the whole week. Theſe ſpent their time in reading the ſacred books and writing comments upon them.

On the ſabbath they repaired to their ſynagogues early in the morning, and continued the whole day there in prayers, ſinging of pſalms, reading, or in expounding the ſacred books;

(E) Our authors have forgot to tell us, how this ſet of men liv d after their admiſſion into that ſect, if they left all their world'y ſubſtance behind; ſince they were not, like the other branch, allowed to follow any trade, or to cultivate any land, but di. vided their time between prayer and ſtudy, or contemplation; and had neither wives nor ſervants to provide food for them, nor any other viſible means, that we can find, to ſubſiſt (6).

(6) *Vid. Le Clerc ubi ſupra.*

books; at which time they kept themselves in the profoundest silence. The feast of pentecost was observed by them with greater solemnity than other festivals, and in memory, it seems, of the *Israelites* passing the *Red-Sea*, and of that solemn eucharistical hymn, which was alternately sung by the choirs of men and women, with *Aaron* and *Miriam* at their head. In imitation of which, both sexes, during this feast, went early to the synagogue in their white habit, newly washed; and after the usual prayers, reading, &c. the men and the women, each in their separate choir, set themselves a singing and dancing, moving regularly backwards and forwards, to the right and left, to and from each other, till at length their devotion was raised to such a pitch, that they forgot the difference of sexes, and both choirs intermingled, and continued dancing and singing the whole night. On the next morning they faced about towards the sun rising, their usual position at prayers, paid their adoration to the Supreme Being, wished each other a good day, and retired each to their respective cells. To all this we may add, that they had some other more secret rites or mysteries relating to their sect, which, like the *Pythagoreans*, they were bound never to divulge, and which it were therefore in vain to inquire after.

THOSE of *Judæa* did live, according to *Pliny* [z], in a desert in the neighbourhood of *Hebron*, about twenty miles south of *Jerusalem*.

THIS city which we have spoken of in a former volume †, being generally supposed the place of *John the Baptist*'s birth, it is not improbable, that he was sent thither to be brought up among them, and lived with them till the time of his manifesting himself to the *Jewish* nation [a]. But as for those who have imagined that Christ and his disciples had also been of that sect, because they pretend to see some conformity between some of his precepts, and way of living, and those of the *Essenians*, they are not worth confuting, since there runs rather a manifest opposition almost through the whole. However, those who will not be at the trouble to compare them, may see that wild notion fully confuted by the authors quoted in the margin [b], as well as another, no less improbable, though less absurd; that the *Egyptian Therapeutes* were a society of christian hermits instituted by St. *Mark*, when he founded the church of *Alexandria* [c]. For *Philo*, who was at

[z] Vid. Antiq, ubi supra, & l. xv. c. 13. ad fin. † Vol. II. p. 147, 360, G). [a] Vid. LUKE i. ver ult. [b] Ubi supra. [c] BASNAG hist des Juifs, tom. 4 l. ii. c 22, & seq. PRID. Connect. part. 2. sub fin. l v

leaſt contemporary with the evangeliſt, if not older, ſpeaks of them [d] as a fraternity of a much longer ſtanding, and as of *Jews* and zealous diſciples of *Moſes*, and ſtricter obſervers of the ſabbath, than any other *Jewiſh* ſect; having amongſt them hymns and writings compoſed in former times, by thoſe who had been the principal leaders and heads of their ſect; diſperſed not only through *Egypt*, but among the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, &c. Nothing of all which could have been ſaid of ſuch a ſociety of chriſtian hermits, ſuppoſing St. *Mark* had really inſtituted any thing like it. But we find no traces of any ſuch inſtitution till the beginning of the ſecond century, when thoſe aſcetics, who had formerly fled from perſecution, finding the ſweets of their ſolitude, began to erect themſelves into bodies, the earlieſt of which, that we read of, was, according to the two learned authors above-quoted, in or about the year of Chriſt 113 [e].

Others have believed, that the *Eſſenians* and *Therapeutes* did afterwards renounce judaiſm, and convert to chriſtianity; and it is not improbable, that many of them did ſo; but that the bulk of the ſect embraced chriſtianity, and became, as it were, abſorbed into the ſocieties of the chriſtian aſcetics, is hard to affirm. If it be aſked, What became of them, and of all their boaſted writings and comments, if this was not the caſe? it may be anſwered, that thoſe who perſevered in their old ſect, underwent the ſame fate with the reſt of the *Jews*, and in a much greater number, as being become more odious to the *Romans* on account of their extreme conſtancy, under thoſe grievous perſecutions which they raiſed againſt them. This might probably be alſo the cauſe why their books were more univerſally deſtroyed than thoſe of the other *Jews*; though even of theſe we have nothing left but the *Chaldee* paraphraſe, of which we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place. We ſhall have occaſion in the ſequel to ſhew, that the *Eſſenians* flouriſhed ſtill under the emperor *Trajan*, though much degenerated from their primitive purity of life and doctrine, under their new demagogue *Elxai*. Under *Juſtinian* they were ſtill known by the pompous title of angels, or angelics, and inhabitants of heaven; but as their lives were found to fall infinitely ſhort of thoſe beings, whoſe names they aſſumed, the people ſaw through the cheat,

[d] Euseb Eccl. Hiſt. l ii. c 17.. Bellarm. Baron. Vid. & Montfauc. differt de Chriſt. Terapeut ap. Basnag ubi ſupra. [e] Lib. ſup citat. [f] Drus. Trigland. Basnag. Prid. Calmet. & al. ubi ſupra.

and

and this was in all likelihood their laſt blaſt upon their going out, for we hear no more of them from that time.

WE have now gone through all the *Jewiſh* ſects that made any figure in our Saviour's time, and might here put an end to this digreſſion, if it may be called ſuch; but foraſmuch as there is ſtill one in being, and very conſiderable, as we have hinted in a former volume †, who derive their origin from the famous *Ezra* and the great ſynagogue, and are oppoſed to the reſt in ſome of their fundamentals, it will not be amiſs to ſpeak ſomething of them, before we conclude this ſection. They are called *Caraim*, or *Karraites* (F); that is, *Scripturiſts*, or perſons wholly addicted to the reading, and thoroughly verſed in the ſacred writings.

IT is not eaſy to determine when this ſect firſt began. We have hinted above what claim they lay to antiquity and authority. They boaſt even a catalogue or regiſter of all the learned who have written or taught either for or againſt their ſect from the time of *Eſdras* ‡. Some of thoſe that are diſperſed in *Poland*, pretend to carry it ſtill higher, and that they were deſcended from the ten tribes carried away by *Shalmanezer*. The *Rabbiniſts* ſeem, however, to allow them to have been a ſect at leaſt as old as the time of *Alexander the Great*, when they tell us that *Jaddua* the then high-prieſt wrought a miracle before that prince, which the two chiefs of the *Caraites* could not imitate; but this may be put in the number of their fabulous miracles, of which they are never ſparing, whenever any competition between the other ſects and their own is in queſtion; witneſs thoſe which they urge againſt the *Samaritans*, of which we have ſpoken in a former ſection *. We ſhall give in the margin ſome of the different opinions concerning their origin (G), whilſt we ſtick here to the moſt probable;

† Vol III p. 155. ‡ BASNAG ubi ſupra, Tom. II. part. 2. c. 16. * See Vol. IX p. 564. E).

(F) קראים from the verb *kara, to read* (7). As they rejected all the other writings but thoſe of the *Jewiſh* canon, and the pretended oral tradition ſo much cried up by the *Phariſees*; it is perhaps upon this account, that the *Rabbiniſts*, their bitterelt enemies, have imputed moſt of the *Sadducean* errors to them (8, tho' this be the only point in which they agreed with them

(G) The learned *Wolf* of *Hamburg* has given us the origin of the *Caraites*, written from the memoirs of one of that ſect, named

(7) *Vide Buxtorf. lexic. ſub voce* קרא. (8) *Vide Abraban. append. in Hacoſri. edit. a Buxtorf.*

Mordecai;

probable; which is, that they were the ſucceſſors of the *Scribes* ſo often mentioned by the evangeliſts (H), ſuch as were thoſe whom

Mordecai; in which this laſt affirms, that *Alexander Jannæus* having put to death all the learned *Jews* of his time, *Simeon*, the ſon of *Seta*, and brother of the queen, was privately conveyed into *Egypt*, where he invented the ſyſtem of the pretended *Jewiſh* oral tradition, and being returned to *Jeruſalem*, began to teach it publicly, pretending that he was intruſted with all thoſe diſcoveries which God had made to *Moſes*, and were from him conveyed through a ſeries of hands and ages down to his time. This ſyſtem was embraced by ſome, and as ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by others, who affirmed, that the whole will of God to their lawgiver was contained in the ſacred writings. From theſe laſt came the ſect of the *Caraites*, as that of the *Rabbiniſts* or *Traditioniſts* did from the former. The ſame author adds, that *Judas* the ſon of *Sabbai* became eminent among the former, and *Hillel* famous among the latter (9).

Another author (10) thinks, that thoſe two ſects ſplit themſelves ſoon after the death of the prophets, upon a diſpute about works of ſupererogation; one ſort maintaining the neceſſity of them from tradition, and the other denying it on the authority of the ſacred writings. Theſe were the *Caraites*, who thereupon pretended to be deſcended from the prophets *Haggai*, *Malachi*, &c. But whatever was the occaſion of their diviſion, they conceived ſuch an irreconcileable hatred againſt each other, that they think no name or language bad enough. Among other epithets, the *Rabbiniſts* call their opponents *mamzerim*, or *baſtards*, a term of the greateſt reproach among the *Jews* †; and the *Caraites*, in return, give them the title of *bridled aſſes*, on account of their broad phylacteries and other ſuperſtitious trinkets, which theſe place a great deal of religion in, and the others deteſt. The former interpret the words of *Moſes* (11), *Thou ſhalt bind them* (the divine precepts) *for a ſign upon thine hand, and they ſhall be as frontlets between thine eyes*, &c. literally; and the others only as a precept injoining them to have a conſtant regard to, and remembrance of, them. We have obſerved in a former volume, that their mutual hatred is ſuch, that no conſideration can move them to intermarry *. A modern *Rabbiniſt* adds, that if a *Caraite* had a mind to turn *Traditioniſt*, theſe would even refuſe to admit him (12); and it is a common ſaying among the latter, that before a *Caraite* be admitted among them, he ſhould have firſt turned *Jew*, and then chriſtian, elſe they could not believe his converſion ſincere.

(H) The ſcribes, in *Hebrew* סופרים *ſopherim*, or *writers*, are

(9) *Voſſ. notit. Carræorum* (10) *Trigland diſſertat. de Carait Delph* 1703. *Vide Calmet. ſub voce Curaite* † *De his vid. Vol III p* 295, (N). (11) *Deut* vi. 8. * *Vol. III. p* 155. (12) *Vide Leo de modern cerem Jud. part.* 5. *c.* 1.

mentioned

whom *Herod the Great* conſulted about the place where the Meſ-

mentioned for the firſt time in the ſong of *Deborah* (13), tho' ſome have put *Moſes* at the head of that tribe. They are often ſpoken of in the books of *Kings*, *Chronicles*, and *Ezra*, as perſons in the higheſt dignities of the *Jewiſh* commonwealth. It is not unlikely, that *David* did appoint ſome ſuch order, when he regulated the claſſes of the prieſts, levites, *&c.* (14). Since there muſt have been proper ſecretaries, which is the right meaning of *ſopherim*, in church, in ſtate, in the army, revenues, *&c.* And as writing was not ſo univerſally practiſed in thoſe days, thoſe who excelled in it had a fair claim for ſuch an office; but theſe being manifeſtly different from thoſe mentioned in the goſpel, we ſhall puſh our inquiry about them no further.

. After the return from the captivity, when the canon of the ſcripture was reviſed by *Ezra* and his inſpired aſſociates, mentioned in a former ſection ‡, it is very probable, the multiplying and propagating, as well as the reviſing, the copies of it, which were then very ſcarce, was committed to thoſe *ſopherim* or *ſcribes*, who, by a conſtant converſe with thoſe writings, attained to a ſtill greater knowledge of them, and ſo came at length to ſet up for teachers and expounders of them, and to the name of *ſcribe* had that likewiſe added of *doctor* or *teacher* of the law. Accordingly we find one of them called by the former name in one evangeliſt (15), and by the latter in another (16); and both they and the *Phariſees* are ſaid by our Saviour *to ſit in* Moſes's *ſeat* (17).

Theſe therefore cannot be ſaid to have made a ſeparate ſect, as ſome antients have imagined (18), but to have been ſome of one, ſome of another; ſince it is obvious, that every one of them muſt have had their doctors and expounders, and all juſtly enough liable to thoſe ſevere cenſures which our Saviour pronounced againſt them, for putting each their ſeveral gloſſes on the text, inferring new and detrimental doctrines from it, and impoſing them on their diſciples, with as much arrogance as if they had been all infallible or inſpired. However, ſince we find theſe *ſcribes* and lawyers or doctors of the law, to be often mentioned with the *Phariſees* (19), it is likely, they were more numerous in that ſect than in any other; or rather perhaps, if we conſider how neceſſary ſuch men were in church and ſtate, of how long a ſtanding they muſt conſequently have been, they may be looked upon as the root or trunk from which all the others ſprang and divided themſelves, according as their reſpective views, intereſt, education, pride, and ſuch like motives led them.

(13) *Judg* iv. 14. (14) *Vide int. al.* 1 *Chron.* xxiv. 6. xxvii. 32. ‡ *Vol. IX. p.* 523, (T). (15) *Mark* xii. 28. (16) *Matth.* xxii. 35. (17) *Ibid* xxiii. 2. (18) *Epiph. hæreſ. Auth. of the recognit. &c.* (19) *Vide Matth. ubi ſupra, & alib. paſſ. Acts* xxiii. 9.

ſiah

siah was to be born [x]. These therefore, it is very likely, after the *Pharisaic* sect came to have clogged the *Jewish* religion with such a vast number of traditions, as rendered it wholly burdensome, if not intolerable, became so out of conceit with them, that they resolved to throw them all off, and to stick close to the text; for which they had the name of *Caraites* or *Scripturists*, either given them out of contempt, or took it by way of distinction from the *Traditionists*. The difficulty is to find out the time when, and the persons by whom, this breach was at first made, and doubtless the testimony of the *Caraites* themselves, who go either as far back as *Ezra*, or, at the latest, as the times of *Hyrcan* or *Alexander Jannæus*, will appear too suspicious. But that of the *Talmudists*, who allow them, some as antient as *Sadduc*, or at least as *Herod the Great*, may be less liable to suspicion; and where is the difficulty of supposing, that whilst the *Sadducees* distinguished themselves from the rest, as well by their *Epicurean* doctrines, as by their rejection of the *Pharisaic* traditions, another more moderate sect might close in with them in this last, without running into those other extremes of the *Sadducean* leaven, which, they saw, were manifestly destructive of all religion, and to compose a new sect, differing from them in all points but that, and from the *Pharisees* in that only one (I)? However, they

[x] Matth. ii. 4. Vide Basnag ubi supra.

(I) The *Rabbinic* writers do accordingly accuse the *Caraites* for having been more favourable to Jesus Christ than any other sect, and the evangelist seems to confirm it, when he introduces a *scribe* (20) applauding our Saviour's answer concerning the first and chief command, and agreeing with him, that the love of God, above all things, and of our neighbour as ourselves, was of more worth than all burnt-offerings, &c

It is true, he seems to be called a *Pharisee* in a parallel place (21); but *Basnage* has judiciously observed (22), that the pronoun *them* did not refer to the *Pharisees* mentioned in the foregoing verse, who, being confuted just before, were then gone to take counsel together, but to the multitude in the verse before that, who gladly heard Christ's nervous answers to these ensnaring sectaries. We may add, that the answer there given by the *scribe*, was more like that of a sober *Caraite*, than of a superstitious, hypocritical *Pharisee*.

That there seems to have been a manifest difference between these last and the scribes and lawyers, the above-quoted author

(20) *Mark* xii. 28. (21) *Matth. xxii.* 35, & *seq.* (22) *Ubi supra*, c. 1. *sect.* 10.

shews

they ſeem to have been more moderate, than to have abſolutely rejected all traditions and writings. They, on the contrary, uſed them as helps, whenever they found them judicious and well founded, and only denied them that blind and implicit obedience which the *Phariſees* inſiſted on; but whether thoſe ſects divided themſelves ſo early as the reign of *Hyrcan* or *Alexander Jannæus*, or whether in that famous rupture between *Shammai* and *Hillel*, about one hundred years before Chriſt, or about what time after (K); whether firſt in *Judæa* or *Egypt* (L), is at beſt but conjecture; and we hope we have given it the beſt light we are able to get.

WE

ſhews from another evangeliſt, who introduces the laſt of theſe hearing patiently the woes which Chriſt pronounced againſt the *Phariſees*; but when he came to join the *ſcribes* with them, he complained loudly of it (23). Our Saviour's anſwer to him confirms it ſtill more, when he added, *Woe alſo unto you lawyers*, and laid a new charge againſt them, different from that of the *Phariſees*.

(K) *Morinus* places the riſe of the *Caraites* about the year after Chriſt 740 or 750, about which time, and not before, he ſuppoſes the *Talmud* to have been compleated, and to have given occaſion to their ſeparation (24). He adds, upon the authority of a good number of *Rabbies*, that one *Ananus*, vexed to ſee his brother preferred before him to the dignity of chief of the captivity, began to declare himſelf againſt the compilers and defenders of that work, as giving a divine authority to a book, which was moſtly ſtuffed with fables, and drew a party after him. We ſhall have a more proper opportunity in the ſequel to fix the time in which it was compleated, and ſhall only obſerve here, that the authority of theſe *Rabbies* is not only very ſuſpicious in a caſe of this nature, but is contradicted by others of older date, whom we have mentioned at the head of this article. Beſides, what we have ſaid hitherto makes it more probable, that they were of much earlier date, and that the rupture which the publication of the *Talmud* occaſioned, might be only a revival of their old diſpute, and the giving of a new life to the ſect. Sure it is, that ſome of the fathers, who are of much greater authority, have mentioned them long before (25), if not by the name of *Caraites*, at leaſt by that of *ſcribes*, who rejected all oral traditions, and ſtuck cloſe to the letter of the ſacred books. The reader may ſee another proof of it in the next note.

(L) *Euſebius* tells us (26), that in the reign of *Ptolemy Philometor*, the *Jews* in *Egypt* were divided into two parties, the one of

(23) *Luke* xi. 44, & *ſeq.* (24) *Exercit. bibl. l. ii. Exercit.* vi. c 2. vii. c. 1. *Vide Baſnag. ubi ſupra, ſect.* 19. (25) *Orig. in Matth.* xiii. 52. *Epiphan hæreſ.* xv. *Hieron. in Iſai.* viii. 14. (26) *Præp. evangel. l.* viii c. 10.

We ſhall now give a ſhort ſummary of their particular tenets, as they are oppoſed to thoſe of the other ſects.

1. They look upon the canonical books of the old teſtament as the only rule of their faith, and reject the apocryphal as of no authority, together with the pretended oral tradition of the *Phariſees*, as the wicked inventions of an incroaching and deſigning ſet of men; for which reaſon they have the utmoſt abhorrence for the *Talmud*.

2. They expound ſcripture by ſcripture; and, where that cannot be done, they call in the aſſiſtance of reaſon, and the writings and comments of other doctors, tho' without paying too implicit a regard to the latter.

3. They commonly read the ſcriptures in their ſyna-

which expounded the *Moſaic* law allegorically, and the other literally; which latter was part of the *Caraites* character. We might further alledge, the book *Hachoſri*, to which the *Rabbies* give a very great antiquity, and which introduces the king *Coſroes* as a great admirer of the *Caraitic* ſect, becauſe they were more zealous for the law, till his *Rabbinic* teachers acquainted him with the vaſt variety of opinions that were among them, for want of admitting the oral tradition, which fixed the ſenſe of the ſacred writings. We have elſewhere indeed had occaſion to ſhew, that this book is far enough from being ſo antient as they make it †; but it ſhews, however, how little reaſon *Morinus* had to make them ſo recent as the eighth century, upon the teſtimony of ſome partial *Rabbins*, againſt that of a number of others of more antient date, ſome of whom own them to have appeared even in the time of the *Aſmoneans*, others of the *Sadducees*, and others of *Herod* (27), to ſay nothing of that of the fathers above quoted.

If it be objected, that *Joſephus* has ſaid nothing of them when he ſpoke of the other ſects which reigned in his time, the argument will equally hold againſt the *Herodians*, which yet ſeem to have been very conſiderable. That hiſtorian might have his reaſons for paſſing them by in ſilence. Had he ſpoke well of them, he would have diſobliged his own ſect, ſeeing he was a *Phariſee*; had he ſpoke ill of them, the *Herodians* might have expoſed him to the reſentment of that family, and even of the *Romans*, in whoſe behalf we have ſeen they divided themſelves from the *Phariſees* and *Gaulonites*; and as to the *Caraites*, they might not be ſo guilty in his eyes as they appeared to the oppoſite ſects. *Joſephus* had too much ſenſe to run all the lengths, and ſwallow all the fabulous ſtories of the *Traditioniſts*, tho', like a thorough-paced ſtateſman, he outwardly joined with the moſt prevailing ſide.

† *Vide Vol. III. p.* 416, *note.* (27) *Vide Trigland. de Carait. c.* 3. *Druſ. tribær. Baſnag. Calmet, Prid. &c. ubi ſupra.*

gogues

gogues in the original, esteeming it next to impossible to come at their true meaning from any translation of them; for this reason they are careful to instruct their children betimes in that sacred tongue; and if they suffer any version of them, it is only for the use of those of the meaner sort, who are not acquainted with the *Hebrew*.

4. THEIR prayers are likewise in that tongue, as being the most holy and energic, and the only one in which the incommunicable name of God can be properly pronounced; for they are not so scrupulous in this respect as the other *Jews*, who always read it *Adonai*, but pronounce it *Jehovah*, as we do. Only in their writings, prayer-books, &c. they chuse to write it only with a *vau* between two *jods*. In their prayers, wherein they express a much greater fervency and devotion than the rest, they always turn their faces towards *Jerusalem*.

5. THEY expect, like the rest of the *Jews*, the reign of the Messiah to be a temporal and glorious one, and attribute his long delay, partly to the slowness of *Saturn*'s motion, which they make the ruling planet of the sabbath †, and of the *Jewish* nation, and partly to their sins, which have provoked God to suspend the sending of him at the promised time (M); for this reason they forbid the calculating the time of his coming under the severest anathemas.

6. THEY entertain the highest and justest notions of the Deity, and of his perfections and attributes. They affirm his providence to be as extensive and unlimited as his knowledge; and at the same time allow, that mankind has a freedom to determine himself; but that God gave unto every man a portion of his universal grace to assist him in his right choice; and that our wills being influenced by our tempers and constitutions, but chiefly by the stars, makes that grace very necessary. They have a four-fold distinction of this disposition of the soul, the one of sickness, the other of health, the third of life, the fourth of death. This distinction seems to have been alluded to by our Saviour in several places of

† De hoc vide Vol. III. p. 427, (L).

(M) The reader may remember, that we have lately had occasion to confute this ridiculous pretence, and the cause from which it sprung (28), which, it seems by this, was not so confined to the carnal *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, but their more sober and mortified sects gave into it.

(28) *See before p.* 216, *in fin. not.* (Z).

the gospel; as where he speaks of the dead burying the dead; that not the whole, but the sick, have need of a physician, and some others of the like nature.

7. THEIR morality was not inferior to their divinity. It kept a kind of medium between the austere *Essenian* and the *Epicurean Sadducee*. Of the two they rather inclined to the former in point of abstemiousness, whether of eating, drinking, or any other lawful pleasures.

8. THEY believe a future life of rewards and punishments, according to mens good or bad actions in this (N); that the souls come from heaven; that the future life was made for them, and that they will subsist there as the angels do.

9. WE have already hinted, that they condemned the phylacteries of the *Pharisees*. They had no less an abhorrence for all kind of pictures, that were used either by heathens, or afterwards by christians, for a religious use, or, as they term it, to be worshipped; and condemned the other sects for being remiss enough in that point, to make a traffic of them for gain.

10. THEY rejected the astronomical calculations as introduced after the captivity for settling the new moons and other festivals of the year; such as we have had occasion to mention more than once in the course of this chapter †. Whereas the *Traditionists* denied their being an innovation, and, pretended, that they had been invented by *Moses*, and had been as much in vogue before, as since their return from *Babylon*.

UPON all these, and some other less material differences, there was such an irreconcileable hatred intailed between those two sects, as came little short of persecution. They not only charge each other with heresy, with perverting the scriptures, and corrupting religion; but pronounce the bitterest anathemas they can meet with in the sacred books against each other, and that publicly and solemnly; so that where either of them, especially the *Pharisees*, are most numerous or powerful, the others must bear themselves cursed, without

† Vide int. al. p. 32, not. (K).

(N) Tho' they held this in opposition to the *Sadducees*, whom they therefore accused of maintaining the annihilation of the soul; yet we do not find that they believed the resurrection with the *Pharisees*.

daring

daring to resist or complain (O). The late Mr. *Ludolph*; who had been much conversant among them, told several of his acquaintance both in *England* and *Holland*, that he saved the life of a poor *Caraite* at *Frankfort*, who, if he had not protected him, took him home, and sent him away privately; had been in danger of being either torn into pieces, or of being starved there [h]: This mutual hatred and contempt is carefully propagated both by the parents to the children; and much more by the masters to the disciples, over whom they usurp such an uncontroulable authority, that it is next to blasphemy and rebellion to contradict or disobey them.

AMONG the *Caraites*, above all other sects, the disciples have such profound respect for their doctors, that they neither sit down before them till they are bid, nor go from them without their leave; and then they go backwards, keeping still their faces turned towards them. They never speak to or of them, without the title of lord, master, or some such like term of submission. The doctors, on the other hand, who are averse to the *Pharisaic* pride, treat them with great gentleness and humanity, and, for the generality, teach their scholars *gratis*; so that one may say, upon the whole, the *Caraites* are by far the most religious, rational, and, bating their carnal notion of the Messiah's reign, the best disposed to embrace the gospel of any other sect; and we may reasonably suppose, that among the many thousands of that stubborn nation, whom the apostles converted to christianity, the far greater number of them flocked to it from that quarter, whilst the proud *Pharisees*, full of their own supersufficient

[h] BASNAG. ubi supra, c. 7, sect. 25.

(O) This we are told (29), is practised in *Palestine*, where the *Rabbinists*, by far the more numerous and wealthy, assemble themselves on mount *Olivet* on the feast of tabernacles, and there pronounce all the curses of the law against the *Caraites* who are often within the hearing of them; for tho' we find their sect dispersed through many of the northern regions, such as *Poland*, *Lithuania*, *Muscovy*, &c. besides those that are to be met with in great numbers in *Turky*, where they enjoy much greater liberty; yet they prefer *Judæa* to all other countries, and would gladly live there rather than at *Constantinople*, *Cairo*, and other great cities, were they permitted to live peaceably, and free from the curses and other ill offices of their inveterate enemies.

(29) *Basnag. ubi supra, sect. ult.*

knowledge

knowledge and righteouſneſs, and intoxicated with an invincible fondneſs for their own traditions; and the carnal *Sadducees*, contented with the enjoyments of this life, and regardleſs, if not averſe, to the thoughts of a future, ſpared no pains or artifice, cruelty or injuſtice to oppoſe a doctrine ſo grating and contrary to theirs. This being therefore the ſtate of the *Jews* at the coming of the Meſſiah, we need not wonder at the reception which both he and his doctrine met with from them; eſpecially when, inſtead of that glorious, warlike, conqueror they had been made to expect, they ſaw him in the humble guiſe of the poor, illiterate, ſon of an obſcure carpenter.

SECT. VI.

The History of the Jews *from the birth to the death of* Christ.

Herod's diſtracted ſtate reſumed.

THE reader may remember, that we left *Herod* in the moſt diſtracted ſtate that can be well imagined; his conſcience ſtung with the moſt lively grief for the murder of his beloved and virtuous *Mariamne* and of her two worthy ſons; his life and crown in imminent danger from the rebellious *Antipater* and ungrateful *Pheroras*; his reign ſtained with rivers of innocent blood; his latter days imbittered by the treacherous intrigues of a helliſh ſiſter; his perſon and family hated by the whole *Jewiſh* nation; and laſt of all his crown and all his glories on the eve of being obſcured by the birth of a miraculous child, who is proclaimed by heaven and earth to be the promiſed and long expected Meſſiah and Saviour of the world. To all theſe plagues we muſt add ſome freſh intelligences which came tumbling in upon that wretched monarch; and which, by aſſuring him ſtill more, not only of the treaſonable deſigns of the unnatural *Antipater*, but alſo of the bitter complaints which his other two ſons, then at the *Roman* court, did vent againſt them both, rendered him more than ever completely miſerable. Had theſe two princes continued in their duty to him, they would have been a ſupport and comfort, tho' his favourite one had proved the traitor they had repreſented him; but whom could he truſt to, when there was not one of his family left, that did not in ſome meaſure declare himſelf an enemy to him?

Thi

This was the dreadful view in which he beheld himſelf and his unnatural off-ſpring; not that thoſe two young princes were really ſo diveſted of all filial affection, as they were repreſented to him by *Antipater* and his inſtruments; but it had been his and their conſtant care and ſtudy by ſuch vile miſrepreſentations, to render them more and more ſuſpected to the jealous king. Their letters were generally filled with the pretended injurious reflections which thoſe two ſons whiſpered againſt him; ſuch as his having unjuſtly murdered thoſe of *Mariamne*, and their dread of being recalled into *Judæa* to be made to undergo the ſame fate. *Antipater* indeed acted under cloſer covert, and whilſt he ſeemed, as it were, unwillingly to confirm all theſe accuſations, pretended to excuſe them as the effects of raſhneſs and youth, which time and conſideration would ſoon rectify; and indeed ſo taken up was he, either in cultivating theſe diſcords, or in procuring himſelf friends at *Rome* and *Jeruſalem* by his profuſe liberality, that he ſeems to have been wholly ignorant of the diſcoveries which the rack had extorted from his agents in *Judæa*, eſpecially upon the death of *Pheroras*, of which we gave an account in the laſt ſection.

Antipater's calballs againſt his two brothers.

IT is indeed ſurpriſing, that none of his friends in *Judæa* ſhould have ſent him ſome private intelligence of what had paſſed at that dreadful ſcene, and warned him to ſecure himſelf betimes from his father's reſentment; but ſo intent was he on the means of ridding himſelf of him, and ſeizing on his crown, that he even furniſhed him with freſh proofs againſt himſelf, by ſending a freſh ſupply of poiſon to his mother, by means of a freed-man of his, in caſe the old one ſhould in any ways have miſcarried. *Batillus*, that was the ſervant's name, was no ſooner arrived at *Jeruſalem*, than *Herod*, who by this time had unravelled the whole plot, cauſed him to be apprehended and put to the rack; upon which he confeſſed the purport of his errand from *Rome*. *Herod*, the better to conceal his reſentment againſt his treacherous ſon, ſent him immediately a letter, in which he ſeemed to complain only of ſome ill treatment from his mother, and charged him at the ſame time to make what haſte he could to *Jeruſalem*, that his abſence might no longer give his enemies a handle to obſtruct his intereſt in the ſucceſſion. He concluded with a promiſe, that immediately upon his arrival he would obliterate all paſt miſcarriages, and give him all the marks of paternal affection that he ſhould deſire [a].

Batillus's confeſſion on the rack.

[a] Antiq. l. xvii. c. 6.

Antipater

Antipater *comes back to* Jerusalem.

Antipater, ſtill ignorant of what had paſſed in *Judæa*, and thinking his father by this time poiſoned and in his grave, was ſet out for *Judæa*, being as eager to reach *Jeruſalem*, as his father to get him thither; but when he was come to *Tarentum*, he received a diſpatch from ſome of his friends, which acquainted him with the particulars of *Pheroras*'s death. The news gave him a terrible ſhock, not indeed ſo much out of love to the deceaſed, as becauſe he found by it, that he had miſſed his aim of poiſoning the king. He purſued, however, his journey as far as *Celenderis*, a city in *Sicily*, where being taken with a qualm at the thoughts of the affront put upon his mother, who, as we obſerved in the laſt ſection, had been baniſhed the court, and ſtripped of all her riches, which he looked upon as an ill omen; he ſtopped ſome time there, to conſult with his friends, whether he had beſt proceed, or go back. At length ſome of them having fluſhed him with the ſanguine hopes, that his appearance at court would diſpel all his father's ſuſpicions, he got on board again, and in a little while landed at *Sebaſte*. Here he met with a more mortifying omen, than that of his mother's diſgrace; and, inſtead of thoſe acclamations and good wiſhes with which numerous crouds had followed him to the ſhip, he heard nothing but the bittereſt curſes from the *Jews* againſt himſelf, as the bloody murderer of *Mariamne*'s two brave ſons [b].

The children at Bethlehem *maſſacred*

WHILST *Herod* was impatiently waiting his arrival, he had not been negligent of what he thought perhaps a more important care, namely, the deſtroying of his new-born rival at *Bethlehem*, whom he ſuppoſed to be ſtill there. Finding himſelf therefore diſappointed by the wiſe men, from whom he expected a more particular information concerning him, that he might be ſure of not miſſing his victim, he iſſued forth an order to have all the male infants maſſacred, not only in that city, but in all the coaſts round about, from two years old and under (F); and by that horrid ſlaughter, verified

[b] Ibid. c. 7. ſub. init.

(F) An author of the fifth century tells us (36), that *Herod* had alſo a ſon there at nurſe, who was maſſacred among the reſt; and that it was upon this occaſion, that *Auguſtus* made that reflection upon him, that it was better be *Herod's hog, than his ſon* But it is more likely, that that emperor, hearing about the ſame time of the death

(36) *Macrob. Saturn. l. ii. c. 4*

verified the oracle long before delivered by one of the prophets, which the reader will find in the margin [c] (G). But providence

[c] MATTH. ii. 16, & seq.

of *Antipater*, which happened about six weeks after this horrid slaughter, and recollecting that also of his other two sons, might make him break out into that bitter sarcasm against such an unnatural father; besides, it is hardly probable that *Herod*, old, crazed, and distracted as he was, could have any children so young.

It is something surprising, that *Josephus*, who was in no case sparing of *Herod*'s character, should yet have omitted such a material occurrence. The christians have taxed him, and justly too, with partiality, as having concealed it, to avoid giving such a countenance to the evangelist, and such an ample testimony to the Messiah, as might offend his whole nation, and more particularly the *Pharisaic* brotherhood, who had been his most inveterate enemies.

On the other hand, there have not been wanting those, who, preferring the authority of the *Jewish* historian to that of St. *Matthew*, have made use of the one, among many other topics, to cry down the other The controversy is so recent in every body's memory, that we need not here repeat it; especially considering, that it is out of our province to enter into a dispute, which, we think, has been so sufficiently decided in favour of the latter.

As to what may be objected, that *Josephus* has not scrupled in another place to give Jesus Christ a most noble character; we shall only say here, that that passage has been shrewdly suspected of forgery, as this in all likelihood would have been, were it to be found in that historian. However, we shall have a fitter opportunity of speaking of that pretended interpolation in the sequel of this section.

(G) The whole passage runs thus (37), tho' the evangelist has only quoted the first part, as enough to direct his readers to the rest, as was the custom before the bible was divided into chapters and verses

Thus says the Lord, a voice was heard in Ramah, *lamentation and bitter weeping*; Rachel *weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not Thus saith the Lord, refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears: for thy labour shall be rewarded*, or, as the original has it *there is a reward* (laid up) *for thy labour, and they shall come again from the land of the enemy. For there is hope, saith the Lord, that, in thy latter end, thy children shall come again to their own border. I have heard* Ephraim *complain, saying, Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised*, &c

Here was a necessity for taking the whole text thus far, in order to shew how this prophecy or promise of God was verified in the

(37) *Jerem xxxi.* 15, *& seq.*

providence had already taken care to convey the child far enough out of the reach of his butchers; and his parents, having been timely forewarned of his bloody design, had withdrawn themselves into *Egypt*, whence he was not recalled till after the death of the tyrant; when, upon their return, fearing still some further attempt from his successor *Archelaus*, they were directed by the same heavenly monitor to turn off into *Galilee*, and to betake themselves to their old habitation at *Nazareth*. Here was likewise another prophecy fulfilled in the name of *Nazarite* or *Nazarene*, which was given him from his long abode in that obscure place [d] (H).

Soon

[d] Ibid. ver. 19. ad fin.

slaughter of these babes; and it is for want of attending to the whole, that some commentators have been forced to have recourse to a primitive or historica meaning, in the carrying away of the ten tribes, and a secondary in this more cruel bereaving of *Rachel*, or the *Jewish* state, of her beloved children; whilst others, not satisfied with the solution, have run into downright scepticism. Whereas the whole, thus connected, implies no more than this, that no affliction or suffering, either wrongfully, or for a good cause, shall miss of its sure reward at the latter end.

The words therefore of the evangelist (38 may, and, we think, justly too, be thus paraphrased and expounded: Then, or in that bitter weeping and lamentation of those doleful mothers, was fulfilled, or truly verified, that saying of the prophet *Jeremiah*; *In* Ramah, which, in the original, signifies *a high place*, *was heard bitter lamentation*, &c. the mournful mothers refusing to be comforted for their lost children, because they were now no more But what says the Lord? Refrain your cryings and tears; for there is a recompence reserved for all your labours at your latter end; and the children you count for lost shall surely return again. And when could such a comfortable promise be more truely verified, than when he, who brought life and immortality to light, came to assure us of it by so many irrefragable arguments, as well as by his own infallible word?

The *Jews* themselves, especially those who believed the resurrection, might easily have understood this to have been the meaning both of the prophet and evangelist, since they tell us (39), that the reason why God did not double the number of *Job*'s children, as he did that of his cattle, &c when he restored him to his prosperous state, was, because those children, though dead, were not lost, as his other possessions were, but lived still with God, and would be raised up at the latter end.

(H) This prophecy has likewise been very much canvassed, and

(38) *Matth.* ii 17, & *seq.* (39) *Rabb. Plur. comm in Job.* c. *ult.* *Drig. de Stunica*, & *al. ibid.*

hitherto

SOON after this maſſacre at *Bethlehem*, arrived *Antipater* at *Sebaſte*, and from thence went directly to *Jeruſalem*, where he Antipater's *arrival.* *Herod*

hitherto in vain ſought after, tho', by the evangeliſt's words, it ſhou'd be in more places than one, ſince he doth not there quote any one in particular, but the prophets in general. The queſtion therefore is, whether it is ſaid any where, that the Meſſiah ſhould be called *Nazarite?* The anſwer is, not in any verſion, (except perhaps the *Chaldee* and the *Syriac*) but in the original *Hebrew*, where we ſhall find him called נוֹצְרִי *Notzer*; not indeed on account of his having received that appellation from any particular city, but by reaſon of his high character, office, and deſcent We ſhall content ourſelves with giving two inſtances of it, which will, however, ſuffice as a clew to the reſt.

The firſt is in *Exodus* 40., where the Lord is ſaid to deſcend in the cloud, and to proclaim the name or attributes of the Lord, in the following words: *The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long ſuffering, and abundant in mercy and truth; keeping mercy for thouſands, forgiving iniquity*, &c. Where it is obſervable, that the firſt letter in the word נוֹצֵר *notzer*, keeping, is one of thoſe which the *Jews* call *majuſcula*, or large letters, ſuch as occur only about thirty times in the whole old teſtament †, and are, according to them, never uſed by the ſacred writers, but to imply ſome great myſtery to be contained in the word

We ſhall not here diſpute, whether the words in the paſſage above-quoted are thoſe of God there appearing, as our, and moſt verſions underſtand it, or of *Moſes* calling upon him there, though the latter ſeems to us moſt probable, from thoſe that go immediately before, *Vajicra beſhem Jehovah, And he called on the name of the Lord.* It is ſufficient, that the name of *Notzer* is given to the divine perſon there appearing, which could not be that of God the Father, whom no man hath ſeen at any time; but of the Son, in that human appearance he often took both before and under the *Moſaic* diſpenſation; and for further proof of which we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid in a former volume *, and all we ſhall add is, that none could have a better claim to this title of *Notzer cheſſed, keeping* or *preſerving mercy*, than he that came to obtain it for us at no leſs a price than his own ineſtimable life

The other place we ſhall mention is in *Iſaiah* (41), where the ſame Meſſiah is called a *Netzer*, or *a branch* out of the old ſtem of *Jeſſe*, &c. where the word נֵצֶר or מִנֵּצֶר which we tranſlate *ſtem*, ſignifies *the old ſtump of a tree, after the main body* has been cut off; and the *netzer, the ſpontaneous ſhoot which ſprings from it*; and ſuch was indeed the houſe of *David* at the time of Chriſt's birth,

(41) *c. xxxix. 5. & ſeq.* † *Vid. int. al. Vol II. p. 371. Vol. 467. Sol. & Vol III p. 411, & (Z)* * *De his vid Vol. II p. 414, (Z).* (41) *c. xi. 1.*

Herod had ſo cloſely concealed his deſigns concerning him, that he made no heſitation to go and offer himſelf at the gates of the palace. They were immediately opened to him; but

reduced to the loweſt degree of poverty and obſcurity, though at but fourteen generations diſtance from *Zerubbabel*; but we muſt remember, that the prieſts, the *Aſmoneans*, and afterwards *Herod*, had held the kingdom and government of *Judæa*; whoſe intereſt therefore it was to ſuppreſs that family, leſt ſome of them ſhould in time wrench it out of their hands. Neither was this done without the particular conduct of providence, and in purſuance of thoſe prophecies in which the low and humble ſtate of the world's Redeemer is ſo lively deſcribed; and accordingly we find, that when his parents came to *Bethlehem*, they were ſo poor, that his mother could not purchaſe a room in that city, where ſhe might be decently delivered of him, but was forced to make uſe of a ſtable for herſelf, and of a manger for her child; or, which is indeed more likely from a cloſer examination of the text, was delivered in the open fields, and laid the divine babe, εν τη φατνη, *in a crib*; for in that ſenſe the ſeptuagint commonly uſe that word.

If then the Meſſiah is in *Geneſis* and *Iſaiah* emphatically called *Notzer* or *Netzer*, and that name is given him by the *Jews*, in their doing ſo, though by way of contempt, they did but fulfil thoſe prophecies of him, though unwittingly, unwillingly, and in deriſion; and it is ſtill more to his glory, that it was completed in him in that ſublime ſenſe in which he is called by that name in the law and the prophets. The *Jews* had two falſe notions concerning Chriſt, the one that he was born at *Nazareth*, and conſequently that he was a *Galilean*; and the ſecond, that out of *Galilee* there never aroſe any prophet (42). Since then he ſet up both for a prophet and for the Meſſiah, they thought that the name of *Nazarene* was ſufficient to confute both thoſe claims, and therefore gave it both to him and to his followers; and theſe gladly embraced it, on account of its true and genuine ſignification, as he is called in *Moſes*'s writings the *notzer*, or *keeper*, or *depoſitory of mercy*, and by *Iſaiah*, *the ſprout out of the old withered ſtock of the houſe of* David

Some interpreters have imagined, that the evangeliſt alluded to the *Nazarites* among the *Jews*, of whom we have ſpoken more fully in our third volume *, or to *Joſeph*, who is emphatically called by his father *Nazir Acheuf* (43), *ſeparate from his brethren*; or, as we have formerly explained that place †, *crowned above his brethren*, and whom they look upon as a type of the Meſſiah. But all this is ſuppoſed, for want of attending to the different ſpelling of theſe two words, *viz.* the firſt with a ס, and ſignifies *to keep*, and the

(42) *Vide* John i. 46 vii. 41, & 52. * *p.* 229, & *ſeq.*
(43) Gen. xlix. 26. † *Vol. II. p.* 448, R.

other

but, upon his being entered, they were ſhut up again to all his retinue. Upon his being introduced to the king, he went to throw himſelf at his feet, and to embrace his knees, but met with a ſtern repulſe, and was immediately arreſted; and when he aſked the reaſon of it, he was upbraided with the death of his brothers, and referred over to *Varus*, by whom he ſhould be judged on the very next day. *Quintilius Varus* had ſucceeded *Sextu Saturninus* in the government of *Syria*, and, being arrived at that province, was juſt then come to *Jeruſalem*, to pay a viſit to *Herod*, and was thereupon deſired by that monarch, that he would preſide as judge at the tryal of his rebellious and unnatural ſon. *Antipater* was accordingly brought the next morning before him, and a numerous aſſembly, whom *Herod* had convened for that purpoſe. Upon his firſt appearing, he threw himſelf upon his knees, and begged they would have pity on him, and not condemn him unheard. *Herod*, who was alſo preſent, only bid him ſtand up, that he might the better level his reſentments at him. He upbraided him with his ſecret deſigns of poiſoning him, and unravelled the whole conſpiracy lately diſcovered, appealing for the truth of it to his relations and friends, and other evidences, whom he had alſo poſted there to prove all his accuſations; the laſt of which, and that which he vented with greateſt vehemence, was the death of his two brave ſons, Of whom, ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to *Antipater*, thou haſt been but the too unnatural follower, if they were guilty, and the baſe murderer, if they were innocent. His exceſſive grief, followed with a flood of tears, which he could not refrain at the naming of thoſe two unhappy princes, obliged him to ſtop ſhort, and to beckon to *Nicolas Damaſcen* to go on and open the reſt of the accuſation, and then proceed to the proofs of it.

His tryal for treaſon.

Antipater, who knew but too well his own guilt, and the undoubted evidence which was there ready to prove it againſt him, prevented *Damaſcen*'s going on, and began to plead his own cauſe; the ſum of which was, the unlikelihood of his ever entertaining any thoughts of ſuch a horrid parricide, eſpecially after the dreadful puniſhment of his two brothers for the like attempt. He loudly complained againſt the baſeneſs of his accuſers; but *Damaſcen*, being at length permitted to ſpeak, gave ſuch ſatisfactory evidence to the court, that

His defence

other with ז, and ſignifies *to crown*, *ſeparate*, &c. Now the former can be the only right one here, it being given him on account of his living at *Nazareth*; which word is written with the *tzade*, and not with the *zain*.

there

there could be no room left to doubt of his being really guilty. *Varus*, however, told him for the laſt time, that if he had any thing to reply to invalidate the proofs alledged againſt him, he might now freely do it, ſeeing it was *Herod*'s and his own earneſt deſire, that he might prove himſelf innocent. *Antipater*, for want of better evidence, had recourſe to oaths and bitter curſes, which he plentifully wiſhed on himſelf if he was guilty; but this being the uſual refuge of the blackeſt criminal, the preſident, to ſtop his mouth at once, and bring the trial to a fair iſſue, ordered ſome of the poiſon, which had been mentioned in the evidence, to be brought, and given to a condemned perſon before the court; which being done accordingly, the man died almoſt as ſoon as he had taken it. *Varus* immediately left the court and *Judæa* to return to *Antioch*, without declaring his opinion to any but to *Herod*, who ordered his ſon to be ſhut up in a priſon, and ſent letters to *Auguſtus* to acquaint him with the whole trial, charging at the ſame time the meſſenger to give that emperor all the further particulars of it by word of mouth [c].

He is caſt.

Presently after, there was another diſcovery made by an intercepted letter from *Antiphilus*, who was then in *Egypt*, and directed to *Antipater*; the purport of which was as follows: "I have ſent you *Achme*'s letter (I): you know "what riſque I run by ſo doing, ſince I ſhould lay myſelf at "the mercy of two moſt potent families, and my inveterate "enemies. It concerns you therefore to look to it, that "nothing miſcarry." The buſineſs was to find this letter of *Achme*, and the meſſenger pretended to be ignorant of any other, except that abovementioned. At length, upon cloſer ſearch, another was found ſewed in the lining of his waiſtcoat, which, upon their reading of it, was to this effect: *Achme* to *Antipater*: *I have written to your father, according to your direction, and have incloſed in the packet the forged letter from* Salome *to the queen my miſtreſs; and I doubt not but the king, upon his reading of it, will put her to death as a traitreſs.* This pretended letter of *Salome* was contrived by *Antipater*.

[c] Antiq. ubi ſupra.

(I) This *Achme* was by nation a *Jeweſs*, in the ſervice of *Julia Auguſtus*'s wife; but had been bought over by *Antipater* with large ſums, to contrive this plot againſt his father and his aunt *Salome* (44).

(44) *Joſeph Antiq. l. xvii. c. 7. a fin.*

tipater, and dreſſed up by *Achme*, who wrote to the king as follows. Achme *to king* Herod: *Out of a deſire I have to ſerve you, by acquainting you with any thing that concerns your ſafety, I have herewith ſent you a letter of* Salome *to the empreſs my miſtreſs, in which ſhe deſires her leave to marry* Syllæus (K). *Pray tear it as ſoon as read, ſince the diſcovery of it would coſt me my head.* *Herod*, upon reading and comparing the whole, cauſed his ſon to be brought before him, bound as he was, and ſhewed him the letters, and at the ſame time aſked him, what he had to anſwer for himſelf? *Antipater*, at the ſight of them, was thunderſtruck, and could not utter a word; and upon its being inſiſted on, that he ſhould name his accomplices, he only mentioned *Antiphilus*. *Salome*, who was touched to the quick at this attempt againſt her, after having expreſſed her innocence by many antick geſtures and dire imprecations, ſtrenuouſly inſiſted to have the traitor executed out of hand. *Herod*, on the other ſide, was thinking at firſt to have ſent him to *Rome* to have been tried before *Cæſar*; but fearing, upon ſecond thoughts, leſt he ſhould either be reſcued by the way, or acquitted by his friends there, contented himſelf with ſending a full account to the emperor, together with the intercepted letters; and remanded his ſon to his priſon [f].

Herod's *laſt illneſs and will.*

WHILST his embaſſadors were haſtening to *Rome*, *Herod*, worn out with age, ſickneſs, and numberleſs cares and inquietudes, fell into a violent diſeaſe, which added to all his other misfortunes, made him ſo moroſe and choleric, that he became a burden to himſelf, and to every one about him. Finding his end approaching, he ſet about making his will, by which he appointed his youngeſt ſon his heir and ſucceſſor, the miſrepreſentations and calumnies of *Antipater* having rendered his other two ſons, *Archelaus* and *Philip*, obnoxious to him. He bequeathed in legacies, a thouſand talents to *Auguſtus*; five hundred to his empreſs, and left a conſiderable fortune to the unworthy *Salome*. The reſt of his eſtate, lands, revenues, and money, he ordered to be divided between his children and grand-children.

[f] Idem ibid ad fin.

(K) *Syllæus* was a *Nabathean* and *Herod*'s ſworn enemy, and was ſoon after beheaded at *Rome* for betraying *Ælius Gallus* into the *Arabian* expedition, and for ſome other crimes (45).

(45) *De hoc vide Strab. l. xvi.*

A tumult in the city.

But if he was capable of receiving any real satisfaction from this diſpoſal of his crown and wealth according to his inclination, it was ſoon after ſoured by a ſeditious tumult, which was raiſed about this time by *Judas*, the ſon of *Sariphæus* and *Matthias*, the ſon of *Margolothus*, two *Jewiſh* doctors, equally eminent for their learning and piety. Theſe men, at the pleaſing news of his being given over, unhappily took it into their heads to ſtir up a good number of their diſciples, at the head of the city youth, to go and pull down all the ſtructures which that monarch had built contrary to their laws. Theſe, with their two maſters at their head, having heard a report about the middle of the day that *Herod* was expired, went immediately to the temple-gate, over which he had ſet up a golden eagle of extraordinary bigneſs and exquiſite workmanſhip, and began their pious work with pulling it down, and breaking it into pieces with axes and hammers, as the greateſt eye-ſore of all. The king's commander in chief, expecting it to be the beginning of a ſedition, ran immediately to the place with a body of his troops, and was agreeably ſurpriſed to find it only a mob of youths, who immediately diſperſed themſelves at his arrival. Forty only of them, with their two chiefs, proving intrepid enough to ſtand their ground, were immediately ſeized, and brought to the dying king; and upon their being aſked what motive had induced them to ſuch an attempt on the temple? boldly anſwered him, that they had long ſince reſolved upon it; and that it was their only grief, that they had deferred it ſo long. They added, that they neither feared his anger, nor any puniſhment he could inflict on them, ſince what they had done was in obedience to their law, and from a pure zeal for the glory of God.

Herod's ſpeech to the aſſembly.

This affront having raiſed in ſome meaſure his drooping ſpirits, he ordered them to be ſent in chains to *Jericho*, whither he alſo cauſed himſelf to be conveyed in a litter, by reaſon of his extreme weakneſs. Here he aſſembled the heads of the *Jews*, and, in a ſet ſpeech, reminded them of the great and glorious things he had done for them, and of the ſumptuous edifices he had reared to the glory of God, during his whole reign, and for which he expected to have deſerved better returns, and to have endeared both his perſon and memory to the whole nation; but that, to his great grief, he found it quite the reverſe, ſince they had dared, even during his life, and in the face of the ſun, to offer ſuch an affront to him; and not to him only, but much more to God, to whom that golden ornament had been dedicated; ſo that they had even

turned

turned their malice into an open ſacrilege. The aſſembly could eaſily have told him, that his pretended dedication of a figure forbidden by the ſecond commandment, was no other than a piece of idolatrous complaiſance to the *Romans*; but being afraid to rouſe his cruelty too far, they contented themſelves with diſclaiming the fact, and allowing it to deſerve an exemplary puniſhment. *Herod*, ſomewhat ſoftened by this anſwer, contented himſelf with depoſing the high-prieſt (L), whom he ſuſpected to have been a private encourager of the tumult, and giving that dignity to his brother *Joazar*; after which he cauſed *Mattathias* the ringleader and the reſt of the priſoners to be burnt alive, and forgave all the reſt [g]. *The zealots burnt alive.*

THIS indignity, however, gave him reaſon enough to think what mourning the *Jewiſh* nation was like to make for him; and as his diſeaſe became more and more loathſome and intolerable (M), and made him ſtill more deſperate and inhuman, he bethought himſelf of ſuch a horrid expedient to prevent their rejoicing at his death, as

[g] Antiq ubi ſupra, c 9.

(L) This was that *Mattathias*, of whom we have had occaſion to ſpeak heretofore, who having contracted ſome pollution in a dream on the eve of the expiation day, was forced to ſubſtitute another to perform the ceremonies of that ſolemnity *Joſephus* adds, that the moon ſuffered an eclipſe on the night following that pontiff's depoſition (46).

(M) This diſeaſe which *Joſephus* (47) doth not ſcruple to call a judicial one, was ſo complicated, and attended with ſuch nauſeous and frightful ſymptoms, that we believe our readers will gladly ſpare us the repetition of them here. However, the king, ſtill flattering himſelf with the hopes of a cure, ſent for phyſicians from all parts, who, having tried their art in vain, adviſed him at length to the hot waters of *Callirhoe*, on the other ſide *Jordan*, which empty themſelves in the lake *Aſphaltites*. Upon his coming thither, he was ordered to be ſet in a veſſel of oil up to the neck, which inſtead of relieving him, threw him into a fainting fit, out of which he was with difficulty brought by the outcries of his attendants. It was then that he firſt began to think his diſeaſe incurable; upon which he ordered a donative of fifty drachms *per* head to all his ſoldiers, and proportionably to his officers, and ordered himſelf to be conveyed to *Jericho*, where he ſoon after iſſued out that bloody edict we are going to mention in the text.

(46) *Antiq. ubi ſupra. c.* 8. (47) *Idem ibid.*

Herod's *last legacy to the* Jews.

ſcarcely ever entered into the heart of any tyrant. He iſſued out his ſummons for the heads of all the *Jews* to repair to *Jericho* on a ſet day, under pain of death; and, upon their arrival, ordered them all to be ſhut up in the *Circus*: and having ſent for his ſiſter *Salome* and her huſband *Alexas*, gave them ſtrict charge to have them all butchered as ſoon as his breath was gone. By this means, added he, I ſhall not only damp the people's joy, but ſecure a real mourning at my death. About this time came back his meſſengers from *Rome*, with *Auguſtus*'s approbation of *Antipater*'s ſentence, and the news that *Achme* had been there put to death for her treachery. *Herod* could not but feel a ſenſible joy at it, in ſpite of all his tortures; and finding himſelf at that time very hungry, he called for an apple and a knife; but his pains increaſing at that inſtant, and he eſſaying to put an end to them with the knife, made a grandſon of his, who tried to ſtop his hand, give a great ſhriek, which alarmed the court, and made every body without believe that he was dead. The report of it ſoon reached *Antipater*'s priſon, who expreſſed ſuch lively joys and hopes at the news, as haſtened his execution; for his gaoler having acquainted the king with it, threw him into ſuch a rage, that he diſpatched one of his guards on the very inſtant to put him to death [h]. He outlived his ſon but five days, during which he altered his will afreſh, left his kingdom to *Archelaus*, made *Antipas* tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Perea*; and left to *Philip* the regions of *Trachonitis*, *Gaulon*, *Batanea*, and *Panias*, which he erected likewiſe into a tetrarchy. To *Salome*, beſides fifty thouſand pieces in money, he gave the cities of *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, and *Phaſaelis*, with ſome conſiderable legacies to his other relations. He died in the ſeventieth year of his age, and the thirty ſeventh after his advancement to the *Jewiſh* crown, and the thirty-fourth year after the expulſion and death of *Antigonus* [i] (N), and to the no ſmall joy of all the *Jews*.

Antipater *put to death.*

Herod's *death.*

For

[h] Ibid. ad fin. [i] Ibid. c. 10. ſub init.

(N) Archbiſhop *Uſher* dates his death on the 25th of *November*, the ſeventh month, called *Ciſleu* (48). Another learned chronologer obſerves, that it gave the *Jewiſh* nation a joyful occaſion for a feſtival, as he died hated of all wiſe men (49).

(48) *Sub A. M.* 4001. (49) *Vide Megillath Tahanith ſub fin. Ciſlez.*

Our

FOR *Salome* and *Alexas*, bad as they were, and in ſpite of all the oaths and proteſtations their tyrannic brother had extorted from them at his death, were ſo far from executing his laſt inhuman orders, that they even ſtrove to ſmother the ſhameful ſecret from the nation. To this end they went immediately after his being expired to the hippodrome, where the heads of the *Jews* were detained, cauſed the gates to be flung open, and declared to them, that it was the king's order they ſhould all depart to their reſpective homes, he having no further occaſion for their preſence; which they accordingly did; ſoon after which, and not 'till then, they publiſhed the news of *Herod*'s death (O). They then ſummon-

The impriſoned chiefs releaſed by Salome.

Year of the Flood 3000. After Chriſt 1. Before the vulgar æra, 5. Archelaus *proclaimed.*

Our learned prelate has therein followed the *Jewiſh* book laſt quoted, which places his death on the ſeventh day of that month, according to the *Hebrew* computation; but a late critic has ſince pretended that the old *Megillah* had been long ſince loſt, and this new one foiſted into the world inſtead of it, and is therefore of no authority (50). We ſhall content ourſelves with referring our readers to another learned man (1), who has fully confuted this aſſumption, it being quite out of our province to enter further into that diſpute.

The *Jewiſh* hiſtorian ſums up *Herod*'s character in theſe remarkable words (2); *He was a man inexorably cruel, and a ſlave to his paſſions. His will was his law; and yet no man, in the general, more fortunate than he. He mounted the throne from the condition of a private man, fell into many difficulties, but ſurmounted them all, and lived at laſt to a great age. As to his domeſtic broils with his children and family, how unhappy ſoever he may have been in my opinion, yet was he fortunate in his own; for he got ſtill the better of his enemies.*

(O) Whether this unexpected releaſe of the *Jewiſh* heads was really owing to the leſs brutiſh temper of *Salome* and her huſband, or whether it might not, as they gave it out, have been ordered by the relenting tyrant at his laſt agonies, and ſuppreſſed by the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian out of hatred to that monarch; ſure it is, that the very deſign, much more the proſecuting it ſo far, muſt argue him to have been a monſter of cruelty, and capable of the moſt horrid butcheries, to ſatiate either his ambition or reſentment.

This will ſufficiently take off the objection againſt the probability of his murdering ſo many infants in and about *Bethlehem*, drawn from the horridneſs of the act; and we have had occaſion already to ſhew, that *Joſephus*'s ſilence of it can much leſs invalidate the authority of the evangeliſt, who affirms it as a fact well known to the *Jewiſh* nation.

(50) *Bern. Lamy, appar. chronol. p.* 1. *c.* 9 *ſect.* 5. (1) *Joh. Meyer. annot. in Megill. Taan. p.* 62. *& ſeq.* (2) *Antiq. ubi ſupra, c.* 10.

ed the chief officers and ſoldiery to the amphitheatre at *Jericho*, and read to them a letter from the deceaſed king, in which he thanked them for their paſt ſervices and fidelity to him, and deſired them to ſhew it now to his ſon *Archelaus*, whom he had appointed his ſucceſſor. His laſt will was read to them at the ſame time by *Ptolemy*, the then keeper of the royal ſeal, in which there was this remarkable clauſe, *That it was to be of no force till ratified by* Cæſar. The audience, however, taking it for granted, that that emperor would not fail to confirm it, ſent out an univerſal ſhout, *Long live king* Archelaus; and both officers and ſoldiers promiſed him the ſame allegiance and attachment which they had ſhewn to his father.

Herod's *ſtately funeral.*

The new king, to ſhew his gratitude to him, began with preparing him a funeral anſwerable to his greatneſs and dignity. His body was laid on a ſumptuous golden litter, inriched with variety of precious ſtones, wearing the royal crown on his head, and holding the ſceptre in his hand. His ſons and grandſons, of whom we have ſpoken in a former ſection, his ſiſter and her huſband, accompanied with the reſt of his relations, marched by his ſide, and were followed by all his officers, both civil and military, according to their rank. Among the latter his guards led the van; then came the *Thracians*, next the *Germans*, and laſt of all the *Gauls* or *Galatians*; all of them armed and in order of battle. The proceſſion was cloſed with five hundred of the king's domeſtics with aromatic perfumes, and proceeded to his caſtle of *Herodion* mentioned in the laſt ſection, which was about eight ſtades, or a thouſand paces, diſtant from *Jericho* (P), and

(P) Or rather, as *Joſephus* has it in another place (3), two hundred ſtades or furlongs; for leſs than that could hardly be, conſidering that it was but ſixty from *Jeruſalem*. Our learned *Uſher* therefore ſuppoſes ſome error crept in the former, and that the hiſtorian there meant, that the cavalcade marched but eight ſtades a day (4).

Mention being alſo made of an *Herodion* upon one of the mountains of *Arabia* (5), Mr. *Reland* juſtly concludes, that there muſt have been two caſtles of that name built by that monarch, the former in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem* and *Tekoah*, *viz.* this where he was buried; and the other at a greater diſtance, and on the other ſide *Jordan* (6).

(3) *Bell. Jud. l.* i. *c ult in fin.* (4) *Sub A M.* 4002. (5) *Bell. Jud. ibid. c.* 16, & *alib.* (6) *Palæſt. illuſtr. ſub Herodion.*

where

where they depoſited his remains, according to his will[k]. They returned from thence to *Jeauſalem*, where *Archelaus*, having finiſhed the ſeven days mourning for his father, according to the *Jewiſh* cuſtom, gave the people a magnificent feaſt. He went next to the temple cloathed in white, and in the Archelamidſt of their loud acclamations; and, being there ſeated on *us's ſpeech* his golden throne, gave the people thanks for the zeal they *to the* Jews expreſſed for him; but added, that he would not aſſume the title of king, till it had been confirmed to him by *Auguſtus*, tho' that, as well as the royal diadem, had been offered to him at *Jericho* by the ſuffrages of the whole army. He concluded with aſſuring them, that, as ſoon as he was confirmed by the emperor, his chief care and ſtudy ſhould be to deſerve that love they ſo unanimouſly teſtified for him, and to make his reign more eaſy and happy, than that of his father had proved to the *Jewiſh* nation. This ſpeech was followed with frequent vollies of huzzas; after which they began to try the ſincerity of it, by a number of petitions ſuitable to their different exigencies. Some begged for an alleviation of their tributes, others for the total abolition of the cuſtoms, others again for the releaſe of priſoners; all which were readily granted at this lucky juncture, *Archelaus* not thinking it adviſeable to exaſperate them by a denial. The whole ceremony was concluded with ſuitable ſacrifices, and a ſumptuous entertainment, which he gave there to his friends.

THE *Jews*, however, ſoon reſumed their rebellious courſe *A new tu-*
in ſpite of all theſe grants. That afternoon was ſcarcely over, *mult raiſed*
before a number of malecontents, who had been for ſome time holding ſecret cabals for raiſing new mutinies, broke looſe in a body, and, for want of a more plauſible pretence, came beating their breaſts, bewailing the deaths of *Mattathias* and others of his accomplices, who had been burnt for pulling down the golden eagle; and demanded juſtice againſt thoſe friends of the deceaſed king, who had had a hand in their deaths; particularly they deſired, that the high-prieſthood might be taken from *Joazar*, to whom it had been given upon that occaſion. This unexpected indignity failed not to exaſperate the new king; but as he was upon the point of departing for *Rome*, and was unwilling either to have his journey ſtopped by this tumult, or to go away before it was quelled; he ſent his maſter of the horſe to appeaſe them by fair words, and to remind them, that the king would do nothing till he was confirmed by the emperor; but, before he could utter a word to them, they fell a pelting him with vollies of

[k] Idem ibid. & Bell. Jud. l. i. c. ult.

ſtones,

ſtones, ſo that he was forced to withdraw. He ſent ſome freſh officers on the ſame errand, and they met with the ſame reception; inſomuch, that they wanted but number to have raiſed themſelves into open rebellion. By this time the feaſt of the paſſover was come, which brought a great concourſe of people from all parts to *Jeruſalem*; during which ſolemnity the malecontents never ſtirred from the temple, but choſe to beg for ſubſiſtence of the comers, rather than leave the place, or intermit their godly work, till they were drove from it by main force [l].

The mutineers diſperſed.

Archelaus, who juſtly feared, leſt theſe mutineers ſhould ſpread the infection among the multitudes that repaired to the feaſt, ſent an officer at the head of ſome troops, with expreſs orders either to diſperſe them, or to ſeize on ſuch as ſtood their ground. They were ſcarcely come in ſight of the revolters, before they found themſelves briſkly attacked by them, and by a greater number of ſtrangers, whom their outcries had inſpired with the ſame rebellious ſpirit; a bloody encounter followed, in which moſt of the ſoldiers were killed upon the ſpot, and the officer terribly wounded and narrowly eſcaped with his life. This freſh indignity obliged at length *Archelaus* to ſend his whole army againſt them, with orders to his cavalry to kill all that came out of the temple, and to hinder the ſtrangers from aſſiſting them. After another obſtinate fight, in which three thouſand of the rebels were killed, the reſt were ſoon put to flight, and betook themſelves to the mountains; upon which the king publiſhed an order for all ſtrangers to depart to their own homes, by which an end was put to the paſchal ſolemnity for that year, the rebellion ſuſpended for ſome time, and *Archelaus* was left at liberty to prepare for his journey to *Rome* [m]. He ſet out ſoon after accordingly, leaving the government of the kingdom to his brother *Philip*, and took with him his mother *Mattace*, by nation a *Samaritan*, *Nicholas Damaſcen*, an old friend and counſellor of his late father, and a great number of other friends. He was likewiſe accompanied by his aunt *Salome*, with her children and ſome other near relations, who pretended to aſſiſt him with their intereſt at the *Auguſtan* court, when their real deſign was to obſtruct his confirmation, and to accuſe him to the emperor of the maſſacre of his ſubjects lately committed in the temple.

[l] Antiq. ubi ſupra. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 1. [m] Antiq. ibid. c. 11. Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

When

WHEN *Archelaus* was come to *Cæſarea*, he was met there by *Sabinus*, *Auguſtus*'s intendant of *Syria*, who was haſtening into *Judæa*, to take care of the rich legacies which *Herod* had bequeathed to that emperor. He had, however, been diſſuaded by *Varus*, in his way thither, from undertaking any thing further, till the emperor's will was known, and *Archelaus* confirmed in his kingdom; ſo that he had been prevailed upon by that *Syrian* governor to ſtay in that city till he had received further orders from *Rome*. He ſtayed, however, no longer there than till *Varus* was returned to *Antioch*, his capital; after which he went immediately to *Jeruſalem*, lodged himſelf at the royal palace, and ſummoned the king's treaſurers to give him an account, and to put him in poſſeſſion of thoſe treaſures; but as theſe had orders from *Archelaus* not to part with them till his return, they refuſed to deliver them to *Sabinus*, alledging they would preſerve them for *Auguſtus*, till they received further directions from him. By this time *Archelaus* and his retinue were arrived at *Rome*; and among thoſe whom the ſubtle *Salome* had brought with her to oppoſe his election, was *Antipas*, another of *Herod*'s ſons, whom that monarch had appointed his ſucceſſor by his firſt will, and whom ſhe deſigned to ſet up againſt his brother, under pretence that that was of greater validity than his ſecond. *Antipas* had been perſuaded to take this ſtep, not only by *Salome*, but much more by one *Ireneus*, an eloquent orator, and one that was perfectly verſed in all the affairs of ſtate, had been admitted into the inmoſt ſecrets of *Herod*'s court; and, being come with him to *Rome*, was moſt likely to repreſent that young prince's claim to the beſt advantage. With that orator was alſo another great ſtateſman, named *Ptolemy*, the brother of *Nicolas Damaſcen*, and one of the late king's counſellors. *Antipas* had likewiſe brought his mother *Cleopatra*, born at *Jeruſalem*, with ſome other relations and friends; and theſe were ſcarcely come to *Rome* with him, before they found means to draw the greateſt part of *Archelaus*'s relations and partiſans over to their ſide [n] (Q).

Archelaus *goes to* Rome. Year of the Flood, 3000. Of Chriſt, 1. Before the vulgar æra, 5.

Antipas *oppoſes him.*

THERE

[n] Idem, ibid.

(Q) It ſeems by *Joſephus*'s account, as if *Archelaus*'s party had taken ſome diſguſt at him, either from his ſevere manner of quelling the late tumult in *Judæa*, or on ſome other pretence; whilſt *Antipas* and his friends took care to inſpire them with hopes of a milder government under him. But there was ſtill a third party, who

There was still another thing which very much weakened the interest of *Archelaus*, namely, his officers at *Jerusalem* refusing to deliver up *Herod*'s legacies to *Sabinus*; of which both he and *Varus* had taken care to inform the *Roman* court. *Archelaus* was therefore forced, in his own vindication, to present a memorial to the emperor, in which he exhibited his title to the crown, the particulars of *Herod*'s last will, together with an inventory of the treasure which that monarch had left behind him, to which he likewise added his royal signet with which that will was sealed. This memorial was soon followed by another from *Antipas*, in which were displayed such allegations as were most likely to invalidate *Herod*'s last will, and his brother's title. *Augustus*, having perused the writings on both sides, summoned a council of his friends to examine their respective claims, and made *Caius*, the son of *Agrippa* by his adopted daughter *Julia*, president of it. *Antipater*, the son of *Salome*, an eloquent speaker and sworn enemy to *Archelaus*, opened with a speech full of the bitterest invectives against him; such as his having assumed the royal title and authority, without staying for the emperor's consent; his having caused three thousand *Jews* to be massacred in the temple by his own troops at the late passover-festival; his having turned out several eminent officers, and put others in their room; his having presumed to sit on the royal throne, heard and adjudged causes, and granted considerable immunities, released all the prisoners whom his father had caused to be shut up in the *Circus*; all this by his own assumed authority, and in the quality of a *Jewish* monarch. He likewise accused him of unnatural contempt to the memory of his deceased father, from whom he had received such signal tokens of paternal love, and of his having spent the night, which followed that monarch's death, in such feasting and jollity, as was like to have raised a sedition among the people, who could not behold such a flagrant instance of ingratitude without the utmost detestation. He concluded with telling the court, that *Herod*, who best knew the opposite tempers of the two brothers, had not so much as dreamt of appointing him his successor, whilst he enjoyed his health and senses; but had expressly named *Antipas* to that dignity; but supposing that he had conceived a better opinion of *Archelaus* during his last sickness, he has shewn you now what a

Antipater's *speech against* Archelaus.

who, liking neither of the brothers, nor indeed any of *Herod*'s family, did what they could to make them both miscarry in their pretensions, in hopes of living solely and more quietly under the dominion of the *Romans*.

king

king he is like to prove; what uſe he is like to make of his power, ſince, even whilſt in the condition of a private man, he could ſend his troops into the very temple to cut the throats of his ſubjects.

Damaſcen ſpoke next, and anſwered the greateſt part of *Antipater*'s accuſations, by ſhewing, firſt, that, with reſpect to the pretended maſſacre in the temple, nothing leſs than ſuch a ſeverity could quell the ſedition then kindled; that thoſe men were only a band of rebellious fellows, and the firſt agreſſors, not only in raiſing the tumult, but in murdering thoſe officers whom the king had ſent to appeaſe them by the mildeſt means; and that he had acted nothing in this, or in any other inſtance, but by the advice of thoſe who were now turned his accuſers: that, as to the alteration which *Herod* made in his will about the ſucceſſion, he, being in his perfect ſenſes at that time, had doubtleſs very good reaſons for what he did, and might probably have obſerved ſomething in *Antipas*'s behaviour or character, which obliged him to prefer his brother to him; and as a further proof that he had altered it upon cooler thoughts, he urged his ſubmitting the validity of it to the emperor, without whoſe approbation it was to be of no force. As ſoon as he had made an end of ſpeaking, *Archelaus* went and threw himſelf at *Auguſtus*'s feet in ſuch humble guiſe, as moved his compaſſion towards him. *Cæſar* raiſed him up, pronounced him worthy of the *Jewiſh* crown, and promiſed to do nothing contrary to his father's will; after which he diſmiſſed the aſſembly without any further deciſion, being deſirous to take ſome time to conſider, whether he ſhould beſtow the kingdom ſolely upon him, or divide it among *Herod*'s children, ſeeing they all applied themſelves alike to him for redreſs [o].

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting at *Rome*, the reſtleſs *Jews* had raiſed a new inſurrection in *Jeruſalem*, which was, however, ſuppreſſed by *Varus*'s ſpeedy arrival from *Antioch*, and the puniſhment of the ringleaders; but, upon his return to *Antioch*, having left *Sabinus* with a *Roman* legion to keep that metropolis in awe, this general, ſeeing himſelf ſuperior to the *Jews*, made a bold puſh upon the fortreſſes of the city, and the treaſures of the *Herodian* family, with a deſign to convert them to his own uſe. He choſe, however, a wrong time for ſuch an attempt; and the *Jews*, who came flocking thither to the approaching feaſt of pentecoſt, not perhaps ſo much out of devotion as to oppoſe his deſigns, did quickly divide themſelves into three bodies, one of which

[o] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 11, Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

besieged him and his troops in the royal palace, whilst the other two went and possessed themselves, the one of the *Hippodrome*, and the other of the temple on the east and north sides of it; so that he was inclosed on every side, and in danger of being overpowered by the *Jews*. These were the more exasperated against him, because he had forced his way into the treasury of the temple, and brought away four hundred talents out of it, besides other rich plunder, which his soldiers had carried off, in spite of all their opposition. This desperate attempt had happened as follows: the *Roman* general, seeing himself hemmed in on all sides, and on the brink of being assaulted by the resolute *Jews*, sent an express to desire *Varus* to come immediately to his assistance; whilst himself getting up on the top of one of the towers of the castle, named *Phasael*, from thence beckoned to his troops to make a sally on the enemy. They did so, and had an obstinate skirmish with them, in which they killed a number of *Jews*. The rest, not at all discouraged at this loss, got up on the outer galleries of the temple, from which they galled the *Romans* with stones and arrows, whilst those of the enemy from below had quite lost their strength before they could reach them. Tired at length, and ashamed to see the advantage the *Jews* had over them, they brought vast quantities of wood, and other combustible matter, to the foot of the wall, and setting it on fire, plied it so briskly with fresh fuel, that the flame reached at length to the cornishes of the gallery; which, being of timber, and covered with paint and wax, on which the gilding was laid, were easily set on a blaze. A great number of the *Jews* on the battlements perished in the flames, whilst the rest, casting themselves down headlong, either died by the fall, or by the enemy's sword; so that not one of all those brave men was left alive, the *Romans* giving no quarter to any of them. As soon therefore as the flames were so far abated, that these could wade through them, they broke into the sacred treasury, from which they carried off the plunder above-mentioned.

Sabinus *besieged.*

Some Jews *burnt and killed.*

These two actions therefore could not but highly exasperate the *Jewish* nation, and make them double their vigour against him. Accordingly whilst one part was taken up in undermining the palace, another was endeavouring to cause a defection from the *Roman* general, by promising an amnesty and free leave to march off unmolested to as many as should leave the place. They added the like promise to *Sabinus* upon the same conditions, and assured the *Roman* troops, that they had no other design in taking up arms, but to free themselves

themſelves from the tyrannic yoke of the *Herodian* family. *Sabinus* would have gladly embraced the offer; but the injuries he had done the *Jews* would not permit him to rely on their promiſe, ſo that he choſe rather to wait for the reinforcement he expected from *Varus*. During this time new troubles were raiſed in other parts of *Judæa*; among others two thouſand valiant veterans of the late king, who had been diſcharged from the ſervice, aſſembled themſelves in a body, and fell upon *Archelaus*'s forces commanded by his nephew *Archiabus*; but this young general, not daring to face them upon equal terms, knowing them to be old experienced ſoldiers, went and ſecured himſelf as well as he could in ſome fortreſſes, and other places of difficult acceſs [P].

A ſedition raiſed by Judas.

WE have heretofore had occaſion to mention one *Ezechias*, a captain of a gang of banditti, whom *Herod* had with much difficulty caught and put to death, with about forty of his troops. This man left a ſon named *Judas*, who, ſeeing now the country labouring under a kind of civil war, took this opportunity to revenge his father's death; and having got together a band of moſt deſperate fellows at *Sephoris*, a city in *Galilee* (R), after ſeveral incurſions into the king's dominions, forced at length into the royal armory, where he equipped his men *cap-a-peé*, and from thence into the treaſury of all the places where he came, and being thus furniſhed with men, arms, and money, injected terror into the

[P] Antiq. ubi ſupra. Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 2.

(R) This city, tho' not to be met with in *Joſhua* or any of the ſacred writers, at leaſt by any thing like that name, is frequently mentioned by *Joſephus*; and we have had occaſion to ſpeak of it in a former ſection, as one of the five places in which *Gabinius* ſettled his independent tribunals. It was in the tribe of *Zebulun*, not far from the mountain and plains of *Thabor*, and was one of the firſt cities in *Galilee* on the road to *Ptolemais*. It became afterwards the metropolis of that province in *Nero*'s time, when that emperor gave it to young *Agrippa*.

It has been ſince known by the name of *Diocæſarea*. It is placed at about twelve miles more or leſs, for authors are not agreed about it) from *Tiberias*, and near the famed mount *Aſhmon*, or *Acmon*, which was looked upon as the center or navel of *Galilee*, 7).

[7] *De hac vide Joſeph. Antiq l. xiv. c. 10. xvii. c. 12. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 2. & alib paſſ.*

whole province, and plundered all he could come at; and so successful was he for some time, that he began to aim at the supreme power; whence he is thought, not without good grounds, to have been the same which is mentioned by St. *Luke* [q] under the name of *Theudas* (S).

A second by Simeon.

HE was not the only one that aimed at the crown, during these troublesome times. There started up another, named *Simeon*, a person of comely stature, strongly built, and well esteemed by the *Jews*, and sufficiently conceited to think himself worthy of it. He had been employed by *Herod* in affairs of great importance with credit. As soon therefore as he appeared at the head of a party, the people saluted him king of the *Jews*; and he, to shew his zeal against the two rival sons of his late master, led his men directly to *Jericho*, where they set the royal palace, a rich and stately building, in flames. He proceeded to do the like to several others, giving his men the whole plunder of them. What further mischiefs such a leader, at the head of such resolute fellows, might have done, if their career had not been timely stopped, is easy to guess; but happily for that country, *Gratus*, *Archelaus*'s general, or, according to *Tacitus* [r], *Varus*, the *Syrian* governor, fell suddenly upon them, and, whilst they fought with more courage than skill, gave them a total overthrow. *Simeon* was caught in his flight in some narrow defile, and, being brought to the general, had his head immediately struck off [s]. Whilst these were plundering and burning the royal palaces in one part of the country, another gang was doing the same in another; particularly that of *Amatha* on the *Jordan*, built probably by *Herod* for the benefit of the hot waters, which that city was famed for [t], and took its name from (T).

[q] Acts. v. 36. [r] Hist. l. v. [s] JOSEPH ubi supra. [t] Euseb. Onomast. sub voce.

(S) This seems more than probable, not only from what each historian says of him, the one, that he aimed at the crown, and the other, that he gave himself out to be some eminent person, or great deliverer; such as the *Jews* were in more than ordinary expectation of at this time; but likewise from the affinity of their name תודה *Thoudah* in the *Syriac*, answering to the *Hebrew* יהודה *Jehudah*, and to the *Greek* Ιουδας (8).

(T) From the *Hebrew* חמה or חמת *Chamah*, or *Chamath*, in the *regimen*, signifying *hot*. Mr. *Reland* thinks it to the same with *Ramoth-Gilead*.

(8) *Vide ann. Usser. sub. A. M.* 4003.

BUT

BUT the moſt deſperate and dangerous of all thoſe ſeditious gangs, for they raged in every place like an epidemic diſeaſe, was that of one *Athronges*, heretofore an obſcure ſhepherd, of no merit or worth, but what he challenged from his gigantic ſtature and brutiſh ſtoutneſs. This fellow ſet up likewiſe for the royal authority. He had four brothers of the ſame monſtrous ſize, whom he made his lieutenants over the multitudes that came flocking to him, for the honour of fighting under his banner. He took upon him the royal diadem, and tho' he often conſulted his council, yet acted according to his arbitrary will. He hated the *Romans* and *Herodians* alike; but the former felt oftener the effects of his cruelty. He gave no quarter to either ſide, when they fell into his hands; but he ſeemed rather to bend his force againſt the *Romans*, becauſe their late plunders and cruelties were freſher in every body's memory. He laid an ambuſh againſt one of their convoys of corn near *Emmaus*, and fell upon them ſo ſuddenly, that he left their commanding officer and forty of his men dead on the ſpot, and would in all likelihood have cut them all off, had not *Gratus* come in good time to their aſſiſtance. At length, after many ſuch exploits, the mock monarch fell into the hands of *Archelaus*, after his return into *Judæa*. One of his brothers was taken by *Gratus*, and another by *Ptolemy*. The laſt of them ſurrendered himſelf upon good conditions; and ſo the whole gang was diſperſed. But all this while the whole country was ſtill in a flame from freſh inſurrections, as well as from that of the *Jews* againſt *Sabinus*, whilſt the *Herodian* competitors were waiting at *Rome* for the emperor's deciſion.

A third by Athronges.

His gang defeated.

BY this time *Varus*, being appriſed of the danger *Sabinus* and his legion were in, took the road to *Judæa*, at the head of his other two, which was all that he had then in *Syria*, and with four troops of horſe and ſome foot, which he had got from the neighbouring tetrarchs. He ordered their rendezvous at *Ptolemais*, where he received ſome freſh auxiliaries, beſides fifteen hundred more, which the king of *Arabia* ſent him to *Berytus*, more out of hatred to the *Herodian* family, than love to the *Romans*. With part of his army *Varus* marched towards *Samaria*, whilſt the reſt, under the command of his ſon, made an inroad into that part of *Galilee* which was neareſt to *Ptolemais*. This laſt, having put to flight all that oppoſed him, went and took *Sepphoris*, ſold all the inhabitants by auction, ſet fire to that noble city, and reduced it into a heap of rubbiſh. His father, on the other

Varus *marches againſt the beſiegers.*

other hand, paſſed by *Samaria*, becauſe he heard that it had had no hand in the *Jewiſh* inſurrections, and marched ſtraight to *Jeruſalem*. In his way he ſuffered his *Arabian* troops to plunder and burn ſeveral villages and towns; ſuch as *Arus*, becauſe it belonged to *Ptolemy*, a friend of *Herod*; *Sampho*, and *Emmaus*; this laſt in revenge of the ſlaughter which *Athronges* had made of the *Romans* near that place; but the inhabitants of it, foreſeeing the ſtorm, had timely for-

Raiſes the ſiege.

ſook it. Whilſt this was doing without the city, the beſiegers, who were juſt going to ſtorm the palace, having heard of *Varus* coming with ſuch a force, raiſed the ſiege and marched off in a fright; upon which the beſieged came forth, with the grandchildren of *Herod*, to compliment him on his arrival, and to thank him for his timely help. *Sabinus* was the only one who did not follow their example; but ſtole away privately towards the ſea. *Varus* gave a very ſevere reprimand to the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, for the late hoſtilities againſt the *Roman* legion; but was ſoon appeaſed, when he was apprifed, that they neither had a hand in it, nor were able to hinder it, being themſelves pent up by thoſe foreign *Jews*, who were come to the feaſt and had begun the tumult. However, as he thought it expedient to make a ſevere example of the ringleaders of it, he ſent ſome of his troops through the whole kingdom, with orders to make a ſtrict ſearch after them, and bring them priſoners to him. Upon their return they brought a vaſt number of thoſe wretches, two thouſand of whom he cauſed to be crucified,

A new inſurrection quelled.

and releaſed the reſt. This ſeverity did not hinder another body of ten thouſand from taking up arms againſt him, which prevented his diſbanding his auxiliaries, as he had deſigned, and obliged him to ſend them to quell this new revolt. They eaſily compaſſed it, becauſe the enemy, inſtead of ſtanding the brunt, ſurrendered themſelves at diſcretion. *Varus* forgave the common people, and contented himſelf with ſending the chiefs of them bound to *Auguſtus* [u].

ALL this while *Archelaus* was ſoliciting the emperor to ratify his father's will, and to name him king of *Judæa*. About this time *Martace* his mother died; ſoon after which there arrived a deputation from *Judæa*, conſiſting of fifty of the heads of that nation, who were ſent to oppoſe his election, and to beg of the emperor, that their country might be made part of the province of *Syria*, and ſubject

[u] Antiq & beil Jud. ubi ſupra.

to

to the governors of it, without kingly government. They were ſeconded by above eight thouſand *Jews* then ſettled at *Rome*; who all profeſſed an averſion to a kingly government, and a deſire of living under that of the *Romans*, provided they might be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion and laws. *Auguſtus* referred the matter to a council of his own friends, whom he convened at the temple of *Apollo*, which he had lately built, and where both ſides were to be heard in their turn. Here the *Jewiſh* embaſſadors began with inveighing againſt *Herod*, who, they affirmed, had governed their nation not like a monarch, but like a tyrant, violating all their laws both ſacred and civil; impoveriſhing a nation, whom, at his firſt acceſſion to the crown, he had found rich and opulent; ſacrificing an infinite number of his ſubjects either to his ambition, jealouſy, or reſentment, not ſparing even the matrons and virgins of diſtinction, either in his fury or his luſt; notwithſtanding all which they would gladly have accepted of his ſon *Archelaus* for their prince, had he not given them ſo many convincing proofs of his tyrannic diſpoſition, an inſtance of which they urged in the maſſacre of the three thouſand mutineers in the temple, before he had received the imperial confirmation. They concluded with a petition to *Auguſtus*, that he would put their nation under the *Syrian* governors, and then he would ſoon be convinced, whether the *Jews* were really ſuch rebellious people as they had been repreſented to him; and not, on the contrary, men of the moſt ſteady loyalty to the ſuperior powers. All this was immediately anſwered by *Damaſcen*, who took upon him to vindicate the deceaſed, as well as the new, king, from the charge of tyranny and cruelty. And *Auguſtus*, having heard both ſides thus far, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, without declaring his reſolution, till further conſideration.

Cæſar's diviſion of the Jewiſh *kingdom.*

HE was not long, however, before he decided the controverſy in ſuch a manner, as convinced the world of his friendſhip both to *Herod* and to his offſpring. He beſtowed the half of the kingdom on *Archelaus*, under the title of *Ethnarch*, or *governor of a nation*, and backed it with a promiſe that he would give him that of king, as ſoon as he heard that he had rendered himſelf worthy of it. This part or ethnarchy contained *Judæa Propria*, *Idumæa*, and *Samaria*, but he exempted this laſt of one fourth part of their taxes, in conſideration of their peaceable behaviour during the late troubles in *Judæa* and *Galilee*. However, this partition, as well as change of title from a king to an ethnarch, plainly ſhews, that

that he was nothing less than satisfied at his proceedings; and indeed, whatever *Damascen* might urge to colour his too speedy assumption of the regal power, it is plain, he had not paid that regard to the emperor which he ought to have done; all which was sufficiently aggravated by the opposite party. And as he looked upon that young prince as too likely to follow his father's violent measures, nothing could be more prudently thought on to keep him within due bounds, than such a conditional promise. He likewise dismembered from *Judæa* the cities of *Gaza*, *Gadara*, and *Hippon*, because they followed the customs of the *Greeks*; and joined them to the province of *Syria*. *Josephus* reckons the whole yearly revenue of this new ethnarchy to have amounted to six hundred talents. The remainder of *Herod*'s kingdom was divided between his other two sons, *Philip* and *Antipas*; the former of whom had the regions of *Batanea*, *Trachonitis*, and *Auranitis*, to which *Cæsar* added that part of *Galilee* which had formerly belonged to *Zenodorus*, mentioned a little higher, and which alone amounted to about one hundred talents *per* year. The latter had the greatest part of *Galilee*, and the countries beyond *Jordan*, amounting to two hundred talents a year. *Salome* had for her share, besides half a million of silver, the cities of *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, and *Phasaelis*, to which *Augustus* added that of *Ascalon*. The rest of *Herod*'s legacies, particularly the fifteen hundred talents which he had bequeathed to him, he generously distributed between his other relations, his grandsons, and two virgin-daughters, whom he married to *Pheroras*'s sons, reserving for himself only a few of his moveables, not so much for their value, as out of regard to the memory of his deceased friend [w].

A pseudo Alexander sets up for the crown.

This new division of the *Jewish* kingdom was scarce settled, before there started up a new pretender, who quickly drew a numerous party after him. He was a *Jew* brought up at *Sidon*, and so like the late *Alexander* the son of *Herod* by *Mariamne*, formerly put to death, that, when he came to give himself out to be the same, and to have been preserved alive, he easily deceived, not only the bulk of the *Jews*, but even those who had been acquainted with that unfortunate prince. He was assisted in this imposture by a cunning fellow, who had formerly gone through all the intrigues of *Herod*'s court, and who finding the young man capable of carrying it on with great likelihood of success, advised him to set about it immediately. These two accordingly began

[w] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 13. Vide & Strab. & Tacit. ubi supra.

with

with giving out, that the two young princes, *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, whom the *Jews* ſuppoſed to have been put to death purſuant to their father's order, had been preſerved by a faithful friend, and two other perſons ſubſtituted in their ſtead. Theſe two went firſt to *Crete*, thence to *Melos*, where they raiſed conſiderable ſums of money from the *Jews* that were ſettled in thoſe iſlands. Having ſucceeded ſo well at their firſt ſetting out, they reſolved to ſail for *Rome*; and being arrived at *Puteoli*, were met by all the heads of the *Jews*, eſpecially by thoſe who were in the intereſt either of the *Herodian*, or of the *Aſmonean*, families, of both which they looked upon him as the immediate heir, and conſequently as the only rightful king of the *Jews*. Upon this ſuppoſition, they ſpared neither pains, coſt, nor acclamations, to render his entry into *Rome* as ſplendid as poſſible. The litter or chair of ſtate in which he was carried, the vaſt crouds that accompanied him, and the reception he met with at every place he came to, were all anſwerable to the high notion they had conceived of him.

As ſoon as they were come to *Rome*, whither the reſt of the *Jews* flocked in crouds, to pay their homage to this new-riſen offſpring of the *Aſmonean* race, *Auguſtus*, who knew *Herod* too well to believe that he could be impoſed upon in a matter of ſuch importance, ſent one of his freedmen, named *Celadus*, formerly a companion of the two brothers, to bring this new *Alexander* to him. *Celadus*, was as eaſily impoſed upon as the reſt; but *Cæſar*, who examined him with a more curious and unerring eye, ſoon diſcovered a manifeſt deficiency in the port and majeſty of this upſtart, from what he had obſerved in that young prince, beſides a certain callofity in the hands of the former, which convinced him of the cheat. He therefore aſked him and his inſtrument, What was become of his brother? and why he did not likewiſe come and make out his claim to the *Jewiſh* crown? and was readily anſwered by both, that *Ariſtobulus* had ſtaid at *Cyprus* to wait the iſſue of this journey, that if one of the ſons of *Mariamne* miſcarried, the other might be preſerved to keep up the *Aſmonean* race and title. Their mutual agreement, which ſtill helped to confirm the reſt, ſerved only to make the emperor look upon the whole as a forged ſtory; and, to be further convinced of it, having taken the young man aſide, he, partly by threats, and partly by a promiſe of ſparing his life, extorted a full confeſſion of the whole impoſture, the conſequence of which was, that the young man was ſent to the gallies, and the other, who had been the contriver of it, was condemned to be hanged. As for the *Jews* who had aſ-

Diſcovered by Auguſtus

Puniſhed.

sisted them with money, *Cæsar* thought their loss and disappointment a sufficient punishment [x].

But neither the dislike which the *Jews* had shewn upon this occasion to the *Herodian* family, nor the prudent caution on which *Cæsar* had given *Archelaus*, proved sufficient to keep him within due bounds. He was no sooner returned into *Judæa*, than he began to betray some marks of his arbitrary and resenting temper. He began with the deposition of *Joazar* from the high-priesthood, on pretence, that he had sided with some of the late mutineers; and bestowed that dignity on *Eleazar* the brother of the deposed pontiff. He next repudiated his wife *Mariamne*, and married *Glaphyra*, the widow of his brother *Alexander*, contrary to the *Mosaic* law, because she had had several children by him, and had been married, since her first husband's death, to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*. He deposed soon after the new-installed pontiff upon some disgust, and raised *Jesus* the son of *Sias* to that dignity. He bestowed an immense deal of cost in rebuilding and beautifying the royal palace at *Jericho*, and bringing down one half of the stream, which watered the village of *Nerea*, into the grove of palm-trees which he had planted in the neighbouring fields [y]. About this time *Caius*, coming from *Egypt* [z] into *Judæa*, expressed his contempt of the *Jewish* religion, by refusing to offer up sacrifices at *Jerusalem*, for which he is said to have been commended by *Cæsar* [a].

Year of the Flood, 3001. Of Christ 2. Before the vulgar æra 2. Archelaus's *tyranny.*

The first years of *Archelaus* proved peaceable enough; but the people at length, both *Jews* and *Samaritans*, being tired with his tyrannical reign, joined in a petition to *Augustus* against him; which had no sooner reached him, than he sent an agent of his into *Judæa*, without any other letter, to fetch the *Jewish* ethnarch to him. *Archelaus*, tho' warned, as well as the incestuous *Glaphyra*, by some portending dreams (V), had given so little heed to them, that *Cæsar*'s messenger

[x] Antiq. ubi supra, c. ult. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 5. [y] Antiq. ibid. Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 6. [z] Oros. l. vii. c. 3. [a] Sueton. in Octav. c. 93.

(V) These dreams, which, whether true or false, shew how much the *Jewish* nation was addicted to them, our author gives us the following account of:

Archelaus saw ten ears of corn full ripe, and ten oxen devouring them; which vision made such an impression on him, that he consulted the wisest and most expert magicians and *Chaldeans* about

ger found him in the height of his mirth, when he came to acquaint him with his orders, and obliged him to haſten with him to *Rome*. Upon their arrival there, *Auguſtus*, with his uſual equanimity, heard both the charge and the defence; after which he condemned *Archelaus* to be baniſhed to the city of *Vienna*, in *Gaul* or *Dauphiné*, and all his goods to be confiſcated. *Judæa*, by this ſentence, being reduced into a province of the empire, was ordered to be taxed, and *Cyrenius*, the then governor of *Syria* and a man of conſular dignity, was ſent thither to ſee it executed (as we have lately hinted upon another occaſion); after which having ſold *Archelaus*'s palaces, and ſeized upon all his treaſure, he returned to *Antioch*, leaving the *Jews* in no ſmall ferment upon the account of this new tax [b]. *Baniſhed.* Year of the flood, 3005. Of Chriſt 6.

Coponius, the *Roman* general of horſe and governor of *Judæa* under *Cyrenius*, had accompanied him in that expedition; and his preſence, as well as the good offices of *Joazar* the then high-prieſt (W), had, for a while, kept the nation under ſome *The cauſe of their future wars and total deſtruction.*

[b] JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi ſupra, Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 6.

it (9); but they differing in their opinion, one *Simon* an *Eſſenian* interpreted the ten ears of the ten years of *Archelaus*'s reign, which, he ſaid, was to have a ſpeedy end, ſignified by their being devoured by the oxen. The event verified his interpretation, as appears by the ſequel,

That of his wife needed not, it ſeems, a conjurer to expound it. She dreamt, that her firſt huſband, the unfortunate *Alexander*, came to her; and, whilſt ſhe was preparing to receive him with open arms, upbraided her with her faithleſs incontinency, in marrying *Juba*, and then his brother *Archelaus*, after ſhe had had ſo many children by him; but, added he, I ſhall ſoon rid thee of this reproach. The conſequence was, that ſhe juſt lived long enough to tell her dream, and died within two days after it (10).

(W) *Joſephus* has forgot to tell us how he was reinſtalled into this dignity, of which he had been deprived by *Archelaus* ſome years before, to make room for the ſon of *Sias*, hinted a little higher; but it is probable, that, after that prince's baniſhment, *Joazar* found means to recover that dignity under the *Syrian* governor; and this might be the motive of that zeal which he ſhewed in appeaſing the diſcontented *Jews* (10).

But thi- laſt action, inſtead of confirming him in his pontificate, proved the cauſe of his ſecond depoſition, it having rendered him ſo obnoxious to the *Jewiſh* nation, that *Cyrenius* was forced, for

(9) *Bell. Jud. l.* ii. *c.* 6. (10) *Ibid. & antiq. ubi ſupra.*

ſome reſtraint, till *Judas* the *Gaulonite*, of whom we have ſpoken in the laſt ſection, and one *Saducus*, a turbulent *Phariſee*, ſet it again into a flame. We hinted before, that this bouteſeu took upon him to condemn this taxing as ſlaviſh, idolatrous, and inconſiſtent with their duty to God, the only ſovereign who could claim any homage or allegiance from the children of *Abraham*. This topic ſeldom failed to make an impreſſion on a people, who were taught to look upon themſelves as the only favourites of heaven, and upon the reſt of the world as deſigned to be their ſlaves; but it wrought much more effectually at this time, when their hopes of the Meſſiah or temporal deliverer inſpired them with a tenfold diſdain againſt the yoke, which their conquerors were then laying upon them. *Judas* therefore could not have wiſhed for a more favourable juncture, to make himſelf the head of a numerous and powerful party; And therefore, added he, it is high time, that you ſhould make a ſtrenuous puſh for your country's freedom, and, without expecting new miracles to be wrought for you, do but depend on the favour of providence, and you need not doubt of coming off conquerors. There wanted but this laſt incentive to ſet them a madding after the promiſed liberty. Accordingly, we find that his ſpeech worked them into a kind of furious phrenſy, which quickly vented itſelf into the moſt horrid butcheries and cruelties; his party plundering, burning, deſtroying, and murdering every-where, indiſcriminately *Jews* as well as *Gentiles*; and, in a word, all that oppoſed his ſpecious pretence of religion and liberty. The war, being thus kindled within and without, brought on a grievous famine, and next a peſtilence; all which did end at length in the total ruin of that rebellious and unhappy nation [c]. All this was owing to the ambition of this new upſtart ſect or faction, of whom we have already given an account in the cloſe of the laſt ſection; to which we ſhall only add, that, after the death of their chief, they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the godly name of *zealots*, and under that ſpecious title committed the moſt unheard-of cruelties, and carried their violence even into the very temple.

All this while the *Samaritans* had not forgot their old grudge againſt the *Jews*, tho' they had been ſo long quiet.

[c] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1, & ſeq. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8, & ſeq.

quietneſs ſake, to turn him out of it, and to put *Ananus* in his place (11).

(11) *Antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 3.

Cyrenius

Cyrenius was scarce gone out of *Judæa* before they began to hatch new mischiefs against them; they waited till the next approaching feast of the passover, when, on the eve of it, a number of them having by private means slipt into the temple, strewed the galleries and other places of resort with dead mens bones, so that the priests on the next morning, finding that sacred place polluted, were forced to put a stop to the solemnity. How they afterwards purified it, and what other remedy they took to renew the festival, *Josephus* doth not tell us; he only adds, that it made them more cautious for the future to guard the avenues from all such insults. However, the ceremony was soon resumed, and it was on this festival that Christ, being then twelve years of age, came with his parents to that solemnity, according to the *Jewish* custom, which obliged all the males that have attained to that age, to repair to the temple on the three grand festivals †. Here the holy child chose to stay unknown to his parents, who were departed with the rest of the company. They did not miss him till night, when having in vain sought him among their relations and acquaintance, among whom they supposed him to have been, they returned immediately to *Jerusalem*. Here, after a three days sorrowful search, they found him at length in the temple, sitting among the *Jewish* doctors, and surprizing them with the wisdom of his questions and answers, so far beyond his mean education and tender years. His pious mother, tho' ravished at so pleasing a scene, could not forbear expressing some tender resentment at the solicitude which his absence had given her. The short answer he returned was not presently understood by them, but yet was a lecture full of excellent wisdom: Wist ye not, said he, that I must be about my father's business? and so he really was; for as he had been sent to be a teacher of the world, and as he now commenced what the *Jews* called a son or disciple of the law, it became him, who was to be our pattern, to make his first accesses to his future office of instructor, by coming to learn of those whom God had appointed to preserve and teach the knowledge of his laws. His mother suffered none of these sayings to slip out of her memory, and she and her husband gladly returned with him to their mean habitation; where he continued in a dutiful subjection to them. In this humble privacy, his wisdom increasing with his stature, he attracted the eyes and hearts of all that beheld him, and continued exercising the trade of a car-

The temple polluted by the Samaritans.

Jesus Christ *stays after the feast.*

† See before Vol III p 169, (O,. Conf. & Exod. xxiii. 14. & xxiv. 23. Deut. xvi. 16. & Luke ii. 41, & seq.

penter

penter (X) till the thirtieth year of his age, when he began to make a more glorious appearance into the world.

Cauponius was ſoon after this feaſt ſucceeded by *Ambivius*, in whoſe governorſhip *Salome* died, and bequeathed her three cities, mentioned a little higher, together with the fine grove of palm-trees planted by *Archelaus*, and all her vaſt treaſure, not to either of her nephews, who ſtill held their ſmall toparchies, but to the empreſs *Julia*, or, as *Joſephus* affects to call her, *Livia*. *Ambivius* after a ſhort time was ſucceeded by *Annius Rufus*, and *Auguſtus* died at *Nola* in *Campania*, as ſhall be ſeen in the *Roman* hiſtory, and was ſucceeded by *Tiberius*, after this latter had been ſomewhat above two years admitted into the copartnerſhip of the empire. From this latter muſt the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, mentioned by the evangeliſt [d], be taken. *Tiberius*, upon his coming to the empire, recalled *Rufus*, and ſent *Valerius Gratus* into *Judæa*, who was the fourth *Roman* governor or procurator of it, and continued in that government eleven years [e]. About five years after his being entered into it, he depoſed the high-prieſt *Ananus* or *Annas* in the fifteenth year of his pontificate, and raiſed *Iſhmael* the ſon of *Fabus* to that dignity. Being ſoon after diſpleaſed with his choice, he took it from *Iſhmael* on

Various changes of governors and high-prieſts.

Year of the Flood, 3014
Of Chriſt, 15.

[d] Luke iii 1. Vid. Usser. ſub A.M. 4017. Prid. ſub An. C. 12. [e] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 3.

(X) This is the common received opinion, founded on an antient tradition, that *Joſeph* dying ſoon after this feaſt, he being by that time very old, the child *Jeſus* was obliged to work at that trade, to maintain himſelf and his mother; and is further confirmed by the *Jews* calling him ſometimes the carpenter, and ſometimes the carpenter's ſon (12).

We beg leave to take notice here alſo, that this increaſe of knowledge which the evangeliſt attributes to him, is very inconſiſtent with *Arius*'s notion of the λόγος or *word* ſupplying the place of the ſoul in him; neither has any of his followers, either antient or modern, been as yet able to take off the difficulty. The *Socinian* ſyſtem would indeed more effectually do it, were it not in too many caſes diametrically oppoſite to the doctrine of the goſpel. There remains therefore no other way to remove it, than by owning that Chriſt had a human ſoul as well as a human body, and that the former, notwithſtanding its union with his divine nature, was as capable of improvement in wiſdom, as the latter was of increaſe in ſtrength and ſtature; which is undoubtedly the antient doctrine of the chriſtian church.

(12) *Conf. Marc. vi.* 3. *& Matth. xiii.* 55. *John iv.* 44.

the

the next year, and gave it to *Eleazar* the ſon of *Ananus*, whom he had lately depoſed. *Eleazar* in a year's time was forced to reſign, and was ſucceeded by *Simon* the ſon of *Camith*, who, within the compaſs of another year, was turned out, and *Joſeph*, ſurnamed *Caiphas*, and ſon-in-law to *Annas* above-mentioned, was put in his room [f]; ſo uncertain and venal was that dignity become by this time (Y).

Gratus himſelf was ſoon after recalled, and ſucceeded by *Pontius Pilate*, a perſon who exceeded all his predeceſſors in injuſtice, extortion, and cruelty, and ſo thoroughly wedded to his own intereſt, that he was capable of the vileſt actions to promote that favourite end. *Joſephus* has been ſomewhat ſparing of his character; but *Philo* [g] has left us a lively draught of it, a ſhort ſketch of which the reader may ſee in the margin (Z); by which he may judge how qualified he was for the part he was ſhortly to act, in paſſing the moſt unjuſt ſentence on the moſt innocent of men. Year of the Flood, 025. Of Chriſt, 26.

WE hinted a little higher, that the other ſons of *Herod* had ſtill kept poſſeſſion of their toparchies, notwithſtanding *Archelaus*'s depoſition and baniſhment; it will be therefore very proper here to give ſome further account of them, before we enter into a new and different ſcene. They had each of them ſettled themſelves the beſt they could in their ſmall territories. *Antipas*, better known by the name of *Herod*, who had the country of *Galilee*, began with rebuilding the city of *Sephoris*, which had but a little before been reduced into aſhes by the ſon of *Varus*, and ſurrounded it with a ſtrong wall and towers, ſo that it became the bulwark, and one of the beſt cities, of that canton; and as he had been ſucceſsful enough to ingratiate himſelf with the new emperor, he built another, a fine city, on the northern banks of the lake of *Genezareth*, and called it *Tiberias*, in honour

Herod *and* Philip *in their toparchies.*

Build Sephoris *and other cities.*

[f] Comp. Joſeph. ubi ſupra, & Luke iii. 2. John xviii. 13. Acts iv. 6. [g] Legat. ad Caium.

(Y) Theſe are the two high-prieſts that are mentioned in the goſpel to have proſecuted and condemned *Jeſus Chriſt* to death; and *Caiphas*, or, as he is there called *Caiaphas* (13), was the perſon who adjudged it neceſſary that he ſhould be cut off to ſave the nation from ruin.

(Z) His whole adminiſtration, according to this author, was one continued ſcene of venal juſtice, rapine, tyranny, and every wicked action; of racking and putting innocent men to death, untried, and uncondemned, and of every kind of ſavage cruelty.

(13) *John xi.* 49, *& ſeq.*

of

of him (A); and from thence that lake came to be called the ſea of *Tiberias*. This city he was forced to people moſtly with *Galileans* and ſtrangers, becauſe it being built on a ground which was full of ſepulchres, the going over which pollutes the *Jews* ſeven whole days, he could hardly get any of that nation to ſettle there, though he endowed it with conſiderable privileges, and gave its inhabitants the greateſt encouragement, *viz.* land to ſome, houſes to others, to take off their qualms of conſcience about treading on dead bodies. Another city, formerly called *Betaramphtha*, he rebuilt, and called by the empreſs's name, *Julias*. His brother *Philip* followed his example, and built the village of *Bethſaida*, on the oppoſite end of the ſame lake, into a magnificent city, and called it likewiſe *Julias*, and gave the name of *Cæſarea* to *Paneas*, the place where the *Jordan* has its ſpring-head, after he had greatly inlarged and beautified it [h]. During this time came out that edict of *Tiberius*, which obliged all *Jews* and *Egyptians* to depart from the city of *Rome* [i], or, according to another, out of the territories of *Italy* [k]. The cauſe of this edict, being ſome vile practiſes, which a few mean perſons of each of thoſe nations had been acting in the imperial city, is foreign to our preſent ſubject; we refer our readers for a further account to *Joſephus* [l] and the two authors laſt quoted. All that we need add to it is, what *Philo* has obſerved more than once [m], that this ſeverity againſt the *Jews*, whatever pretence it might be coloured with, was hatched underhand by *Sejanus*. That wicked miniſter, who knew how oppoſite his plots and deſigns were to the known loyalty of the *Jews*, could not but conceive ſome dreadful jealou-

Jews baniſhed Rome.

Year of the flood, 3028. Of Chriſt, 29.

[h] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 3. [i] Tacit. an. l. ii. c. 85. [k] Sueton. in Tiber. c. 36. [l] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 4. [m] Legat. ad Caium.

(A) *Joſephus* adds, that it was not far from the hot baths of *Emmaus*; for which reaſon we think it neceſſary to remind our reader of what we obſerved in a former note, that the *Jews* gave the name of *Hamah* and *Hammath* to all places that had any ſuch waters; that of *Emmaus* is the ſame, only ſoftened and grecified. We muſt therefore not confound this laſt with another in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem* (14), which bears the ſame name, and moſt likely upon the ſame account.

(14) *Vid. int. al. Luc. xxiv.* 13. *Vid. & Reland. Paleſt. illuſtr. l. i. c.* 46.

Jew-

ſies from them, which obliged him at length to rid himſelf of them (B).

HITHERTO *Judæa*, though in a violent ferment, on account of the late tax, and ſome other tumults which the *Romans* had appeaſed by main force, had not, however, broke out into ſuch a violent and univerſal flame, as it did after the coming of *Pilate*. It was this governor, whoſe fierce, obſtinate, and cruel temper, haſtened on thoſe ſeditions and revolts, which did not end but with the total extirpation of the *Jewiſh* ſtate. His predeceſſors had hitherto wiſely forbore to bring the *Roman* ſtandards into the city, becauſe their bearing the images of men and living creatures made them to be had in abomination by the *Jews*. But *Pilate*, who thought it beneath him to ſhew them the ſame complaiſance, ordered his troops, which were to winter in that metropolis, to enter it in the night, with thoſe ſtandards covered, and cauſed them on the next morning to be diſplayed. This new and ſhocking ſight put the whole city into an uproar; they went to him in a body to *Cæſarea*, where he then was, and begged of him that they might be removed to ſome other place; but were anſwered, that he could not comply with their requeſt, without glancing an affront on the emperor. As they ſtood ſtiff in their petition, and he in his denial, ſix whole days, five of which the former had continued proſtrate on the ground before his palace, night and day [n], he at length came out to them, as with deſign to give them audience; and, being mounted on his tribunal, which he had reared in the circus, gave the ſignal to ſome of his troops, whom he had conveniently poſted, to fall on them, and to murder all that ſhould not immediately depart, and who inſtantly came out, and ſurrounded them. The *Jews*, however, far from being terrified at ſo horrid a perfidy, did meekly hold out their necks to thoſe butchers, telling them and the governor, that the loſs of their lives was nothing ſo terrible to them as the violation of their laws: and *Pilate*, who expected nothing leſs than ſuch a paſſive conſtancy in that turbulent nation, was ſo moved at it, that he at length granted their requeſt, and ordered the ſtandards to be removed out of their metropolis [o].

Pilate cauſes new troubles in Judæa.

Sets up ſtandards at Jeruſalem.

[n] Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8. [o] Id. ibid. & antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 4.

(B What ſeems to confirm what our author ſays on that ſubject is, that after the death of that faithleſs miniſter, the emperor expreſſed himſelf more favourably with reſpect to the *Jews*, in the orders he ſent to the ſeveral governors of his provinces, as ſhall be ſeen in the ſequel.

Shields consecrated to Tiberius hung up in the royal palace.

But as he ſeems to have been wholly bent upon mortifying and ſpighting the *Jewiſh* nation, he ſoon reſumed his uſual courſe. A project came next into his head to ſet up a number of ſhields in the royal palace of *Jeruſalem* in honour of *Tiberius* (C); but which the *Jews* failed not to reſent, as an indignity offered to them, rather than a compliment to that emperor. He had, it is true, taken care that there ſhould be no carved images upon them that might give them offence; but the very inſcription of them was, they thought, contrary to their law; otherwiſe there was nothing more common, both before and after the *Jewiſh* captivity, than for the *Jewiſh* monarchs to cover even the front of the temple with ſuch ornaments, as the reader muſt have often obſerved through the courſe of their hiſtory. The magiſtrates therefore of that metropolis, with the ſons of *Herod* (D) at their head, went to repreſent to him in the moſt civil terms, that ſuch a conſecration was contrary to their laws, and to beg of him that he would pay a greater regard to them. *Pilate* repulſed them with his uſual ſcorn and obſtinacy, till they ventured at length to adviſe him, not to puſh things ſo far as to exaſperate the nation into an open revolt. They added, that if he had received any ſuch command from *Cæſar*, he need but ſhew it to them, and they would immediately diſpatch a deputation to *Rome* to petition the emperor againſt it. Theſe laſt words threw the governor into a ſtrange dilemma: on the one hand, he dreaded nothing ſo much as ſuch a deputation, which would in all likelihood lay open all the iniquities of his adminiſtration: on the other, if he complied with their requeſt, in removing the ſhields, he not only gave an advantage to a people he hated and deſpiſed, but expoſed himſelf to the reſentment of the emperor, who might probably look upon ſuch a compliance as an affront to himſelf, and a compliment to the *Jews*. The magiſtrates, perceiving the trouble he was in, immediately withdrew, and ſent ſoon after a very preſſing, but ſubmiſſive letter to *Rome*, which had the deſired effect. *Tiberius* immediately diſpatched another to *Pilate*, wherein he highly blamed him

(C) This tranſaction we have from *Philo* (15); *Joſephus* makes no mention of it

(D) Meaning probably of the late *Herod the Great*; who thoſe ſons were, our author doth not tell us; but we may reaſonably ſuppoſe two of them to have been *Herod Antipas*, tetrarch of *Galilee*, and *Philip* his brother, mentioned a little higher, both willing enough at that time to oblige the *Jews*. The other two muſt have been probably ſome of his grand-children.

(15) *Legat.* p. 1033, *& ſeq.*

for

for what he had done, and ordered him to remove the ſhields into ſome other place; which he accordingly did, and ſent them to be hung up at *Cæſarea* [p].

HIS next project to vex the *Jews* was, to find out ſome ſpecious pretence for drawing money out of the ſacred treaſury. This was indeed the moſt effectual way to touch them to the quick, next to the rifling of the temple; for he knew but too well their invincible attachment to thoſe two places. The plauſible pretext he choſe for it was, the bringing of an aqueduct, about two hundred furlongs off, into *Jeruſalem*; the expence of which he expected ſhould be ſupplied out of the ſacred depoſitory, and demanded accordingly of them, that a tax ſhould be levied upon it. However, as he knew that this would not fail to provoke the people into a mutiny, ſo he took care to provide againſt it, by cauſing a number of his ſoldiers to mix themſelves with the croud, with clubs hid under their coats, to be ready upon a ſignal to fall upon the mutineers. He was hardly ſeated on his tribunal, before it was ſurrounded accordingly by a vaſt concourſe of *Jews*, who came exclaiming againſt his project, and where ſome of the meaner ſort, as is uſual in ſuch mobs, accompanied their clamour with bitter invectives againſt him. *Pilate* had not heard them long, before he gave his men the ſignal, who immediately fell on the *Jews* pelmel with their clubs, wounded, lamed, and even killed many of them indiſcriminately, and diſperſed the reſt [q]. *Joſephus* doth not tell us, whether *Pilate* went on with his deſign, neither is it eaſy to gueſs, either from him or from *Philo*, at what year of his government the three laſt-mentioned tranſactions happened. All that can be gathered from the whole is, that he took all the pains he could to make it uneaſy to them, from the beginning to the end of it, and that the *Jews* were not behindhand with him, either in oppoſing his deſigns, oppreſſions, and cruelties, or in giving him freſh troubles by their tumults and ſeditions, in which every ſect joined to give a helping hand, though at ever ſo great variance in other points. This was the diſmal ſtate of *Judæa*, when the Saviour of the world made his firſt public appearance into his miniſtry: miſerably torn by their inteſtine broils: oppreſſed with the heavy yoke of the *Roman* emperors, and of their more rapacious ſubſtitutes: divided into factions and ſects, which treated each other with greater rancour and inhumanity than their very oppreſſors: deceived, and often led to their ruin by upſtart demagogues, falſe prophets, and pretended Meſſiahs;

Another tumult cauſed by Pilate.

The cauſes of the low infidelity and deprivation

[p] Legat. ad Caium. [q] Antiq. ubi ſupra.

ſiahs; and ſoothed and flattered, to a degree of judicial infatuation, into the miſtaken notion of a ſpeedy temporal deliverer, and of a glorious and laſting ſcene of conqueſts, triumphs, and other earthly happineſs, under his auſpicious reign. All which proved ſo many invincible obſtacles to their embracing that ſalvation, which Chriſt the true Meſſiah came to offer them, and made them run into the very jaws of that deſtruction, which their rejection of him and his doctrine, joined to all their other impieties, did ſhortly bring upon them. All which will be beſt ſeen by a ſhort view of the three laſt years of his life: of the irrefragable credentials he brought with him, and the obſtinate and unreaſonable oppoſition they made againſt him: of his love and tenderneſs towards them, and of their malice and ingratitude to him: of his irreproachable innocence, and of their injuſtice in condemning him to death: and, laſtly, of the innumerable evidences given to them after his reſurrection, of his being the true promiſed Meſſiah, and of their invincible hardneſs and obſtinacy in rejecting him to the laſt. We ſhall therefore cloſe the preſent ſection with a ſhort account of thoſe three laſt ſignal years of his life, and his doleful exit on the croſs; confining ourſelves chiefly to ſuch particulars as have an immediate connection with the two main points in our view; the divinity of his miſſion, and the juſtice of the *Jews* puniſhment in the deſtruction of their city, temple, and commonwealth, and total diſperſion of their nation, for their obſtinate rejection of him and his doctrine (E).

IT

(E) It will be perhaps objected, that, in entering thus far into thoſe two religious points, we go out of our limits as hiſtorians, and that, inſtead of writing a continuation of the hiſtory of the *Jews*, we are going to prove the truth of chriſtianity againſt them. But let it, we pray, be conſidered, that though this were the real caſe, the harm would not be great; and that, provided both points are kept going ſtill hand in hand, and we do not ſo fix our eye upon one, as to loſe ſight of the other, we ſtill anſwer the two main ends of hiſtory, to make men wiſer and better.

We ſhould moreover be guilty of a flagrant injuſtice to the infatuated *Jews*, if we ſhould neglect ſo fair an opportunity of reminding them of the ſource of all their misfortunes, and pointing out to them their only remedy. We have heretofore taken notice of a promiſe made to them by God, that though their ſins had cauſed them to be diſperſed through the four quarters of the world, yet, as ſoon as they were brought to an humble acknowledgment

and

IT was now the thirtieth and laſt jubilee ſince its firſt celebration in the land of *Canaan* †, when Chriſt, in the thirtieth *Chriſt enters into his miniſtry.*

† See before Vol. III. p. 196. USSER. ann. ſub A. M. 4030.

and confeſſion of them, he would gather them home again into their own land.

Accordingly before their total diſperſion, the longeſt captivity they underwent was but of ſeventy years, though it was brought upon them by the horrideſt crimes, ſuch as idolatry, murders without number, ſacrileges of the blackeſt nature committed by *Manaſſes*, and his wicked ſucceſſors; and yet they had this comfort in the midſt of their puniſhment, that the ſame prophets who had foretold their captivity, had likewiſe ſet a period to it; and were ſtill encouraging them to bear their chaſtiſement patiently, ſince God would certainly put a happy end to it at the time prefixed.

What crime can they then charge themſelves with of ſo atrocious a nature, as to bring this more dreadful captivity of ſeventeen hundred years upon them, without one prophecy, or even comfortable glimpſe when they ſhall ſee an end to it? If they know of any ſuch ſin, why do they not confeſs and acknowledge it, and thereby put a period to their miſery? for God's promiſe ſtands as ſure now, as it did three thouſand years ago.

Since then they are ignorant of this grievous crime; why ſhould we make a difficulty to point it out to them, when we have ſo fair an occaſion offered? why ſhould we not tell them, that it was their putting the Meſſiah to an unjuſt and ignominious death? and which they are ſo far from acknowledging, that they juſtify and glory in it, and by ſo doing murder him ſtill in their hearts, as often as they think or ſpeak of him, and ſo become partakers of their anceſtors guilt, as well as puniſhment.

Again, The ſcripture doth in ſeveral places, but more expreſsly St. *Paul* (16), aſſure us, that there will be a time when they ſhall be all recalled; and their having continued ſo long unbiended with other nations, notwithſtanding their diſperſion through every part of the habitable globe, is a ſtrong proof of it. For whatever ſuperficial heads may imagine, an impartial thinker will eaſily obſerve, that nothing but a particular providence could have kept them in that unmixed ſtate, as they have continued in theſe ſeventeen centuries, when he ſees even in our own land a multitude of nations, in a much leſs time, as much blended and abſorbed into one common name, as their bodies are into one common earth. Eſpecially when we conſider by what weak ſupports, or rather poor mean evaſions, their faith and hopes have been kept up, ever ſince they have ſeen all ſcripture calculations concerning the time of the

(1) Rom. xi *paſſ.*

tieth year of his age, came to preach a more glorious and acceptable one, not to the *Jewiſh* nation only, but to the whole world. The *Jewiſh* was uſually uſhered in by the ſound of the trumpets, the new chriſtian one by the voice of one crying in the wilderneſs, *Prepare ye the way of the Lord*, and ſo on [r]. This was the miraculous ſon of *Zacharias*, a prieſt, prophet, and fore-runner of the Meſſiah, who having left the wilderneſs, where he had ſpent his younger days, came now to preach repentance and the kingdom of the Meſſiah, in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, and the high-prieſthood of *Joſeph*, ſurnamed *Caiaphas*, mentioned a little higher. The auſterity of his life (F) and the newneſs of his doctrine drew daily

Year of the Flood, 3029. Of Chriſt, 30.

[r] Conf. Isaiah xl. 1, 2, 3. lx. 1, & ſeq. Luc. vii, 2, & ſeq. iv 19.

Meſſiah ſo long elapſed; to ſay nothing of the many diſcouragements they have at one time or other met with from every nation under heaven.

We are aſſured by the ſame apoſtle (17), that this recall of the *Jews* will not be till after the fulneſs, or total converſion of the *Gentiles*. Were the former once rightly appriſed of this, it is likely their zeal in obſtructing the one would inſenſibly abate, when they ſaw that it was the fatal means of retarding the other.

We may add, that ſince the beſt hiſtorians have not thought it out of their province to plunge into the deep abyſs of obſcurity, to find out the cauſes of the decadence and fall of kingdoms and empires but have even endeavoured to diſcover them in certain aſpects of the heavenly bodies, tranſits of comets, and ſuch-like amuſing dreams; may we not much more be allowed to venture to trace this remarkable one of the *Jews*, under the conduct of ſuch infallible guides as the ſcripture and hiſtory afford us? All which will be beſt ſeen, when we come to compare Chriſt's prophecies againſt that unhappy people, and the wonderful accompliſhment of them, as we have it related by one of the beſt hiſtorians of their own nation.

(F) His dreſs and manner of living ſeems to have been the ſame with the ancient prophets, of whom we have ſpoken in a former volume *. His food was wild honey and locuſts, which a modern traveller tells us are very common in thoſe parts, and good for food; from whence he concludes, that they were the creatures which the *Iſraelites* fed ſo plentifully upon in the wilderneſs, and which all the verſions have miſrendered quails. We have had occaſion heretofore † to confute the latter part of this aſſertion.

(17) *Ibid. ver.* 25, 26. * *Vol. III. p.* 430, 431. *Com. with Matth. iii.* 4. † *Vol. II. p.* 540, 2.

As

daily great numbers of *Jews* to be baptized by him in the *Jordan*, ſuppoſing him to be the Meſſiah; but he quickly diſclaimed that glorious title, aſſuring them, that he was only ſent as his precurſor, and to point him out to them, as the perſon who was to baptize them with the Holy Ghoſt. *Jeſus* came accordingly to the place ſoon after to be baptized among the reſt, and *John* in an humble guiſe excuſed himſelf from that high office; but being at length prevailed upon to go into the river with him, upon their coming out of the water, the Holy Ghoſt viſibly deſcended and lighted upon him, whilſt a voice was heard from heaven, ſaying, *This is my beloved ſon, in whom I am well pleaſed* [r]. Whereupon the baptiſt took that opportunity to manifeſt him to all that were there preſent, and to bear this ample teſtimony of him, that he was the very Chriſt, and the lamb of God, who was to take away the ſin of the world [s]. *Baptized and manifeſted by* John.

As *John* continued baptizing and preaching in the neighbour-

[r] MATTH. iii. 13, & ſeq LUC. iii. 21, & ſeq. [s] Ibid. ibid. Vid. & JOHN i. 29, & ſeq.

As for the locuſt, which the baptiſt fed upon, the generality of interpreters underſtand it of a real inſect ſo called, whence ſome eaſtern nations have been called *Acridophagi* or *locuſt eaters* (18). Others underſtand it of a kind of bean or pulſe ſo called; the reader may conſult interpreters about it, if he pleaſes; but the other notion is much more probable, that inſect being common, cheap, and particularly permitted in the *Levitical* law to be eaten by the *Iſraelites* (19).

Archbiſhop *Uſher* ſuppoſes, with great probability, that this preacher of repentance began his miniſtry on the grand faſt or expiation day, of which frequent mention has been made in this hiſtory, it being enjoined to every *Iſraelite* to faſt, and afflict their ſouls on that day, under the penalty of being cut off from his people This day fell, as we elſewere obſerved §, on the tenth day of the ſeventh month, called *Tiſri*, anſwering to about the nineteenth of our *October*; and on that ſolemnity the jubilee was to be proclaimed through all the land. (20) Upon both which accounts no time could be more proper to begin the work of proclaiming the more ſpiritual and univerſal jubilee, which was now at hand.

(18 *Vid. Euſtath in Od* 9. *Plin. nat hiſt. l xix. c.* 29. *Moſ. Levit & al.* (19) *Levit xi.* 21, & *ſeq.* § *See Vol. III p* 191, & 190, (L). (20) *Ibid. xxv* 9. *Vid Uſſer. Ann. A. M.* 4050.

hood

hood of *Bethabara* (G), a great concourſe of people flocked to him from all parts, eſpecially in their return homewards from *Jeruſalem*, where they had been celebrating the feaſt of tabernacles, which fell out about the beginning of *November* †. Among them was a great number of the *Phariſaic* ſect, whom he ſeverely rebuked upon ſeveral accounts, particularly on their pretended privilege of being *Abraham*'s poſterity; aſſuring them at the ſame time, that as long as their lives were ſo oppoſite to that of that glorious progenitor, they muſt expect to be caſt, like the chaff, into the fire, whilſt God could raiſe a poſterity to the father of the faithful out of the very ſtones they were trampling upon. On this year was born to *Herod Agrippa*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, a ſon named alſo *Agrippa*, who was the laſt king of the *Jews*, and before whom St. *Paul* was allowed to plead his cauſe; and on the next year was his ſiſter *Berenice* born, who was alſo pre ent at the trial [u], ſhe being ſixteen, and her brother ſeventeen years of age, when their father died [x].

John the Baptiſt having given ſuch an ample teſtimony to the Saviour of the world, the two firſt that became his fol-

† Vid. Vol. III. p. 178, 179. a & (B). [u] ACTS xxv, 13, & ſeq. [x] Vid. Antiq. l. xviii c. 7. xix. c. ult. USSER. ſub A. M. 4030, & ſeq. See alſo before p. 197, ſub fin not.

(G) So called from the *Hebrew* בית עברה *beth-habarah*, *the houſe of paſſing over*, or *ferry-houſe*, ſuppoſed by ſome to have had that name from the paſſage of the *Iſraelites* over *Jordan* ‖; but whether ſo or not, its name ſhews it to have been probably ſome great ferry, and ſo very convenient, not only for baptizing, but on account of the concourſe of people at ſuch places.

But the word *beth habarah* may be alſo, and perhaps more properly, tranſlated *a cuſtom-houſe*, as the officers of it, whom we render publicans, were called בעלי העברה, *babale hababarah*, *maſters* or *overſeers of the cuſtoms*; a great many of whom came accordingly to the baptiſt, to enquire what kind of repentance was proper for men of their profeſſion; and were anſwered, that they ſhould exact no more than their due (21); to the ſoldiers, which are uſually ſet to guard ſuch avenues, he forbid uſing violence, falſe accuſations, extortion, &c. to the reſt, who, on the ſame ſuppoſition, dealt in the mercantile way, he injoined likewiſe a practice oppoſite to their common one; that is, liberality, hoſpitality, charity, &c. inſtead of covetouſneſs, fraud, &c. Thus was he fulfilling what was foretold of old (22), *Every valley ſhall be filled, every mountain levelled*, &c.

‖ *See Vol III, p* 63. (Y). (21) *Luke iii.* 13 .(22) *Ibid. verſ.* 5. *Conf. cum, Iſai. xl.* 4. *& ſeq.*

lowers,

lowers, were two of his own disciples, *viz.* *Andrew*, the son of *Jonah* and *Simon* his brother, to whom he gave the surname of *Cephas*, or *Stone*. On the next day, as he was returning to *Nazareth*, he called *Philip* to follow him; and this went and gave notice of him to an honest *Israelite*, named *Nathanael*, who is generally believed to be the same, who is by the other evangelists called *Bartholomew*, assuring him that they had found the promised Messiah, namely *Jesus* of *Nazareth*. *Nathanael*'s mean opinion of that city, and of the whole *Galilean* region, could scarcely permit him, at the first news, to believe that any thing so good as a prophet, much less the Messiah, could come from such a mean quarter. He was, however, soon undeceived, when *Jesus* told him some of the private discourse which *Philip* and he had had together under a fig-tree, far enough out of his hearing. These two therefore, and some others, followed him into *Galilee*, where they were all invited to a poor couple's wedding. Here the wine beginning to fail, *Jesus*'s mother, who was one of the guests, acquainted him with it (H), who arose soon after, and, of his wonted compassion, miraculously supplied them with a fresh and sufficient quantity. This wonderful change of such a quantity of water into excellent wine filled the company with admiration, and further confirmed his new disciples, that he really was what they thought him, the true Messiah. From *Cana* he went to *Capernaum*, a small city on the west shore of the lake *Genezareth*, where we shall often find him in the sequel; and where he made but a short stay

His first miracle in Cana.

(H) The answer which ours and most other versions make him, who was to be the pattern of all perfection, give to his mother on this occasion, has given just offence to all serious readers; notwithstanding the specious glosses which commentators have put upon it, such, as if he expressed himself to her in those contemptuous terms, to prevent, if possible, that extraordinary worship, which he foresaw his followers would in time pay to her, and the like.

Whereas a learned critic of our own (23) has lately proved beyond contradiction, that the words if rightly rendered, are full of the deepest filial respect; for the word γυνη, *woman*, is so far from being a term of contempt, as it sounds in our language, that he has proved it from the best authors to have been given even to queens. We may say the same thing of the word אישה, *ishah*, in the *Hebrew* which is used in the same respectful tenie by the *Jews*.

As for the phrase which is there rendered, *What have I to do with thee?* It is well known to be a *Hebrew* idiom, which implies no more than, *What is it to you or me* (24).

(23) *Blackw. sacred class. vindic.* (24) *See a parallel in* 2 *Sam xix.* 22. 1 *Kings xvii.* 18, & *alib.*

at this time, by reaſon of the approaching feaſt of the paſſover, to which he repaired with his diſciples, it being the firſt feſtival of that kind he celebrated ſince his entrance into his miniſtry [y].

Upon his coming to the temple, he found it crouded with people that ſold cattle, poultry, and other ſuch things as were uſed in the *Jewiſh* offerings, and had been ſet up there for the conveniency of thoſe that came from far to the feaſts, and bought them on the ſpot, rather than bring them from their homes. This had likewiſe introduced a number of money-changers for the uſe of thoſe who brought foreign coin inſtead of victims, and whoſe tables and trade were equally a profanation of that ſacred place. It is likely, that the prieſts, who might and ought to have made them keep their ſtalls and compters at a greater diſtance, made a perquiſite of their indulgence, and conſequently aggravated the abuſe. Againſt them therefore Chriſt choſe to exert the firſt eſſays of his authority and zeal, by turning them all out of that ſacred building, after a ſevere reproof for their mercantile profanation of it. But whilſt his diſciples admired his zeal for the houſe of God, ſo worthy of the ſon of *David*, the diſſatisfied *Jews* were queſtioning and demanding the ſigns of his authority; and received this remarkable anſwer from him, that they ſhould deſtroy this temple, meaning that of his body, and he would raiſe it up in three days. It was upon this occaſion that they, miſtaking his meaning, reminded him of the forty and ſix years it had been in building; of which we took notice a little higher. His diſciples, however, underſtood him much better after he was riſen from the dead [z]. In the mean time, he did not omit giving them many other pregnant proofs of his divine miſſion, in the many miracles which he did before them, and which ſtill increaſed the number of his diſciples; but he, who knew their hearts, eaſily judged, that many of them would ſoon turn their backs upon him, eſpecially when the ſanhedrin and the *Phariſaic* ſect came to denounce their ſentence of excommunication againſt them (I).

Drives the traders from the temple.

However

[y] John ii. 13, & ſeq. [z] Ibid ver. 18, & ſeq.

(I) It is doubtleſs a matter of great wonder, how the *Jews* could ſee ſuch a vaſt number and variety of miracles wrought by Chriſt on the ſick, halt, maimed, deaf, dumb, blind, paralytic, lunatic, demoniac, and other objects of pity, and yet believe him a falſe prophet, a deceiver, or any thing rather than a perſon ſent from God: how they could ſee him give ſight to thoſe that were born

However, though that ſect was the moſt inveterate againſt him, we ſhall find ſome of them of a more upright temper,

born blind, life to one that had lain four days corrupting in the grave, feed ſo many thouſands with a few loaves and fiſhes, ſtill the winds and the ſeas by his ſingle word; in a word, to diſplay, as it were, his irreſiſtible power over the univerſal creation; and yet either condemn him as a cheat, or be ever aſking for ſome further and more convincing ſigns of his being the Meſſiah (25).

We have already accounted in part for this ſtrange proceeding in the detail we gave of their ſeveral ſects, whoſe tenets, being for the moſt part diametrically oppoſite to the doctrine and ſpirit of the goſpel, proved ſo ſtrong an obſtacle againſt it, as few were able to ſurmount. To this we may add, that Chriſt, chuſing the ſabbath day for working the major part of thoſe miracles, gave them ſtill a greater offence; their fooliſh ſuperſtitious prejudices making them look upon even ſuch works of mercy to be a violation of that holy day, notwithſtanding all he could urge to the contrary; a flagrant inſtance of which we have in the cure of the man born blind, in the chapter laſt quoted out of St. *John*.

But what moſt helped to confirm them in this abſurd judgment of him was, a paſſage in *Deuteronomy* (26), which, rightly underſtood, is only a prudent caution againſt their being drawn aſide by falſe prophets, and pretended wonder-workers; but which they did, and ſtill do, underſtand to this day, ſo literally and contrary to the plain deſign of the law-giver, as to infer a poſſibility of a man's working many and great miracles, either by the help of the devil, by magic, or other means, and without any other view, but that of withdrawing people from the ſervice of God.

Now, when men are once prepoſſeſsed with ſuch an abſurd notion, what miracles can any perſon work that may not be reduced under that claſs, if they have any diſlike either to his perſon or doctrine, or can find any plauſible objection againſt his manner of working them? All which concurred here againſt thoſe of our Saviour, and were upon thoſe accounts rejected by the generality of the *Jews*, even to this day, as we hinted above. Accordingly, they are ſo far from denying him to have done great and ſignal miracles, that they have invented the moſt ſtupid ſtories to prove, that he did them either by magic, which they ſay he learned in *Egypt*, or by going privately into the temple, and ſtealing thence the ineffable name of God, by virtue of which he could perform all thoſe great wonders; and many more ſuch ſhameful and childiſh evaſions, the bare mentioning of which is a ſufficient confutation of them. Thoſe that deſire to know more of this *Jewiſh* traſh, may conſult, among others, the book intitled *Sepher Tholedoth Jeſu*, or

(25) *Vid. int. al. John* vi. 1. *ad.* 30. ix. *paſſ.* (26) *Deut.* xiii. 1, & *ſeq.*

per, who, making a more equitable judgment of his miracles and doctrine, came to be inſtructed by him, and became his diſciples;

the hiſtory or *book of the generations of Jeſus*, and ſome others which the reader may find in the margin (27).

But to give our *Engliſh* readers a ſhort ſpecimen of their opinion concerning him out of thoſe books, ſome affirm him to have been the ſon of one *Panther*, begotten on a milliner of his debauching, and that the ſoul of *Eſau*, whoſe memory they have in great abhorrence, paſſed into him, which is, according to their doctrine of the ſoul's tranſmigration, mentioned at the cloſe of the laſt ſection. That he ſtole into the temple, and took from thence the name of God; and having made an inciſion into his thigh, ſtuck it into it, and let the fleſh and ſkin grow over it. That he became by it a very great conjurer and wonder-worker. That *Judas* was another of the ſame ſtamp and his competitor. That they had a great number of conteſts, which we ſhall forbear inſerting on account of their ridiculouſneſs as well as impiety; and that *Judas* was ſtill conqueror in all, and gave him at laſt a total defeat.

One would be apt to think theſe to be idle tales, invented only to amuſe their children, and breed them up in a contempt of chriſtianity; and ſome of them have even affirmed it, to wipe off the juſt imputation they would otherwiſe incur; and yet they are chiefly founded on ſome as ridiculous ſtories fetched out of their *Talmud*, where mention is made of Chriſt's miracles, and of the means by which he attained to the power of performing them; and paſs as current amongſt them, as the book out of which they are taken.

But what can they ſay for one of their greateſt rabbies (28), who affirms one *Jeſua*, the ſon of *Berachia*, or *Perachia*, to have been tutor to *Jeſus Chriſt*, and to have taken him into *Egypt*, and to have turned him off for his debaucheries; though in order to theſe two having been contemporaries, the latter muſt have been born under *Alexander Jannæus*, and have died in the thirty ſixth year of his age, in the reign of *Ariſtobulus*. This anachroniſm another learned rabbi (29) has endeavoured to rectify by ſubſtituting a ſecond *Jeſua*, who lived in the time of *Hillel* and *Shammai*, and was tutor to *Jeſus Chriſt*. But this, like their hiſtory of the ſecond temple, which makes *Pompey* to have taken him priſoner, doth but leſſen, but not clear, the anachroniſm (30); and only expoſes their ignorance, not to call it worſe, in attempting to invalidate his miracles by ſuch poor ſhifts.

But, laſtly, if we conſider the vaſt ſuperſtition which then reigned among the *Jews*, how addicted they were to aſtrology; what

(27) *Rab. Gedaliah Shalſheleth Haccabalah Gantz. Chronol. Nitzachon Abr Ben. Dior. Tzemach David, & al. mult.* (28) *Abr. B. Dior. ubi ſupra.* (29) *Gedaliah, ubi ſupra.* (30) *Vid. Bajnag. hiſt. Jud. lib.* iii. *c.* 5. *ſect.* 5.

ſtrange

disciples, though privately, for fear of their unbelieving brethren [a].

Nicodemus *comes to be instructed by him.*

AMONG these was one *Nicodemus*, a venerable ruler, who rightly concluding that such stupendous works could not be wrought without the divine assistance, and in confirmation of some new signal doctrine, such as the thinking part of the *Jews* expected the Messiah to bring with him; came privately one night to have a conference with him about it. *Jesus*, who took a singular delight to encourage such sincere inquirers [b]; and knew him to be a doctor of the law, immediately entertained him with the main and grand point of regeneration, without which, he assured him, it was impossible for a man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. He expressed himself moreover in such terms, as he might have justly expected to be well understood by him, by comparing it to a new birth, such as the *Jews* affirmed to be that of their new proselytes, concerning which the reader may see what we have said in a former volume †. But *Nicodemus*, better versed perhaps in the reigning disputes of his and the other sects, than with such fundamentals of moral divinity, as had been quite swallowed up by the present polemic contagion, seemed wholly at a loss how to understand it. Our Saviour therefore having given him a further explication of that heavenly doctrine, requested of him to embrace it upon his own authority for the present, assuring him, that it was one main purport of his coming down from heaven, to teach it to mankind. He added, that the miracles which he had seen him work should not be the only proof he would give men of

[a] Ibid. vers. 23. ad. fin. [b] Vid. int. al MARK x. 21. † Vol. III. p. 296.

strange power they attributed to the heavenly bodies, or rather to the angels which presided in each of them; what prodigies they thought might be done by the right evocation of them; what supernatural efficacy they ascribed to the right pronunciation of the name of God; how extensive they supposed the power of magic to be; and that it was not only lawful, but necessary, to learn it in one's own defence; and lastly, that those were not the notions of a small number, but of the whole nation, except perhaps some few more judicious and unprejudiced; such as was *Nicodemus*, and some others, whom we shall mention in the sequel, and who made a more impartial judgment of Christ's miracles; we need not wonder, that the rest, who neither liked his person, character, nor doctrine, should attribute those stupendous works to any other cause, than to the power and finger of God.

his

his divine miſſion, ſince they ſhould ſee him ſhortly lay down his life in confirmation of it ; and, in ſo doing, fulfil all the prophecies and types of the *Old Teſtament*, and the decrees of the divine love and providence, by dying a piacle for the redemption of mankind [c]. And therefore he juſtly concluded, that if men receive not his divine teſtimony, but will ſhut their eyes to that marvellous ſaving light which he has brought into the world, it is becauſe their evil deeds, which are manifeſted and reproved by it, make them prefer their own darkneſs ; and this it is which aggravates their guilt, and will hereafter their ſad puniſhment [d] (K). *Nicodemus*,

[c] John iii. verſ. 11, & ſeq. [d] Ibid. verſ. 19, & ſeq.

(K) We have contented ourſelves to give the bare ſubſtance of this divine colloquy, which contains indeed the quinteſſence of chriſtanity, *viz* the redemption of the world by the death of Chriſt, and the reformation of mankind by the help of this new light which he brought down to them. This light upon due attention, not only to this diſcourſe to the *Jewiſh* ruler, but on the tenor of the whole goſpel, will appear to conſiſtin theſe three particulars :

1ſt, That he came to teach us a more perfect rule of life, than human reaſon could, by its own unaſſiſted ſtrength, ever diſcover. For whatever ſome ſanguine men may imagine concerning the ſufficiency of that faculty, an impartial review of the world, and of the moſt polite parts of it, before the ſacred writings of *Moſes* and the prophets were publiſhed in other more known languages, will eaſily confute that fond conceit.

2dly, He came to communicate a ſuperior degree of ſtrength to our corrupt nature, without which the leſſons of that divine maſter would have been loſt upon the far greater part of mankind ; whilſt, like perſons infected with cuticular diſeaſes, they would ſtill have preferred the pleaſure of ſcratching to the benefit of a cure ; and therefore to inforce the obſervation of this new rule of life, without which man could be happy, neither here nor hereafter, and to make him accept of and ſeek for that divine aſſiſtance, which alone could enable him to live up to it.

He was, 3dly, to inforce it by the worthieſt and moſt powerful motives, the rewards and punishments of another life ; both which he has ſet before us in the ſtrongeſt light, that thoſe who could not be allured to the virtues of his goſpel, by the beauteous proſpect of the one, might at leaſt be frighted into it, by the dreadful apprehenſion of the other. That is, in other words ; that ſince our too great attachment to the things of this world was the unhappy ſource of all our diſaſters, this double proſpect of a future one might effectually wean us from them, by the aſſurance he has given us of

demus, who felt the force of all theſe truths, became his diſciple from that very night, but without daring to make open profeſſion

of the fatal conſequences of an inordinate purſuit after them, and of the ample rewards which a generous neglect of them will intitle us to at the end of our race. All which is ſtill more ſtrongly inforced upon us from a due conſideration, that he who beſt knew the value of that immortal life, which he came to reveal, thought not his own life too dear a price to purchaſe it for us.

On this manifeſtation of the love of God to us, is founded our love to him as our ſovereign b'iſs and benefactor, and of our neighbour, as partakers with us of the ſame divine favour. Nor is the fear of his punishments, low and baſe as it may ſeem at firſt, leſs conducive to it. For how can a man be rightly frighted out of the paths of ſin and punishment into thoſe of virtue and reward, without feeling a ſecret love and gratitude towards his gracious deliverer, inſenſibly kindled in his heart, and riſing by degrees into moſt pungent remorſe for his paſt fol'ies, and into the moſt fervent deſires of pleaſing him for the future?

Now the foundation of all this muſt be laid on ſuch a ſtedfaſt faith as Chriſt ſpeaks of to *Nicodemus* (31), grounded on thoſe irrefragable credentials which he brought with him, ſuch as the many and plain prophecies concerning him, his innumerable miracles, his reſurrection, effuſion of his holy ſpirit, and ſeveral other concomitant evidences, which will further appear in the ſequel. This heavenly teſtimony, he adds, therefore, will be rejected by many becauſe their deeds are evil; for if his doctrine is confeſſedly ſo divine, and ſo excellently calculated for promoting our happineſs here and hereafter, that men of unbiaſſed reaſon might embrace it without thoſe heavenly credentials, there muſt ſure be ſome evil root in the hearts of thoſe that can oppoſe it, after they have ſeen it confirmed by ſo many miracles, prophecies, *&c.* and illuſtrated by his god-like example.

'Tis therefore to convince us of this, that he aſſures us in another place (32), that if any man will, or is ſincerely diſpoſed to do his (God's) will, he ſhall ſoon know whether or not his doctrine be of God; if he has a real deſire to be virtuous and holy here, in order to be happy hereafter, he ſhall receive a more feeling teſtimony of the divinity of my doctrine, than all thoſe outward ones of miracles, *&c.* for theſe, through the depravity of man's nature, may in too many of them produce but a kind of hiſtorical faith, which, deſcending no lower than the head, ſeldom brings forth any other fruit than ſpeculative ſyſtems. They were deſigned to convince the underſtanding, and ſilence the gainſayers; but the change of the heart and the conqueſt of mens inordinate paſſions, not being to be

(31) *John iii.* 18, 19. (32) *Ibid. xii.* 17.

attained

profeſſion of it, for fear of the *Jews*. However, when their ſanhedrin was once plotting to put him to death, he had the courage to oppoſe it [e]; and when they had really crucified him, he and *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, another *Jewiſh* ruler, were the only two of that high rank who joined to give him an honourable burial [f].

[e] Ibid. ch. vii. ver. 50. [f] Ibid. xix. 38, 39.

attained but by the aſſiſtance of the divine grace, which is now freely and more plentifully going to be offered to every believer, thoſe only will receive and feel the efficacy of it, who ſeek and pray for it from a ſincere deſire to comply with the terms of the goſpel, and from a due ſenſe of their wanting that ſuperior aſſiſtance to enable them to it. When theſe therefore come to feel the wonderful changes which this divine grace ſhall work in them; that it inſpires them with new affections, new thoughts and deſires; that it rectifies their corrupt nature, ſubdues their irregular appetites, enables them to live quite other lives, and to forego all things, even life itſelf, rather than loſe the favour of God, and the aſſurance of heaven; it will prove an inexhauſtible ſource of evidence of the truth and divinity of my doctrine, and of joy and comfort to them; becauſe that bleſſed Spirit, which worketh all theſe wonders in them, will bear witneſs with their ſpirit, that they are now the ſons of God (33); whilſt the careleſs and ſelf-ſufficient will ever fall ſhort of it, for want of this ſincere deſire after holineſs, or of a ſenſe of their ſtanding in need of any other aſſiſtance to attain it.

Thus much we thought neceſſary to premiſe, in order to the better underſtanding of the deſign and œconomy of the goſpel; for ſince the bare belief of it, or a faith in Chriſt, its divine author, without practice of his precepts, will never intitle a man to the rewards of it; and this practice, whatever may be pretended to the contrary, cannot be attained without the divine aſſiſtance; and this laſt is only to be obtained by prayer grounded upon a right belief in the truth and faithfulneſs of our heavenly redeemer and law-giver; but all three muſt co operate towards that main end; the miracles and other outward teſtimonies of the chriſtian diſpenſation were highly neceſſary to attract a degenerate world to a religion ſo oppoſite to theirs, and ſo contrary to their depraved appetites; but it is this wonderful change, which the divine grace it communicates, works in us, that gives the finiſhing-ſtroke and ſtrongeſt light to its other evidence; and the man, once thus happily transformed into a new, a heavenly, creature, becomes more ſure of the truth and certainty of the goſpel, than if he had ſeen its divine author giving ſight to the man born blind, or raiſing *Lazarus* from the dead; becauſe he juſtly thinks them alike the effects of an almighty and miraculous power.

(33) *Rom. viii.* 16.

Jesus left *Jerusalem* soon after to go into the other parts of *Judæa*, where he set his disciples on baptizing those who received his doctrine. This brought on a dispute between them and those of the baptist, who was not yet cast into prison, but was still baptizing a little higher on the *Jordan*, in the neighbourhood of *Salim* and *Ænon*, more towards *Galilee* (L). The difference between them, being about *Jesus*'s making a greater number of proselytes than *John*, was referred to the latter, who quickly decided it in favour of the former, adding thereto this noble testimony of him, that he was from heaven, and was above all, and testified the truths he had seen and heard; so that those who received his testimony, did set to their seal, that God is true, whereas those who reject it make him a lyar, and are therefore obnoxious to his divine displeasure, whilst they continue in their unbelief [g] (M). Soon after this, *John*, whose extreme sanctity had raised him to the esteem, not only of all the *Jews*, but even of *Herod Antipas*, the then tetrarch of *Galilee*, this last often took pleasure in hearing and advising with him [h] for a time; till having ventured to take *Herodias*, his brother *Philip*'s wife, into his bed, he received so many severe reproofs from that holy person for his incest, that he at last caused him to be thrown into a prison, where he soon after ordered him to be beheaded, through the hellish intrigues of that incestuous lady, and to all outward appearance much against his

Year of the Flood, 3030. Of Christ, 31

John the Baptist *beheaded by* Herod.

[g] JOHN iii. 22 ad fin. [h] MARK vi. 20.

(L) *Ænon* was about eight miles south of *Scythopolis* (34); *Salim* in the neighbourhood of it was the same with the *Salem* of the *Old Testament*, where *Melchisedech* was king, and where some of the ruins of his palace were still to be seen in St. *Jerom*'s time (35). The reader may see what we have said of it heretofore †

(M) Since the bare light of reason assures us, that the nature of God is incomprehensible, it follow, that he cannot make any revelation of himself to us, but what must include mysterious truths vastly above our reach; and that it must consequently be a strange perverseness in man to reject them upon that account, when they come attested to us with the seal of heaven, for that is in fact to give the lye to eternal truth. Whereas the belief of them, being only an open acknowledgment that God is true, cannot but be the most reasonable, as well as acceptable sacrifice we can make to him of that faculty,

(34) *Vid. Euseb. de loc. Hebr.* (35) *Loc. Hebr.* † *Fol. II. p.* 208. F.

own will [i]. The occaſion of this unlawful marriage was as follows:

The occaſion of it.

Herod, whoſe firſt wife was the daughter of *Aretas*, king of *Arabia* was ſince fallen in love with that of his brother *Philip*, whom he had ſeen at his caſtle, where he had ſtopped ſome days in his journey to *Rome*. *Herodias* was the daughter of *Ariſtobulus* and grand-daughter of *Herod the great*, as has been hinted in a former note. *Herod* made no difficulty to diſcover his paſſion and to propoſe marrying her, to which ſhe conſented, upon condition that he divorced his firſt wife. This laſt, having received ſome information of her huſband's deſign, wiſely concealed her reſentment; and having obtained his permiſſion to retire for ſome time to the caſtle of *Macheron*, which was then in her father's hands, ſhe, inſtead of going thither, made all the haſte ſhe could to the *Arabian* court, where, being at length arrived, ſhe acquainted the king with the whole intrigue. This cauſed a rupture between *Herod* and *Aretas*, which ended in a war, which laſted till the death of *Tiberius*, four years after their falling out. *Herod*, thus rid of his wife without a divorce, made no ſcruple to marry his ſiſter-in-law, though ſhe had had children by his brother *Philip*, which was contrary to the *Moſaic* law. *John the Baptiſt* was not the only perſon who condemned that marriage as inceſtuous; the whole nation ventured to cry out againſt; but, as his character gave him a freer acceſs to the court, he had the courage to reprove both the king and his paramour in the ſevereſt terms. *Herodias*, being at length ſtung to the quick with his frequent reproaches of inceſt, and infidelity to *Philip*, reſolved to ruin him, and eaſily perſuaded the eaſy king to caſt him into priſon. His pretence for it, according to *Joſephus* * was his drawing ſuch multitudes after him to be baptized; but the true reaſon was that given by the evangeliſts above-quoted, namely his and *Herodias*'s reſentment.

John *confined in the caſtle of* Macheron

The place where he confined him is not mentioned by the latter, but the former tells us it was the caſtle of *Macheron*; though he ſhould have told us how it came ſo ſoon again into his poſſeſſion, after he had juſt hinted before that it belonged to the *Arabian* king. But it is not unlikely, that he regained it from him after their rupture. All this while *Jeſus* continued preaching in *Galilee*, and working ſo many ſingular miracles, that the fame of it came to the *Baptiſt* in his confinement. *John* therefore, ſuppoſing his own death

[i] Ibid. Vid. & Matt. xiv. 1, & ſeq.

* Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.

to

to be near at hand, as he had formerly foretold it, ſent two of his followers to inquire of him, whether he was the expected Meſſiah, not ſo much for his own ſatisfaction, as for that of his diſciples. They came opportunely to him, whilſt he was healing a number of ſick, halt, maimed, and blind, ſo that he only bid them return, and acquaint their maſter with what they had ſeen, leaving it to him to explain the matter to them. All this while *Herodias* had not been able to prevail on the king to attempt the life of his priſoner. His fear of the people, who looked upon him as an extraordinary prophet, had hitherto outweighed his baſe complaiſance to her. But ſhe ſoon after compaſſed that by her helliſh policy, which her perſuaſions had not been able to do. *Herod*'s birth-day being celebrated with ſuitable ſolemnity, before a number of his head officers, and other perſons of diſtinction; ſhe took the opportunity, when they were in the height of their mirth, and the king moſt probably heated with wine, to ſend her daughter *Salome* to dance before him; and ſhe performed her part ſo well, that he promiſed with an oath to gratify her in whatever ſhe ſhould aſk of him, even to the half of his kingdom. This was what *Herodias* was waiting for, and for which ſhe had given her inſtructions to her daughter; ſo that the young princeſs, taking the king at his word, deſired the head of the *Baptiſt* to be given her inſtantly in a charger. *Herod*, ſurpriſed at her demand, expreſſed no ſmall concern at it, whether out of reſpect to that holy perſon or the fear of a tumult. But, at length, the conſideration of his oath and of his gueſts having turned the ſcale, he ordered an executioner to go and perform her bloody requeſt; which being done accordingly, his diſciples, upon hearing of it, came to take away the reſt of his body, and gave it an honourable burial. Thus fell that great good man, and more than a prophet, according to his own prediction *; of whom *Joſephus* in the place above-quoted, gives us the following character: That his whole crime was his exhorting the *Jews* to the love and practice of virtue; and, firſt of all, to piety, juſtice, and regeneration, or newneſs of life; not by the bare abſtinence of this or that particular ſin, but by an habitual purity of mind and body. Now, continues he, ſo great was the credit and authority of this holy man, as appears by the multitude of his diſciples, and the veneration they had for his doctrine, (for he could do what he would with them) that *Herod*, not knowing how far the reputation of a man of his ſpirit

Herodias's *helliſh policy.*

Her bloody requeſt.

Joſephus's *character of the baptiſt.*

* JOHN iii. 30.

might influence the people toward a revolt, resolved at length to take him off, before it was too late, *&c.* He adds, that *Herod* was very unsuccessful in his war with the *Arabian* king, all which the *Jews* looked upon as a just judgment o God upon him for that impious murder. An antient father tells us † further, that when *Herodias* received the *Baptist*'s head from her daughter, she pierced his tongue with a bodkin, and shewed it some other indignities, such as one may easily suppose from a person of her loose character.

Jesus goes from Judea into Galilee.

We return to *Jesus Christ*, who, upon the news of *John*'s imprisonment on account of the great number of disciples that followed him, began, it is likely, to fear, lest *Pilate* should take some umbrage at him upon the same account. For there came, as we observed a little higher, rather a greater resort of people to be baptized by his disciples; for himself, the evangelist assures, baptized none. This made him therefore leave *Judæa*, after a stay of about eight months [k], and depart for *Galilee*; when passing through *Samaria*, he converted the woman, and afterwards the inhabitants of *Sichem*, or, as the *Jews* by way of reproach called it, *Sychar* [l], which signifies *drunk*, according to the phrase of the prophet, who calls the rebellious *Jews* the *Shicore Ephraim, the drunkards of Ephraim* [m] (N). After a few days stay at that place, he went on into *Galilee*, where he was well received by the *Galileans*, who had seen his late miracles at *Jerusalem* at the late passover, and preached in their synagogues. Whilst he was at *Cana*, the place where he had turned water into wine, a nobleman came about a day's journey to him, beseeching him that he would come down and heal a son of his, who was at the point of death, and expressed himself in such pressing terms, as sufficiently testified the sincerity of his faith. *Jesus* therefore, unto whom it was equally easy to heal at a distance, or at a greater nearness, dismissed him with these words: *Go thy way; thy son liv-*

The nobleman's son cured.

† Cont. Rufin.

[k] Vid. Usser. ann. sub A M. 4034.

[l] John iv. pass. See also Vol. II. p 409, & F. IX. p 560. & alib.

[m] Isaiah xxvii 1.

(N) *Shechem* or *Sychar* stood about forty miles from *Jerusalem* fifty two from *Jericho*, and ten from *Shiloh* (36), near unto *Jacob*'s well.

(36) *Vid. Euseb. & Hieron loc. Hebr. & Reland. Palæst. in Shichem*

etc.

eth. He obeyed, and, upon his inquiring of his ſervants at his return, found that he had begun to recover from the very minute in which the promiſe was come out of *Jeſus*'s mouth; ſo that he and his whole family believed on him [n]. He went from thence into hisold city of *Nazareth*, and being entered one ſabbath-day into their ſynagogue, where the leſſon out of *Iſaiah* [o] was given him to read, in which there is a lively deſcription of the Meſſiah's preaching the goſpel, and of his confirming it with many godlike miracles of mercy; he expounded it of himſelf, with ſuch powerful and majeſtic grace, as raiſed the admiration of the whole audience. But ſome of them being offended at his exquiſite wiſdom, whom they knew to have had ſo mean an education among them, he reminded them of ſeveral other cities in *Judæa*, and of many perſons in *Iſrael*, who had rendered themſelves unworthy of the divine favours by the like unſeaſonable partiality. This reproof was ſo highly reſented by the *Nazarites*, that they ruſhed upon him with one conſent, and hurried him to the brow of the hill on which their city was built, with a deſign to have caſt him headlong down; but he, ſlipping through the croud, eſcaped their malice, and went to dwell at *Capernaum*, a city ſituate on the coaſts of *Zebulun* and *Nepthalim*; and preached among them, according to another oracle out of the ſame prophet [p], importing, that thoſe regions of *Galilee* ſhould in time be called, from their native darkneſs, unto the marvellous light of the goſpel. Being on another day preaching in one of their ſynagogues, there ſtood a demoniac before him (O), in whom the unclean ſpirit cried

Preacheth at Nazareth.

A demoniac cured.

[n] Ibid. ver 46. ad fin. [o] ISAIAH, lxi. 1 Vid. LUKE iv. 16, & ſeq. [p] ISAIAH ix 1, & ſeq. MATTH. iv. 14, & ſeq.

(O) We have already taken notice of the opinion of the *Jews* concerning theſe demons who poſſeſſed mankind, ſome, with *Joſephus*, believing them to be the ſouls of the wicked, and others, that they were a kind of imperfect creatures, whom God was forced to leave unfiniſhed on the ſixth day, becauſe the evening of the ſabbath came upon him before he had given them the finiſhing ſtroke (3[*]) Upon either of theſe accounts, they believe them to find ſome pleaſure and refreſhment in poſſeſſing and annoying the bodies of the living. Of this kind they reckon alſo the ſatyrs, incubuſes, fauns, familiar ſpirits †, &c. The *Chriſtians*, on the other hand believe them, with greater countenance from holy writ, to

(3[*]) *Vid Burtorfii talm. lex. cap.* 1. & *lib. Zerar, Hammor, ſive de fabricatione mundi.* † *See Vol. I. p.* 165, (L).

be

cried with a loud voice; and acknowledging him to be the holy one of God, expoſtulated with him, not to deſtroy him. Him

be fallen angels, who have borne a conſtant enmity to mankind ever ſince the creation of *Adam*.

But it is here objected againſt either hypotheſis, that if thoſe malicious ſpirits had ſuch an extenſive power, as theſe poſſeſſions ſeem to attribute to them, there would be no end of their miſchiefs, till they had made an end of mankind. Whereas, whatever we may read of them in former days of ignorance and ſuperſtition, we ſee nothing like it now even pretended among the more civilized nations, and only hear ſome imperfect accounts among the more remote and leſs cultivated ones, which yet may be either mere cheats, or at beſt mere deluſions, and this has made a great number of our modern ſceptics believe them all to have been of this laſt kind (38), as being leſs derogatory to the honour of God, than the ſuppoſition of his giving ſo great a power to evil ſpirits.

But theſe learned critics ſeem not to obſerve, that all theſe plauſible pretences rather confute than countenance their notion; for who can believe, that Chriſt, who was ſo jealous of his father's honour, would not only have overlooked, but both by his words and actions even countenanced and confirmed a national error ſo oppoſite to it, if he had not known, that God, for ſome ends beſt known to his infinite wiſdom, had ſuffered thoſe evil ſpirits, to afflict and puniſh mankind? If he had known, that all theſe pretended obſeſſions were the mere effects of melancholy, hypochondria, lunacy, and ſuch like diſorders, incident to our nature, would he not have equally diſplayed his miraculous power in curing of them under this notion? and would not his pretended interrogations of thoſe pretended devils, and their petitioning to him? his (39) diſtinguiſhing between their ſeveral kinds, and the different means of expelling them (40), have been acting a farce unworthy of his divine character? how much more his promiſing to his diſciples the ſame power of caſting them out (41)?

That theſe devils are every-where repreſented in ſcripture as enemies to mankind, is beyond all diſpute; and that they are not as yet confined to the place of their puniſhment, appears not only from their frequent expoſtulations with Chriſt. *Art thou come to torment us before the time?* but much more from that dreadful and definitive entence to be pronounced againſt the wicked, *Go, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire, prepared for the devil*, &c. which, if only prepared for them, implies, that they are not yet ſent into it. If

(38) *Vid. Le Clerc com. in loc. Becker Monde enchant. Bayle, & al.* (39) *Matth. viii. 28. Mark v. 9, & ſeq & alib.* (40) *Matth. xvii 20, & ſeq.* (41) *Vid. int. al Matth. x. 1. Mark xvi. 17. Luke x. 17.*

therefore

Him *Jesus* having put to silence by his powerful word, cast him out, and healed the man, to the admiration of the people, who spread his fame throughout all that region; insomuch, that before he had taken a little refreshment at *Peter's* house, and healed his mother of a fever, under which she had languished some considerable time, they had brought from that whole neighbourhood all that were afflicted with diseases, and set them before him; and *Jesus*, according to his wonted compassion, laid his hands on every one of them, and sent them all home healed [q].

Calls Simon Peter

BEING come to the lake of *Genezareth*, or sea of *Tiberias*, the crouds followed him so thick, that he was forced to get into a boat belonging to *Simon Peter*, whom from a fisherman he had called to be one of his apostles, and bid him launch out a little way, and taught the people from thence. As soon as he had done speaking, he bid *Peter* cast his net for a draught; and was answered, that tho' they had toiled all night in vain, yet at his word they would try afresh. They did so, and caught such a large draught, as was like to have sunk the boat. *Peter* surprised at it, fell at his feet, and besought him to depart from such a sinner as he was; but *Jesus* taking him up, bid him be of good courage, for he would from thenceforth make him a fisher of men [r]. During his abode in *Galilee*, he continued still confirming his doctrine with such numbers of miracles, that his fame had reached all the neighbouring provinces of *Syria*, *Phœnice*, &c. insomuch, that many people came from thence to be healed of their infirmities by him. During his abode at *Capernaum* (P), a paralytic,

[q] LUKE iv. 31. ad fin. [r] LUKE v. 4, & seq. MARK i. 17, & seq. & alib.

therefore we stick close to the plain and obvious meaning of the inspired writers, we must suppose those possessions to have been something very different from such pretended disorders of the body or mind; and where lies the unreasonableness of the supposition of a vast variety of spiritual beings, some of a good and benevolent, others of a bad and maleficent, nature, but all under the government of the supreme Being?

(P) This city was situate on an eminence by the lake of *Genezareth*, though the exact place be not known. Our Saviour exchanged it instead of that of *Nazareth*, where the stubbornness and incredulity of the *Nazarites* had been an obstruction to his doctrine and miracles. He made it his chief abode during the three last years of his preaching, and wrought a great number of miracles there; but as they made him no answerable returns for those favours, he forewarns

paralytic, who had heard of his fame, got himself transported thither, in his couch born on mens sholders, to be presented to him; but the house, in which he was, being so thronged within and without, that they could get no access to him, they got him up to the top of the house, and having untiled part of it, let him down by ropes, and so set him before him. *Jesus* beheld their faith with pleasure, and addressing himself to the paralytic, bid him be of good chear, for his sins were forgiven; which, according to the *Jewish* notion, that such infirmities were the effects either of our own or of our parents sins [r], was no more than telling him that he was healed of his palsy. But the scrupulous *Jews*, not understanding it in that sense, accused him in their hearts of blasphemy, in assuming a power peculiar to God; but *Jesus*, by the immediate cure of the sick man, soon convinced them of their error, and of his being equally impowered to forgive sins and to cure any infirmities [t]. It was his custom, by reason of the great resort of people that came to hear him, to go out of the city from time to time, and to teach them by the sea-side; and, upon his often passing to and fro, he observed a publican sitting at the receipt of custom, named *Levi* or *Matthew*, and bid him follow him (Q). *Matthew* did not helitate one moment, but

Cures a paralytic.

Matthew called.

[r] De hoc vid John ix. 2. [t] Matth. ix. 1, & seq. Luke v. 18, & alib.

forwarns them, that though their city was then exalted up to the clouds, it should shortly be brought down to the lowest abyss (42); which came accordingly to pass in the *Jewish* war, so that no footsteps remain of it.

(Q) The other evangelists give him only the name of *Levi*, which was his *Jewish* name; for he was a *Jew*, and the son of *Alphæus*, and native of *Galilee*. He is therefore thought to have called himself by that of *Matthew*, which is supposed to have been significant of his profession, to express his grateful sense of his vocation. His chief residence and office was at *Capernaum*, and there it was, that he was called, from the profession of a publican, to the dignity of an apostle and evangelist.

He has been highly reflected upon by *Porphyry* and *Julian*, surnamed *the apostate* (43), for thus slightly following a man, whom he had so little knowledge of; but as it is scarce probable, that he should live in the same city so long, and not have heard of his doctrine and miracles; so it is rather a wonder he did not become his disciple sooner, considering his great readiness in following him as soon as he was called; but it is likely, he thought his profession was

(42) *Matth.* xi. 23. (43) *Vid. Hieron. in Matth* ix.

as

but left his office and followed him; and to expreſs the ſenſe he had for this gracious call, he made him a ſumptuous feaſt at his own houſe, to which many of the ſame profeſſion were alſo invited. This gave a freſh occaſion of offence to the ſcrupulous *Jews*, who made ſome ſevere complaints of it to his diſciples; but *Jeſus* ſoon ſilenced their clamour, by aſſuring them, that he was come to call, not the righteous, but ſinners, to repentance [u].

AFTER ſeveral other miraculous works done during his ſtay in this place, *Jeſus* departed for *Jeruſalem* to be preſent at the approaching feſtival of the paſſover, where there uſed to be a great concourſe of *Jews*, who came beforehand to purify themſelves againſt that feaſt. In this city there was a famous pool or reſervoir, adorned with five porches or piazzas, and called in the *Hebrew Beth-eſdah* (R), whoſe water, being odious to him, as it was to the *Phariſees* and the reſt of the *Jews*, and would prove an obſtacle to his reception. But as ſoon as this gracious invitation had convinced him of the contrary, he ſufficiently ſhewed how ready and glad he was to embrace it, by his forſaking all to follow him.

His being here called the ſon of *Alpheus* has led ſome antients (44) into a notion, that he was the brother of *James*, who is alſo called the ſon of *Alpheus* (45); and they have, it ſeems, been followed in it by the generality of modern *Greeks*; but there ſeems to be no foundation for it. The goſpel gives us no further particulars concerning him, ſaving that he continued a faithful diſciple of his maſter; and therefore all we ſhall venture to add is, that he is univerſally allowed to have been the firſt that penned any ſuccinct hiſtory of the goſpel. He is ſaid to have wrote it at the deſire of the apoſtles and *Jewiſh* converts of *Paleſtine*, before his departure from it, to go and preach in the provinces allotted to him (46), about eight or ten years after Chriſt's reſurrection. The laſt quoted father tells us, it was written in the *Chaldaic-Syriac* tongue, which was then the common one, and in *Hebrew* characters. We refer our readers for the further particulars of it to the controverſy lately ſtarted about it. As for St. *Matthew*, he is moſt commonly believed, by antients and moderns, to have preached the goſpel in *Perſia* and *Parthia*, and to have ſuffered martyrdom in *Caramania*, a province then ſubject to the *Parthians*.

(R) Probably, as ſome conjecture from the words בית חסדה

[u] MATTH. ix. 10, & ſeq.

(44) *Chryſoſtom. Homil.* 33. *in Matth Theodoret.* & *al.* (45) *Matth.* x. 3, & *alib.* (46) *Euſeb. Eccl hiſt. l* iii *c.* 24. *Chryſoſt. in Matth.* i. *Iren. l.* iii. *c* 1. *Hieron. de vir. illuſtr.* & *al.*

being at ſome particular ſeaſons miraculouſly ſtirred, had the virtue of curing the firſt perſon that jumped into it of whatever diſeaſe he was troubled. Here *Jeſus* beheld among the crouds of ſick folk that waited for the motion, a man who had laboured under an incurable palſy thirty eight years, but, for want of ſome charitable hand to throw him into the water, had hitherto been deprived of the benefit of that place. *Jeſus*, moved with compaſſion at his miſery, healed him by his powerful word, and bid him take up his bed and go to his home. This cure, being done on the ſabbath day, gave freſh offence to the *Phariſees*, who looking upon him as a ſabbath-breaker, began to think of putting him to death for it. To diſculpate himſelf, and to convince them that works of mercy were ſo far from being a violation, that they were the proper buſineſs of the ſabbath, he expreſſed himſelf to them in words to this effect: *As my Father worketh hitherto, ſo do I work:* intimating thereby, that though God had reſted on the ſeventh day from creating, in memory of which the ſabbath had been inſtituted, yet did he not ceaſe on that day from the work of preſervation, which work himſelf was now

Cures a paralytic on the ſabbath.

beth cheſdah, the houſe of mercy, alluding to the merciful cures which were wrought there on the ſick, lame, *&c.* The vulgate, however, read it *beth-zaida*, which ſome render the *Probatic pool*, on a ſuppoſition, that the ſheep deſigned for ſacrifice were firſt waſhed in it, which ſheep ſo waſhed, were called *Probatæ*. Others, who read it בית אשדה, *beth-eſhdah*, render it *the houſe of defluxion*, from another ſuppoſition, that the waters in which the entrails of the victims offered in the temple were waſhed, emptied themſelves by a ſubterranean ſewer into this pool or reſervoir, whence ſome have taken it into their heads, that the blood, dung, and other filth of thoſe creatures running along with them, gave that medicinal virtue to the pool. Perſons of ſuch witty conceits are ſeldom ſollicitous about the character of the ſacred hiſtorians, or elſe the evangeliſts, attributing thoſe cures to a miraculous motion of the water, would make them more cautious, how they ſet up a bare conjecture againſt their teſtimony

The five porches mentioned by St *John*, ſeem to argue this pool to have been built in the form of a pentagon. *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* (47), tell us, that they ſhewed ſtill in their time a kind of double pool or reſervoir, the one of which filled itſelf every year with rain water, and the other, which retained ſtill a kind of redneſs, as if from the blood of thoſe victims above mentioned, which the temple ſewer carried into it. The reader may ſee what has been ſaid of its remains in a former volume †.

(47) *Loc. Hebr.* † *Vol.* III. *p.* 148, & (Q).

imitating,

imitating, in preſerving a number of wretched periſhing objects, whoſe miſery claimed his pity and aſſiſtance. But the *Jews*, ever watchful for matter of new accuſation againſt him, inſtead of admiring his godlike imitation of that ever-beneficent Being, accuſed him of blaſphemy, for having preſumed to call him his father, making himſelf thereby equal to God. *Jeſus* tried in vain to remonſtrate to them, by many convincing arguments, that he had arrogated nothing to himſelf, but what his miraculous works did evince his undoubted claim to; and by aſſuring them, that they ſhould ſhortly ſee greater and more ſtupendous ones than thoſe wrought by him, ſuch as had never been done ſince the creation of the world. He tried in vain to convince them from the teſtimony of the prophets and other ſacred writings, from that of *John the Baptiſt*, but eſpecially of his heavenly father, who had declared him his beloved Son, and had given him moreover ſuch a miraculous power over the whole creation [w]. He was at length obliged to ſilence their falſe accuſation, by reminding them, that even the ſcripture gives the title of gods to mortal men [x]. If then, added he, they be called *gods*, *againſt whom the ſentence of mortality had been pronounced by God* (S) *himſelf*, why ſhould you reckon me guilty of blaſphemy, whom the father has thus ſanctified and ſent into the world, becauſe I call myſelf the Son of God.

His defence of it cenſured by the Jews.

Jeſus obſerving, however, how ſtrenuous the blinded *Jews* were againſt his doing works of mercy on the ſabbath, reſolved, if poſſible, to convince them of their error, by chuſing that day to diſplay ſome of the moſt ſignal ones, and exploding their cenſures by ſuch cogent arguments as they could not gainſay. Accordingly, after his departure out of *Jeru-*

Works other miracles on that day.

[w] JOHN v. 19, & ſeq. [x] Conf. Pſ. lxxxii. 6, &c. JOHN x. 34, & ſeq.

(S) This is certainly the meaning of Chriſt's words here, and not as ours, and other verſions render it, *Thoſe unto whom the word of God came.* For the place referred to in the pſalms is, *I have ſaid ye are gods, but ye ſhall die like men.* So that, according to the moſt literal ſenſe of our Saviour's words, they ſhould run thus: *If they are called gods, againſt* (not unto) *whom the word of God came forth*, meaning this ſentence of death. Thoſe that are acquainted with the *Hebrew* idiom, to which the evangeliſts were uſed, know, that the context muſt decide the meaning of thoſe particles, which are capable of ſeveral even oppoſite ſignifications, which the ſenſe alone can determine (48).

(48) *Vid. Nort Knatchbul. Le Scene, & al. in loc.*

ſalem, he went into one of their ſynagogues, where there ſtood a man, St. *Jerom* ſays he was a maſon, who had a withered hand. He began with aſking the *Jewiſh* doctors, whether it was lawful on the ſabbath; to do good or evil, to ſave or to deſtroy, intimating, that the omiſſion of the one, when a proper occaſion offered, was near equivalent to the commiſſion of the other. As they had nothing to anſwer to this reaſoning, they ſtood ſilent to let him do as he thought fit; but when he had reſtored the man's hand, by bidding him to ſtretch it forth, the ruler of the ſynagogue, inſtead of being convinced either by the miracle or argument, in a kind of indignation, fell a cenſuring thoſe objects of pity for offering themſelves to be healed on the ſabbath, and not rather on any other day of the week. This ſtrange behaviour extorted a ſevere rebuke from the meek *Jeſus*; he aſked him, whether they did not think it lawful to help an ox, an aſs, or a ſheep out of a ditch, or even to lead them to the water or paſture on that day? An undeniable argument, that they thought it lawful to do good to brutes on the ſabbath, and how much more was it to do ſo unto men? He urged alſo upon the like occaſion the circumciſion of children on the ſabbath, the prieſts killing and dreſſing their victims, and other ſuch-like works, which were uſually done on the ſabbath, and yet were far from being reckoned a profanation of it [y].

But there had one thing happened to him in the going to that place, in order, as is ſuppoſed, to preach at that ſynagogue, which had already highly exaſperated them. One of the evangeliſts obſerves [z], that it was the ſecond ſabbath after the firſt *; when as they were going through ſome corn fields, his hungry diſciples ventured to pluck the ears, and rub them between their hands to eat them. The *Phariſaic* croud, who beheld this kind of labour with a malicious eye, began to exclaim againſt their maſter for ſuffering it, it being in their opinion a manifeſt violation of the ſabbath. *Jeſus* was forced to excuſe it by reminding them of the prophet's words, *I will have*, or, more properly, *I delight in mercy rather than in ſacrifice* [a]; intimating thereby, that neceſſity takes away the rigour of the law, and juſtifying it by the example of *David*, who, in the like emergency, ventured upon the ſacred ſhew-bread, which was prohibited to all but the prieſts: and not only eat of it himſelf, but diſtributed it among his retinue. Their ſtubbornneſs was proof againſt all that he could urge in their or his own defence, and his ſilencing of

His diſciples cenſured for plucking the corn.

[y] Luke vi. 10, & ſeq. Matth. xii. 9, & ſeq. & al. [z] Luke vi. 1. * Do hoc Vid. Vol. III. p. 168. in fin. not. (M)

[a] Hos. vi. 6.

them.

them, by ſuch convincing arguments, made them only the more inveterate, till they came at length to a reſolution of putting him to death. *Jeſus*, having timely notice of their wicked deſign, withdrew himſelf towards the ſea-coaſts, whither he was ſoon after followed by multitudes from all the maritime parts; and to whom he ſtill extended his wonted compaſſion, both by his teaching them and healing their ſick.

ONE night, having withdrawn himſelf both from them and from his diſciples; he went up to a mountain apart, and ſpent the whole night in prayer; and on the morrow calling them together again, he choſe twelve from among the reſt, to be the more immediate witneſſes, preachers, and recorders of his life and doctrine; and to whom he gave the title of *apoſtles*, which word ſignifies *meſſengers* or *embaſſadors*. The reader may ſee their names in the margin [b] (T). All that we ſhall ſay

Chuſes the twelve apoſtles.

[b] LUKE vi. 14, & ſeq. MATTH. x. 2, &ſeq MARK iii. 16, & ſeq.

(T) Theſe were, 1ſt, *Simon*, whom he ſurnamed *Peter* and whom we have mentioned a little higher; and 2. *Andrew* his brother; 3. *James*, ſurnamed *The Greater*, an inhabitant of *Bethſaida*, and *John* his brother, who were the ſons of *Zebedee* and *Salome*, often mentioned in the goſpel. Theſe, as well as *Andrew*, had lately been the baptiſt's diſciples, but had left him to follow *Jeſus*, and on the account of their reſolute conſtancy, or more likely perhaps from that queſtion they aſked him, Wilt thou that we command fire from heaven, to conſume, &c (46) were ſurnamed by him *Boanerges*, or *the ſons of thunder* or *tempeſt*; that word being only a corruption of the *Hebrew* בני־רעם *bene-raham*, or rather רעש *raahſh*; 5. *Philip* mentioned before; and, 6, *Bartholomew*, ſuppoſed the ſame with *Nathanael*; 7. *Levi*, or *Matthew*, the publican and evangeliſt; and, 8. *Thomas*, ſurnamed *Didymus*, which ſignifies *a twin*; 9 *James*, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *The Leſs*, and the ſon of *Alpheus*, or *Cleophas*, and of *Mary*, the firſt couſin, if not the ſiſter of the Virgin *Mary*, for which reaſon he is often called *the brother of our Lord*; 10. *Simon*, ſurnamed *The Canaanite*, from *Cana* the place of his birth, and *Zelotes*, probably becauſe he had belonged to that ſect; 11. *Judas*, otherwiſe called *Jude*, and brother to *James the Leſs*, ſurnamed alſo *Lebbeus*, and *Thaddeus*: and *Judas the traitor*, and ſurnamed *Iſcariot*.

Concerning the ſurname of this laſt, there have been various conjectures; ſome thinking that he was ſo called from *Keriot*, a city in the tribe of *Judah* (50), from which he is ſuppoſed to have

(49) *Luke* ix. 54. (50) *Vid. Joſh* xv. 25. *Eckard. Ecl. Hiſt. ant.* l. 4. *Calmet. Jub* xv. & *al.*

come;

ſay at preſent of them is, that he did not give them this preference to all the reſt, either on account of their great ſenſe or learning, for they were ſome of the moſt rude and illiterate; nor for their credit rank or high birth; for they were moſtly, if not all, poor fiſhermen, and either natives or inhabitants of *Galilee*, the moſt obſcure and deſpiſed canton of the *Jewiſh* kingdom; much leſs for their courage, who proved all rank cowards in the time of danger. They had no reliſh or propenſity to his pure and exalted doctrine; for they dreamt of nothing, but of an earthly kingdom and temporal happineſs. In a word, they were in all reſpects the moſt unqualified for the great taſk to which they were appointed, the converſion of the world. But this was a work, which, as a great prophet had long ago foretold [c], and the apoſtle, has ſince obſerved [d], was to confound the counſels of the wiſe, ſwallow up the underſtanding of the prudent, and defeat the power of the mightieſt. We have already ſeen it in a great meaſure fulfilled in the perſon and character of their divine maſter, and in the circumſtances that accompanied his low and humble birth and education, as well as in that vaſt ſeries of wonders, which he wrought ſince his entrance into his public miniſtry. And we ſhall ſee the ſame infinite wiſdom diſplay itſelf ſtill more ſurprizingly, throughout the whole ſequel of this chapter.

Their character,

[c] Iſaiah xxix. 14. [d] 1 Cor. i. 19.

come; *iſh* in the *Hebrew* ſignifying *a man*. St. *Jerom* and *Euſebius* ſpeak of a town in the tribe of *Ephraim*, called *Iſcariot* (1); others, who make him of the tribe of *Iſſachar*, think *Iſcariot* only a corruption or abbreviation of *Iſſachariotes*; others fetch their etymologies of it ſtill further. The reader may ſee them in the vocabularies at the end of the vulgate and other bibles.

Were we to offer our conjecture on ſuch a dark and dry ſubject, we ſhould rather fetch it from the *Hebrew*, אישׁ־חרט *Iſh-chirret*, literally *the man of the bag*, or *the bag-bearer*. We have formerly obſerved †, that the proper ſignification of the word *chirret*, is *a bag*, in ſuch a one *Naaman* is ſaid to have tied his preſent to *Gehaſi*, (2); and St. *John* acquaints us, that *Judas* was a thief, and carried the bag: Why might not this nick-name then have been given him on that account by the diſciples, when they knew how fond he was of his office, and how unfaithful he was in the diſcharge of it.

(1) *In Iſaiah xxviii.* 1. † *Vol. II.* 564, (B). (2) 2 *Kings* v. 23.

In

IN the mean time, the wondering crouds flocked to him from all parts of *Judæa* and the neighbouring provinces, attracted by that divine and efficacious virtue which flowed from him, insomuch, that the bare touch of his garments wrought the most surprizing cures, on the sick, lunatic, demoniacs, and other afflicted persons. He led them therefore one day to a convenient spot of ground (U), where he preached to them that celebrated sermon, commonly known by the name of *his sermon upon the mount*. We shall not take upon us to repeat it here. The reader may read it in its native, but powerful, simplicity, in the places quoted in the margin [e]. All that we shall observe of it is, that he began it with a most comfortable display of the blessed state of those, whom both *Jews* and *Gentiles* accounted most miserable; that, through the whole course of it, he not only exploded the wretched glosses, by which the *Jewish* doctors had almost obliterated every moral precept of the *Mosaic* law, but substituted such new and excellent ones of his own, as exalted them to a pitch, which the world till then had neither heard nor dreamed of. To instance in one or two of his precepts, amongst the many sublime ones there delivered, how highly had that negative precept been admired by all the wisest heathens, of not doing to others what we should not desire to be done to us! and yet how vastly short is it of that new and noble one of his, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, that do ye unto them [f]. We observed a little higher, that the *Pharisees* thought themselves free from guilt, provided they abstained from the very act of sin, though they indulged themselves in every thought, desire, and complacency, that came short of it; but here the ax is laid to the very root, and every sin, even in the least degree of it, condemned, even in the heart. Well might then his ravished audience cry out, that he taught

His excellent sermon on the mount.

[e] Matth. v, vi, & vii. pass. Luke vi, 20, & seq [f] Matth. vii. 12.

(U) St. *Matthew* (3) tells us, that he went up into a mountain, and St. *Luke* (4) hints, that he stood in a plain, or champain place. The difference may probably be smaller than we are aware of. Those mountainous parts have their plains as well as vallies; so that he might only stand on a higher ground than his audience, for the conveniency of being better heard, whilst they stood or sat on the plain ground below him. For St. *Luke* doth not expressly say, that he preached in the plain; but that he came down to it, to heal those that waited for him.

(3) *Ch.* v. 1. (4) *Ch.* vi. 17.

with

with a power and authority, vaſtly above what they had obſerved in the ſcribes and *Jewiſh* doctors [g].

He concluded this excellent diſcourſe with aſſuring them, that not every one that ſhould call him Lord ſhould enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that performed the divine will, and complied with the precepts he had been delivering to them. For the latter, added he, like the wiſe man that builds his houſe on a rock, builds his hopes on a ſure foundation; whereas the former, like the fool that builds on the ſand, is liable to have them overthrown by every blaſt, by every wind of doctrine, and by every temptation. On his deſcent from the mount to return to *Capernaum*, he was addreſſed by ſome of the heads of the city in the behalf of a worthy centurion, from whom their nation had received ſome ſignal favours, and whoſe ſervant was then very ill of a palſy. *Jeſus* offered to go to his houſe and heal him; but when the *Roman* officer heard of it, he ſent him an humble meſſage, in which he acknowledged himſelf equally unworthy to receive him under his roof, as he had been to come and offer his requeſt in perſon, but that he wholly depended on his efficacious word for the cure of his ſervant; For, added he, if my authority, ſmall as it is, can yet enforce obedience from thoſe under my command, how much more will your all-powerful one be obeyed, where-ever you are pleaſed to exert it! His ſingular faith and humility did not go long unrewarded; and *Jeſus*, highly pleaſed with him, healed his ſervant at that inſtant, and greatly commended his faith, as far ſurpaſſing all that he had beheld, even in *Iſrael*; upon which account he took occaſion to aſſure his audience, that many ſtrangers ſhould be admitted from the four corners of the world into his heavenly kingdom, whilſt the children of it ſhould be miſerably caſt out for their diſobedience and unbelief [h]. On the day following he went to *Naim* (W), and, upon his enter-

Heals the centurion's ſervant.

[g] Ibid. ver. ult. [h] Matth. viii 5, & ſeq. Luke vii. 1. & ſeq.

(W) This city was ſituate in the plain near mount *Tabor*, and within about two miles of that mountain, and was divided from it by the brook *Kedron* (5) The ſame author places it at a ſmall diſtance from *Endor* and *Scythopolis* (6). There was another city of that name in *Idumæa*, where, *Joſephus* tells us (7), *Simon* the ſon of *Gorias* made his retreat, after he had ſtrongly fortified it.

(5) *Euſeb.* ſub voce *Naim.* *Hieron.* ſub voce *Endor.* (6) *Euſeb.* ſub voce *Endor.* *Bell. Jud. l.* v. c. 7.

ing the city, he met a large croud of people accompanying the corpſe of a young man, the only ſon of a poor widow, and, in compaſſion to her, touched the bier, and raiſed her ſon to life, whilſt the aſtoniſhed multitude ſpread forth his fame through all that country, and proclaimed him the prophet ſent by God to redeem his people [i]. It was probably at this time, that the baptiſt ſent his two diſciples to him, of whom we have lately ſpoken, and upon which *Jeſus* took occaſion to cenſure the unjuſt judgment, which the unbelieving *Jews* paſſed upon that more than prophet, and himſelf: *John*, ſaid he, was a very abſtemious and mortified perſon, and you cried him down as a demoniac; me, who came in a more ſociable and affable way to call ſinners to repentance, you repreſent as a drunkard and glutton; but wiſdom will, in ſpite of your ſlanders, be ſtill juſtified by her children [k]. It was upon this account that he ſo ſeverely upbraided thoſe neighbouring cities, which had been witneſſes of his ſtupendous works, aſſuring them, that their fall would be much more dreadful than that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, whom ſuch miracles would have wrought into the deepeſt repentance [l]. He concluded his diſcourſe with a ſolemn thankſgiving to his heavenly Father, who, in his infinite wiſdom, had choſen the humble and infant-like to impart the myſteries of his goſpel to, whilſt the proud and conceited worldlings rendered themſelves unworthy of them; and with a gracious invitation to all, that laboured under their ſinful burdens, to come and experience how eaſy the yoke, and how light was the burden, which he laid on his followers (X).

THIS

[i] Ibid ver. 11, & ſeq. [k] Ibid. 29, & ſeq. [l] Ibid. x. 13, & ſeq. Matth. xi. 20, & ſeq.

(X) This is a truth indeed that is beſt underſtood by one's own experience; yet as there is not one poſitive or negative precept of the goſpel, that is not excellently adapted to our own exigencies, and founded upon the ſolideſt wiſdom, it highly concerns us to liſten to this, rather than to our corrupt appetites, which will always make us look upon God as a ſevere task-maſter, rather than a kind and skilful phyſician, whoſe ſole aim is to cure us of our diſeaſes, and to reſtore our ſouls to that perfect ſtate of health, which alone can make us happy here or hereafter.

Were we indeed commanded to purchaſe this deſirable ſtate at as dear a rate as the miſer doth his gold, the ambitious his riſe, the ſoldier his fame, or the labourer his poor livelihood; though, even here, it would be our higheſt wiſdom to comply with the conditions, ſince the conſequence is of infinitely greater weight; how much

THIS diſcourſe moved a *Phariſee*, named *Simon*, to invite him to take a meal at his houſe, where he had not been long, before he was accoſted by a woman, formerly of a looſe character, but now a ſincere penitent. This woman came behind him in the humbleſt guiſe, accompanied with a flood of tears, with which ſhe waſhed his feet; and, having wiped them with her hair, began to anoint his head with a coſtly perfume ſhe hăd brought with her. A ſight ſo ſhocking to the proud *Phariſee* filled his head with a ſtrange notion, that, if his gueſt were a prophet, he would of courſe have ſpurned ſuch a notorious ſinner from him; but Jeſus, whoſe peculiar character it was not to break a bruiſed reed, or quench the leaſt good ſpark [m], but rather blow it into a flame, viewed her with a more compaſſionate and unerring eye, and diſmiſſed her with an anſwer as full of comfort, as her heart was of the ſincereſt repentance and love. Neither did he let his hoſt go unanſwered or unſatisfied; but, by a fit and pathetic parable, made him pronounce her a more worthy object of his mercy, and regard, than all his own pretended ſanctity and hoſpitality could intitle him to [n] (Y).

His pity to a poor ſhe-penitent.

Upon

[m] Iſaiah xlii. 3. Matt. xii. 20, & al. [n] Luke vii. 36, & ſeq. Mark xiv. 3. John xii. 1, & ſeq.

more muſt it be ſo, when every duty is not only eaſier and more worthy of a rational ſoul, but abſolutely neceſſary to fit us for that happineſs for which we were created!

Let thoſe, therefore, whom a wrong biaſs has warped into a prejudice againſt chriſtian duties, but view them with an impartial eye; and the more they conſider them, the more they will be convinced of this truth, that they are ſo far from being the arbitrary impoſitions of a ſupreme Being, that there is not one poſitive one, but is as neceſſary to the ſoul, as food is to the body; nor a negative one, that is not as expedient as abſtinence from groſs food is to a man in a high fever, or from drink to one in a tympany; but with this ſure and comfortable advantage, that the divine grace and aſſiſtance here promiſed will remove all difficulties and diſcouragements, and make every part eaſy and pleaſant; ſo that our own happy experience, which it is our fault if we fall ſhort of, added to God's infallible word, will make religion yield us the trueſt happineſs we can be capable of in this life, as well as the glorious aſſurance of a better in the next.

(Y) None of the evangeliſts has told us where this laſt ſcene happened. Our *Lightfoot* and ſome others think it was in *Bethany*, a city of *Judæa*; and that the *Simon* here mentioned, is the ſame with *Simon* the leper mentioned by the two other evangeliſts above-quoted, to which our bibles refer as a parallel; but it doth not appear

UPON his return to *Capernaum*, he was followed with such throngs of people, on account of his continual miracles, particularly the cure of a poor demoniac, deaf and blind, which he had just then wrought, that his mother and relations fearing, lest he should be stifled (Z) by the croud, came to disengage him from it. As they could not get into the house for the throng, they sent to desire him to come to them; but when it was told him, that they stood without, desiring to speak to him, he told the audience, that none were more nearly related to him, than those who came to him to hear the word of God and practice it. In the mean time, whilst his miracle on the demoniac had extorted an open confession from the better part of the by-standers, the *Pharisees*, moved with their usual indignation, cried out, *that he cast out devils by Beelzebub the prince of devils* †. Jesus easily confuted that slander, by shewing the folly of supposing *Satan* so far divided against his own interest; and that nothing, but a superior power to his, could force him to it; but, to assure them farther of the fatal danger of such malicious and impious suggestions, he added, that tho' every sin or blasphemy against the Son of man would, upon due repentance, be forgiven, yet that those against the Holy Ghost should find no forgiveness, either in this or the next world • (A); and therefore he concluded with

Cures a demoniac.

The sin against the Holy Ghost

† De hoc vide supra., Vol. I. p. 105. • MATH. xii. 31, & seq. Mark iii. 28, &c.

pear, that this woman was the *Mary* mentioned by St. *John*; and we find our Saviour immediately after in *Galilee* working miracles, followed by a great multitude, particularly by some pious women, who attended on him, and assisted him with their purses, whilst he was taken up with his ministry.

These were *Mary Magdalen*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel; *Johanna*, the wife of *Chusa*, *Herod*'s steward; *Susanna*, and some others, who became part of his holy college.

(Z) So the word ought to be properly rendered and not, as ours and most versions do, that he was beside himself (8).

(A) It is neither our design nor provin e to repeat here, either the various opinions of divines concerning the nature of this sin, or the dreadful effects which a wrong notion of it has caused among weak and melancholy christians, especially among some sectaries in the predestinarian system. It might indeed be of greater com-

(8) *Vide Le Scen. eff. on a new vers. Echard, & al.*

with this warning, that men would give a ſevere account for every pernicious or hurtful (B) word at the day of judgment. Here

fort to inſert ſome of thoſe elaborate expoſitions, which confine that ſin to thoſe *Jews* only, who made ſo perverſe a judgment of Chriſt's miracles, againſt the light of reaſon and conſcience; but as we cannot come into that notion, ſo neither would we lead our readers into it.

A late critic (9) has endeavoured to take away all the difficulty, by affirming, that what we render blaſphemy, or ſin againſt the Son of man, means no more than the offences which one man commits againſt another. But if none but ſuch are to be forgiven, and thoſe againſt the Holy Ghoſt, or, as he underſtands it, againſt God, are either wholly excluded, or, at beſt, will, with great difficulty, be pardoned, it is to be feared we are left in a more woeful caſe, than that out of which he endeavoured to extricate us; but who doth not ſee, that whenever Chriſt ſpeaks of the Son of man, he always means himſelf, and not man in general?

Might we preſume ſo far as to give our opinion of this ſin, it would be this, that every ſlander or blaſphemy committed againſt Chriſt whilſt upon earth, and his divine miſſion as yet wanting ſome of its moſt authentic evidence, ſhould be capable of pardon; but after theſe laſt ſeals of his miſſion were ſuperadded, *viz.* his reſurrection from the dead, aſcenſion, and effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, attended, as it was, with ſuch miraculous gifts, ſuch as prophecy gift of tongues, miracles, and the like; there remained no excuſe for unbelief, and conſequently no forgiveneſs either to the preſent or future generation of the *Jews*, who ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in it, nor indeed to any other perſons or nations, who ſhould reject the glorious light and evidence of his goſpel when offered unto them.

This may be thought to lean a little hard againſt our modern unbelievers; but let them conſider, whether the pretended grounds on which they reject the goſpel, bear any proportion in point of evidence with thoſe upon which we believe and embrace it; and if they do not, as all their united force never could, nor, we may ſafely add, never will be able to prove they do, let them lay the blame at the right door. Now, the goſpel plainly tells us, that nothing but faith in Chriſt, accompanied with a ſincere repentance, can obtain us the pardon of our ſins; how ſhould they then hope for it, who have neither the one nor the other to intitle them to it? Hence, we think, it plainly follows, that this is that only unpardonable ſin pointed out by our Saviour. *See the next note but one.*

(B) That this is certainly the plain import of the phraſe ῥημα αργον, which ours and other verſions render *idle* or *unprofitable word*,

(9) *Le Scen. ubi ſupra, part* 2. *c.* 4. *ſect.* 10.

appears

Here the *Phariſees*, being ſtung to the heart, began, according to their uſual cuſtom, to aſk him for a more convincing ſign of his divine miſſion; but he left them with this remarkable anſwer, that ſince thoſe he had already ſhewed them were not able to convince them, there ſhould be no other or greater given them than that of *Jonah*; for as that prophet was three days and nights in the fiſh's belly, ſo ſhould the Son of man be as many in the bowels of the earth, or grave, and riſe again on the third [p] (C).

FROM

[p] Matth. xii. 38. Luke xi 29.

appears from what goes before, *that they proceed from an evil heart*, which is therefore no more capable of producing better, than a corrupt tree can bear other than bad fruit (10).

(C) This ſaying confirms what we lately, and elſewhere before obſerved, that the reſurrection of Chriſt was to give the finiſhing ſtroke to the evidence of his miſſion. Before that, if his other miracles had convinced them that he was the Meſſiah, they would not have put him to that ſhameful death, which yet it was decreed and foretold he ſhould undergo; and it is upon this account that St. *Peter* excuſes that atrocious deed, as being done through ignorance. But after this his reſurrection was proved by ſo many irrefragable tokens, thoſe who rejected him became inexcuſable, and made way for the *Gentiles* who embraced chriſtianity. All which the reader may be fully ſatisfied of, by comparing, among a great number of others, the places quoted in the margin (11).

There are two difficulties ſtarted againſt what Chriſt here ſays of himſelf and *Jonah*, the one, that whatever the latter might be, Chriſt was far enough from being three days and three nights in the grave; and this has made ſome affirm, that he muſt have been crucified on the *Thurſday*, and not on the *Friday*. But the objection will eaſily vaniſh, when we obſerve, that, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, the particle ו ve, *and*, is often uſed for *or*, and that it may, and ought properly, be rendered three days *or* nights.

The other is from the impoſſibility of a whale's ſwallowing up a man whole, ſeeing the diameter of its ſwallow, when ſtretched at fartheſt, is little above three inches To which it is rightly anſwered, that the word here uſed ſignifies no more a whale than any other large fiſh that has fins; and that there is one commonly known in the *Mediterranean* by the name of *charachias* and *lamia*, of the bigneſs of a whale, but with ſuch a large throat and belly, as is able to ſwallow the largeſt man whole. There was one of

(10) *Vide Le Scen. ubi ſupra*, c. 6 *ſect.* 2. (11) *Conf. Acts* ii. 31, & *ſeq.* iii. 17, & *ſeq*, & *alib.* & xiii. 46. xviii. 6.

this

Teaches in parables.

From thence he went to the ſea-ſhore, ſtill followed with great multitudes, and being got into a boat, he began to teach them again, not indeed in the manner he had lately upon the mount, but by a more familiar way, and more ſuitable to their groſs underſtanding; namely, by parables, ſuch as were very well known and underſtood by all the eaſtern nations, and not (as ours and other verſions ſadly intimate) that they might be loſt upon his ignorant audience; but as we have ſpoke fully on this important point in a former volume, we ſhall deſire our readers to turn to the place *. When he had finiſhed his diſcourſe, he ordered his diſciples to get him a ſhip to croſs the ſea of *Galilee*, into the territories of *Philip* the tetrarch, *Herod*'s brother. Before he entered into the ſhip, there came ſome men who expreſſed a deſire to become his diſciples and follow him. One of them in particular juſt begged, that he might go and bury his dead father; and another to go bid farewel to his relations and friends. To the firſt of theſe he anſwered, Let the dead, ſuch namely as are ſo to the hopes of a future life, perform that office[q], and come thou and preach that eternal life which I am come to bring to light; but to the ſecond he gave this ſevere rebuke, that ſuch a retroſpection, as he expreſſed after thoſe worldly conſiderations, was wholly inconſiſtent with the character of one of his diſciples, whoſe mind and heart ſhould be ſo fixed on the concerns of another life, as to be wholly indifferent to all beſides; and ſo bid him follow without delay [r].

Stills the winds and ſea.

Being entered into the ſhip, whether to refreſh himſelf from the fatigues of the day, or to try his diſciples faith and manifeſt his own power, he withdrew himſelf into the ſtern, and there fell aſleep. There aroſe ſoon after ſuch a furious ſtorm of wind as was like to overſet them, and made them run to him, and awake him, crying, *Maſter, ſave us, elſe we periſh.* Jeſus, ſeeing them in ſuch conſternation, blamed their puſillanimity and want of faith; then, with his powerful word, rebuked the wind and ſea, which immediately obeyed. When his diſciples and the reſt of the company had beheld their danger and deliverance, they came and threw themſelves, trembling, at his feet, wondering, as well they might, what kind of man he was, who

* Vol. III. p. 462. I.).

[q] Matth. viii. 18, & ſeq. See alſo before p. 252.

[r] Luke ix. 61.

this kind caught within theſe twenty or more years, on the coaſts of *Portugal*, in whoſe throat, when ſtretched out, a man could ſtand upright. We may add, that the word uſed in *Jonah*, is דג גדול dag gadol, *a great fiſh*.

could

could command thoſe unruly elements to be ſo quickly calmed; ſoon after which they landed on the other ſide, in the country of the *Gergaſenes* [f] (D).

HERE he was met by two demoniacs, ſo very fierce, one eſpecially more than the other, that no chains could confine them; but they choſe their habitation among the tombs, and made it unſafe to paſs by that way, till the ſight of Jeſus brought them trembling at his feet, where the devils began to acknowledge him to be the ſon of God, and beſought him not to torment them before their time. Our Saviour beheld the poor poſſeſſed with his wonted pity, and aſked the moſt furious of them, What was his name? and was anſwered, *Legion*, becauſe a multitude of thoſe evil ſpirits had taken poſſeſſion of him. Theſe therefore beſought him, that, if he caſt them out, he would permit them to migrate into the neighbouring herd of ſwine; which being permitted, the whole herd was immediately ſeen to tumble headlong down into the ſea, to the number of two thouſand, whilſt the two poor objects were reſtored to their health and ſenſes (E), The *Cures two demoniacs.*

[f] Matth. viii. 23, & ſeq Mark iv 36, & ſeq. Luke vii. 22, & ſeq.

(D) So the *Greek* manuſcripts of St. *Matthew* have it. Thoſe of the other evangeliſts call them *Gadarenes*. Some read *Geraſenes*, which makes it very difficult to know the ſituation of this canton, or of the city from which it took its name. *Origen* (12) thinks the name of the city to be neither *Gedara* nor *Geraſa*, ſince none of thoſe two cities were near any ſea or lake, but *Gergeſa*, ſituate on that of *Genezareth* or *Tiberias*, where they ſhewed ſtill in his time the rocky declivities, from which the ſwine were hurried down into the water. If ſo, that place might ſtill retain its name from the *Girgaſhites*, antient inhabitants of *Canaan*, of whom we have ſpoken in a former volume *.

This canton, where-ever it was, muſt have been inhabited partly by heathens, which is the reaſon of the herd of ſwine being ſuffered to feed in that neighbourhood, which was not permitted in any place where they were all *Jews*, becauſe that creature is forbid by the *Moſaic* law (13).

(E) Thoſe who pretend to cenſure this miracle, as a wrong done to the owners, would do well to conſider how they queſtion the juſtice and authority of a perſon, who had given ſuch irrefragable proofs of both. Had the evangeliſts ſuppoſed any men capable of ſuch a preſumption, it is likely they might have given us ſuch reaſons for this action, as would have ſtopped their mouths.

(12) *In Johann. Vide Calm. ſub Geraſa.* * *Vol. II. p.* 182, & (D). (13) *Vide* Levit. xi. 7, & *alib.*

If

The news of this ſingular miracle were preſently ſpread through that whole region, and brought vaſt multitudes to the place; where they beheld with wonder the two men cloathed and in their right minds; but whether through fear, leſt any ill conſequence ſhould attend the loſs of the ſwine, or, which is as likely, leſt they ſhould receive ſome further and more grievous puniſhment from him, they meekly beſought him to depart their coaſts which he readily complied with.

Raiſes the ruler's daughter.

Upon his return to *Capernaum*, he was addreſſed by the ſorrowful ruler of the ſynagogue, whoſe daughter, about twelve years of age, was then expiring, and followed him to the houſe, attended, as uſual, with numerous crouds, among which was a poor woman, who had laboured a long time under an unnatural hemorragy, and conſumed her ſubſtance in ſeeking for the vain help of the phyſicians. She had ſuch a ſtrong faith in the world's Saviour, that ſhe thought the bare touch of his ſkirt would give her an immediate cure; and ſo it really did, but not without being perceived by him; for notwithſtanding his being ſo thronged by the multitude, he knew, by the virtue that was gone out of him, that ſome-body had touched him, and inquired of his wondering diſciples, who it was? The woman, finding, by this queſtion, that ſhe could not go undiſcovered, fell trembling at his feet, and owned herſelf the bleſſed object of

[1] Matth. viii. 23, & ſeq. Mark. iv. 35. & ſeq. Luke viii. 22, & ſeq.

If the owners of the ſwine were of that kind of apoſtate *Jews*, of whom we have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak in ſome former ſections, the puniſhment muſt be allowed to have been rather too mild than too ſevere. If they were *Romans*, *Syrians*, or of any other nation, they were ſtill guilty of a breach of faith to the *Jews*, who, though under a foreign yoke, were to be governed by their own laws; ſo that they might as well have introduced ſome of their idols into that country, as herds of a creature forbid by their law, and abhorred by the whole nation.

However, if the ſingularity of the miracle proved a means to convert them to chriſtianity, that was abundantly ſufficient to repay their loſs; and it is perhaps for this reaſon that *Jeſus* would not ſuffer the cured perſons to follow him to the other ſide, but bid them ſtay in their own country, to be ſtanding monuments of his miraculous power and goodneſs; and that the change he had wrought in them was not a tranſient action, done by ſome deluſion or faſcination, but a permanent and real, and conſequently miraculous cure,

his

his miraculous power, and had this gracious anſwer ſuperadded to her cure, *Daughter, be of good comfort, thy faith hath made thee whole* (F). By this time they were come ſo near the ruler's houſe, that they could hear the mournful tunes and cries that were made over the dead damſel, who had expired in the interim; and Jeſus, who beheld with pity his paternal grief, bid him not fear but firmly believe; and entering the houſe with him, and with two or three only of his diſciples, ordered the mourners to ceaſe their doleful muſic, ſince the child was only aſleep; but, whilſt theſe derided him, he took *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, with the girl's father, into the upper room, and taking her by the hand, bid her riſe; which ſhe immediately did [u]. This miracle did ſtill the more increaſe his fame, notwithſtanding all his prudent cautions to prevent it (G).

HE

[u] MATT. ix. 18, &c. MARK v. 22, &c. LUKE viii. 41, & ſeq.

(F) *Euſebius* tells us, that the woman, out of gratitude, erected a braſs ſtatue to her miraculous phyſician, in which ſhe was carved kneeling behind him, and laying her hand on the ſkirt of his coat. The ſtory is much queſtioned, and if ever there was any ſuch monument of this miracle; ſhe can hardly be ſuppoſed to have been in a capacity of rearing it, becauſe St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* tell us, that ſhe had ſpent all her ſubſtance on phyſicians; ſo that it muſt have been done by ſome of the inhabitants of *Cæſarea Philippi*, of which city *Euſebius* ſays ſhe was.

(G) Chriſt, often enjoining ſecrecy to the perſons whom he cured, has been cenſured by ſome of our unbelievers, as unſeaſonable, and contrary to the deſign for which they were wrought, the proving of his divine miſſion. But he had ſeveral cogent reaſons for preventing his miracles being too much blazed abroad, at leaſt till after his reſurrection; one of which was moſt probably, that he might not haſten the effects, as well as aggravate the guilt, of the *Phariſaic* malice, which, he knew, was to fall on him, before he had gone through every part of his work.

But there was a much greater motive to have theſe miracles concealed for the preſent; for the multitudes, who had already beheld ſo great a number of them, had conceived ſuch notions of his being the Meſſiah, that, upon his feeding five thouſand perſons with a few loaves, they made a bold puſh to take him by force to make him a king (14); ſo that he was obliged to withdraw himſelf from them into ſome private mountain. Such attempts might therefore have proved of dangerous conſequence, either by cauſ-

(14) *John* vi. 15.

omes to Nazareth.

He ſoon left *Capernaum*, to go and reviſit his ungrateful city *Nazareth*, and, in his way thither, cured two poor blind men. He went, as uſual, into their ſynagoue, and preached to them with ſuch powerful eloquence, as aſtoniſhed the whole audience; but they, remembering the meanneſs of his education and parentage, were offended at him, inſtead of admiring him the more for it. This ſtubbornneſs of theirs prevented his working any ſignal miracles there; ſo that he contented himſelf with healing ſuh ſick perſons as offered themſelves in his way, and departed, never to viſit them again. By this time *Sejanus* having been put to death at *Rome*, and *Tiberius* been undeceived with regard to the falſe accuſations of that helliſh miniſter againſt the *Jews*, ſent orders to all his governors to have them treated with greater mildneſs, as we obſerved a little higher out of *Philo*; and *Tacitus* [w] obſerves thereupon, that they enjoyed a long peace under that emperor; which could mean no more, than that they neither diſturbed his government, nor he their tranquillity; but they were at this time in too great a ferment among themſelves to be properly ſaid to have been at peace. But theſe inteſtine feuds of theirs were beneath the notice of a *Roman* hiſtorian, if he knew any thing of them; for theſe troubled themſelves no farther about what was done in foreign provinces, than the intereſt or fame of their commonwealth was concerned in it; and this, as a judicious hiſtorian of our own obſerves [x], is probably the reaſon, why they are ſo ſilent about the glorious tranſactions of theſe three laſt years of our Saviour's life.

Sends his apoſtles to preach.

We are now come to the third year of his public miniſtry, which he began with making a thorough progreſs through all the cities of *Galilee*; where beholding, with his wonted compaſſion, the multitudes that followed him every-where, and how few the labourers were in compariſon of the plentiful harveſt in view, he ſent his twelve apoſtles, two and two, to preach alſo through all that country. To qualify them for this high office, he endowed them with his own miraculous gifts, commanding them to diſpenſe them with the ſame gratuitous liberality as they had received them, and at the ſame time forbidding them to incumber themſelves with any worldly conveniencies, but depend upon providence for a ſupply

[w] Annal. l. vi. c. 25. [x] Echard. cent. 1. ch. 4.

ing an inſurrection, and bringng the civil power upon him; all which, and many others of the like nature, were oppoſite to his deſign, and the ſcheme of providence concerning the time, nature, and manner of his death.

and

and reward worthy their charitable labour. He reminded them, however, that they must not expect it so much in this life as in the next; for, added he, I send you as lambs among wolves; and since you have been witnesses of the ill returns which I have met with from this blind and ungrateful generation, you must not expect to fare better than your master; but rather rejoice to be, like him, despised, rejected, and persecuted; for they will hurry you many a time to the judgment-seat, and inflict many a grievous punishment on you; but be not terrified at it, nor solicitous what answer you shall make to their puzzling and ill-natured questions; for ye shall be endued with such wisdom at those times, as all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay [y]. In other cases, remember always to join the innocence of the dove to the cautiousness of the serpent (H). Blessed indeed will be the case of those who receive you and your doctrine; but miserable and dreadful, beyond that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, shall be the fate of those who reject you. And as for yourselves, depend upon it, that he, without whose permission not a sparrow falls to the ground, will be still your sure guide and protector [z]. With these excellent gifts and instructions they departed, whilst Jesus tarried still at or in the neighbourhood of *Capernaum*, where he heard, about this time, the news of the baptist's death, mentioned a little higher, and whither his disciples soon after returned, and with no small joy acquainted him with the success of their late mission [a].

Herod all this while had only laid his conscious fears asleep by the death of his troublesome monitor, which were soon awaked again at the fame of Jesus, whom he supposed to be that prophet risen from the dead, whilst others took him for *Elias*, or some other of the antient prophets. This obliged him

[y] Vide LUKE xxi. 15. [z] MATTH. ix. 36, & seq. x. 1, & seq. MARK vi. 7, & seq. LUKE ix. 1, & seq. [a] MATT. ibid. & seq. MARK vi. 30.

(H) That seems the most obvious sense of the *Greek* φρονιμος, and not *wise*, as most versions render it. We have elsewhere shewed upon what account that creature is ironically called cunning and crafty in several parts of the scripture, and refer our readers to what has been said there †. But here our Saviour only bids his disciples to imitate their cautiousness or presence of mind, they being known to guard with their heads the rest of their bodies and to dart it with surprizing quickness where-ever the other parts are in danger.

† See IV. p. 116.

to withdraw himself, with his disciples, into a desert place, where he was, however, followed by a great multirude, and taught them there. The day being far spent, and victuals scarce in such a place, Jesus, unwilling to send them away fasting and faint, made the troops sit down in a convenient place, and having blessed his mean and scanty provision, which consisted in all of five barly loaves and a few small fishes, multiplied, and distributed it amongst them; and, after they had all eaten to satiety, his disciples were ordered to gather the remaining fragments, and filled twelve baskets with them, over and above what had been eaten by the multitude, which amounted to five thousand men, besides women and children. This stupendous miracle made them look upon him as the promised Messiah. They therefore were consulting to have made him king by main force; but, as soon as he perceived it, he resolved to convey himself far enough out of their reach [b]. He bid therefore his disciples to cross over the lake towards *Bethsaida*, whilst he stayed to dismiss the people, after which he was to follow them. Whilst they were on the water, he withdrew into a retired part of the mountain, to spend some part of the night in prayer. The wind, being then contrary and very fierce, hindered them from reaching the shore; but whilst they were rowing and toiling in vain, Jesus came towards them, about the fourth or last watch of the night, walking on the boisterous waves, and made as if he would pass by them; at which they gave a hideous cry, supposing that they had seen what the *Jews* call a *mazik*, or spectre of the worst kind, concerning whose power of doing mischief their rabbies tell us wonders too absurd to deserve a place here [c]. Jesus soon recovered them of their fright, by assuring them that it was he; but *Peter*, between doubt and surprize, answered him, *Lord if it be thou, bid me come to thee on the water*; and being permitted, ventured to walk towards him. A sudden gust of wind having swelled the surges, and his faith beginning to fail, he found himself sinking, and cried out to his master for help. Jesus stretched forth his hand to save him, upbraided his want of faith, and led him into the boat, where himself being also entered, there followed a calm, and they were agreeably surprized soon after with the sight of the wished-for shore [d]. Here he was again met by innumerable multitudes, who brought him their

Feeds five thousand with five loaves.

Walks on the sea.

[b] Matth. xiv. 14, & seq. John vi. 5, & seq. ad 17. [c] Vide auct. Tzeror. Hammor, & Hebr. comment. in Psal. xci. [d] Matth. ubi supra, ver. 24, & seq. Mark vi. 46, & seq. John vi. 16, &c.

diseased

diſeaſed from all parts to be cured. Among them were a great number of thoſe whom he had lately ſo miraculouſly fed, who had miſſed him, and came ſeeking after him, and expreſſed a more than ordinary joy when they had found him. Jeſus, however, blamed their untimely diligence, becauſe it did not ſo much proceed from a love to his doctrine, or from an earneſt deſire after that eternal happineſs which he preached to them, as from the temporal advantages which they expected from his carnal reign, as they believed him to be the Meſſiah. He therefore exhorted them to ſeek after thoſe more ſpiritual ones, which he was come to tender to them. This unexpected turn had a ſtrange effect upon them, inſomuch that they, who, at the firſt ſight of his late miracle had cried him up as the great deliverer promiſed by *Moſes* [c], began now to queſtion him, and to aſk for ſome freſh and ſurer tokens of his being ſo. *Moſes*, they ſaid, had proved his miſſion, by giving their forefathers manna from heaven; but as for him, he had done nothing like it for them, but only talked of his coming down from heaven, tho' they knew him to be the ſon of *Joſeph* and *Mary*, and promiſed them no other food and drink than that of his body and blood, which was ſtill a ſtranger and more offenſive doctrine. Jeſus tried in vain to perſuade them, that theſe were not ſo imaginary or unnatural food as they apprehended, but ſuch a real and efficacious one, as could alone fit them for, and raiſe them to a happy immortality. All theſe, and ſeveral other, ſpiritual topics, ſerved only to convince them, that he was not the Meſſiah they wanted, and were taught to expect; ſo that the greateſt part of them forſook him from that very hour. Jeſus was nothing leſs ſurprized at this deſection, which, he obſerved to his diſciples was owing to a want of ſuch a true diſpoſition of mind, as nothing could work in them, but the miraculous grace of his heavenly father, ſince nothing leſs than that could rectify the carnal warp, which their prejudices had given to their minds. He addreſſed next to his diſciples, to know of them, whether they felt any inclination to leave him, as the reſt had done? To whom *Peter* gave this glorious anſwer in the name of the twelve, *Lord, whither, or to whom ſhould we go? Thou haſt the words of eternal life, and we are now fully aſſured, that thou art the Chriſt, the ſon of the living God.* Jeſus took occaſion here to hint to them, that he had indeed choſen them twelve, but that one of them was a devil,

Reproaches the carnal zeal of the multitudes.

Simon's noble confeſſion.

[c] Conf. DEUT. xviii. 15. JOHN vi. 14, & 30, & ſeq.

devil, meaning *Judas Iscariot*, who was to betray him [f], though he continued to follow him with the rest (I)

THESE

[f] JOHN vi. 30, ad fin.

(I) The choice of this traitor into the apostolic college was not without a manifest providence, not only as he was thereby to fulfil that prophecy, that Christ should be betrayed by one of that number (15), but as his character and actions justified the admission of him into it. It is plain from what Christ says here of him, and the apostles elsewhere, that his offering himself a candidate for the apostleship was wholly from sinister motives, and this made him put in presently after for the office of treasurer,

On the other hand, he saw enough to have made him a true convert to Christ and his heavenly doctrine, for he not only was a witness to all his stupendous works and excellent sermons, but was, like the rest, endued with the same miraculous power and christian knowledge; so that if he continued in the same hellish disposition of mind, it was not out of any doubt concerning either the miracles or doctrine, much less from any knowledge, or even suspicion he could possibly harbour, that his master was acting some grand imposture; for had either of these been the case, he would have been so far from hanging himself out of remorse for his treachery, that he would have gloried in the action, and justly too. The great horror therefore which he expressed for his guilt, and his desperate end, when he saw him unjustly condemned by the sanhedrin, could proceed from nothing else but a ful conviction, that the person whom he had thus betrayed was the true Messiah, that his miracles were real, and his doctrine altogether divine

If it be asked, how a man, under such conviction, could act such a perfidious deed? it may be answered, that he did it in a fit of anger and resentment, when he disdainfully beheld the profusion of a precious ointment bestowed on his master, which, he thought, might have been better sold for three hundred pence, and put into his bag (16) He might perhaps not foresee all the ill consequences of his treachery, but might suppose, either that the sanhedrin would acquit him, or that he would work some signal miracle to extricate himself out of their hands; so that when he found it quite otherwise, it threw him into that horrid despair and madness in which he died.

We shall have occasion in the sequel to speak more fully of the nature of his death. In the mean time, we beg leave to observe, after an eminent critic, an error which has crept into most translations concerning him, which seems to intimate as if there had been some worse place than ordinary appointed for him in the o-

(15) *Conf.* Psal. xli. 9. & John xiii. 18. (16) John xii. 3, & *seq.*

ther

THESE things happened a little before the third paſſover after his entrance into his miniſtry; for the evangeliſt [g] hints, that that feſtival was at hand; but whether Jeſus went up to it, or ſtayed in *Galilee*, is no where expreſly ſaid. Only the former is moſt probable, not only from his conſtant and zealous attendance on all other feſtivals, but becauſe his abſence at this time, on any pretence, might have ſhewn an ill precedent to his diſciples, and given the *Phariſees* an occaſion of ſcandal and accuſation. But, if he went up to *Jeruſalem*, he did it ſo privately, and ſtayed ſo ſhort a time there, by reaſon of the plots which the heads of the *Jews* had laid againſt his life that it was not known to them till he was gone back into *Galilee*, where we find him preſently after [h]. It is at this paſſover, that *Pilate* is ſuppoſed to have made ſuch a ſevere example of the rebellious *Galileans* or *Gaulonites*, whoſe blood he mingled with their ſacrifices, as they were performing their devotions in the temple [i]; the news of which being afterwards brought to *Jeſus*, as well as the misfortune of thoſe eighteen men, whom a tower in that metropolis, named *Siloam*, cruſhed to death, he aſſured them, that neither of them came to ſuch a dreadful end, becauſe they were greater ſinners than the reſt; but that, without a ſpeedy repentance, they ſhould all ſhare in ſome ſuch-like dreadful fate.

THE feaſt being over, the ſcribes and *Phariſees*, who miſſed him there, ſent ſome of their ſpies after him to watch his words and actions, and to catch ſome matter of accuſation againſt him. The firſt thing theſe laid hold on was, his and his diſciples eating with unwaſhed hands, contrary to the traditions of the antients, and the conſtant cuſtom of the *Phariſaic* ſect. *Jeſus* eaſily exploded this accuſation, by ſhewing them the hypocriſy of cleanſing the hands, diſhes, and other veſſels, whilſt their hearts, which did moſt want it, were careleſsly left in all their filth of rapine, deceit, and other real defilements. But he went further to ſhow the miſchiefs

[g] Ibid. ver. 4. [h] John vii. 1, & ſeq. [i] Luke xiii. 1, & ſeq.

ther world on account of his crime. The words run thus in the verſion (17). *Lord——ſhew whether of theſe two thou haſt choſen, that he may take part in this miniſtry and apoſtleſhip, from which* Judas *by tranſgreſſion fell, that he might go into his own place.* Whereas theſe laſt words ought more properly to be rendered, that he, *viz.* the perſon now to be choſen, may go into his (that is, *Judas*'s) place, that is, may fill his vacant office (18).

(17) Acts i. 24, 25. (18) *Le Scene, eſſay ubi ſupra.*

ariſing

arising from too close an adherence to those traditions, a great part of which, though plainly opposite to the divine law, were yet preferred to it in point of authority and observance. He instanced in several particulars, especially that abominable one, by which they had made void the only command with a promise, that of children honouring and succouring their parents [k]. He not only shewed them the impiety of some, but the unreasonableness and stupidity of others, of those traditions; such as those that absolved a man that swore by the temple, but not him that swore by the gold of the temple, or him that swore by the altar, though not him that swore by the gift that was on it; though, as he justly observed to them, it was the temple that sanctified the gold, and the altar that sanctified the gift. These severe reflections did so much the more gravel these *Pharisaic* spies, as they seemed to come down to the capacity of the meanest of his audience, and could not but impure the people with a singular contempt for those expounders of the law, as well as with a great veneration for himself.

To avoid therefore the persecutions which were likely to be raised against him from that quarter, he withdrew himself towards the coasts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and entered into a house privately, being unwilling to be known there; but it was soon beset by a great number of sick folk, who flocked to him to be cured. Among these was a *Pagan* woman (K), who yet addressed him with the title of *Lord*, and *Son of* David, and earnestly intreated him in behalf of her daughter, who was tormented with a devil. *Jesus* at first seemed so far to overlook her, that his disciples begged of him either to grant her suit, or dismiss her with a denial. The woman, becoming thereupon more importunate, received this unexpected repulse from him, that it was not fit to deprive the children of their bread, to cast it unto dogs; but she, nothing discouraged at so mortifying an answer, threw herself at his feet, and owned herself indeed unworthy of a child's

[k] Matth. xv. 1, & seq. Mark vii. 1, & seq. & alib.

(K) St. *Mark* calls her a *Syro-Phœnician*, because she was an inhabitant of *Phœnice*, of which *Sidon* was the metropolis, that province having been joined by conquest to that of *Syria* *, St *Matthew*, who wrote in *Hebrew* or *Syriac*, calls her a *Canaanite*, because *Phœnice* was the antient seat of the *Canaanites*, *Sidon* being the eldest son of *Canaan* (19).

* *See before, Vol. II. p.* 295, & *Vol. VIII. p.* 500. (19) *Vid.* Genes. x. 15. & *Vol. II. p.* 302.

portion.

portion; but at the same time humbly expostulated with him, that the whelps were permitted to feed on the crumbs that fell from their masters table. *Jesus* highly commended her singular faith, and pronounced her daughter healed; and the woman highly satisfied with his promise, returned home, where she found her daughter sitting on the bed and perfectly cured [l]. *Heals the Syro-Phœnician's daughter.*

SHORTLY after this, *Jesus* went more eastwards towards the head of *Jordan*, and took a progress through *Decapolis*, (L), where, among other miraculous cures, he gave speech and hearing to a man born deaf and dumb, insomuch, that the astonished multitude cried out; *That he had done all things well, and made the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak* [m]. He was followed by the multitude from thence into some desert mountain, where he tarried three days with them, teaching them, and healing all their sicknesses of whatever kind. But as they had brought no sufficient quantity of provisions, *Jesus* pitying their case, and being unwilling to send them away empty, signified his design to his disciples; and finding that they had still seven loves and a few fishes, he multiplied both, as he had done before, into a sufficient quantity, to satiate four thousand men besides women and children; and seven baskets full, which the disciples gathered of the remaining fragments [n]; after which he dismissed the multitude, and crossed the lake of *Tiberias* towards the south-east parts of *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha* (M). Here he was accosted again by *Multiplies seven loaves among four thousand.*

[l] Matth. ibid. ver. 21, & seq. Mark vii. 24, & seq. [m] Matth. ibid. 31, & seq. Mark viii. 1, & seq. [n] Iid. ibid. & seq.

(L) A canton in *Palestine*, so called from its ten cities, situate some on this, and some on the other, side of *Jordan*, the capital of which was *Scythopolis*; it was mostly inhabited by *Gentiles*.

(M) It is not easy to know, whether these be two names of the same place, or two different ones, nor to guess where their situation was, only some where upon the coasts of the sea of *Tiberias*. For so much St. *Mark* intimates, when he says, that *Jesus*, crossing that sea, came to *Dalmanutha* (20); and St. *Matthew*, speaking of the same thing, says, he came to the coasts of *Magdala* (21). Some manuscripts of this last have *Magedan* and *Magdan* instead of *Magdala*. This makes it next to impossible to guess with any probability at their situation; for which reason we shall refer those

(20) *c.* viii. 10. (21) xv. *ult.*

by ſome of the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*, who came to aſk of him a ſign; to whom having anſwered as formerly, that they ſhould have no other but that of the prophet *Jonah*, he ſailed back, and left them to make the application. In their paſſage, he bid his diſciples beware of the leaven of the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*, which caution gave them a ſtrange kind of an alarm, becauſe they had forgot to take ſome proviſion with them; but after he had put them in mind of his two late miracles on the loaves, they came at length to underſtand, that the leaven, he forewarned them againſt, was the pernicious doctrines of thoſe two ſects [o]. Upon his landing at *Bethſaida*, the native place of ſome of his diſciples, a blind man was brought to him to be reſtored to his ſight. *Jeſus* could not refuſe his help to ſuch objects; but, as he had received ſuch ungrateful returns from the people of that city, for the many miracles he had wrought among them [p], he was unwilling to aggravate their guilt by freſh ones. Taking therefore the blind man with him out of the town, he reſtored him to his ſight, and bid him go directly to his home, without entering into the city again [q].

Cures a blind man.

Being come to the borders of *Syria*, in the neighbourhood of *Cæſarea Philippi*, a city built by *Philip* the tetrarch

[o] Iid. xvi. 1, & ſeq. Mark viii. 10, & ſeq. [p] Vid. Matth. xi. 21. [q] Mark viii. 22. & ſeq.

who have a mind to know the conjectures of the learned, to the authors quoted in the margin (22).

The laſt quoted author ſuppoſes *Dalmanutha* to be the ſame with *Medan*, a pleaſant place near the *Phiala*, or ſpring of the *Jordan*, where a kind of fair is kept, and much reſorted to all the ſummer. *Hegeſippus*, it ſeems, calls that place *Melda* and *Meldan*, from which he thinks *Dalman* to be a corruption, by degrees ſtretched out into *Dalmanutha*. This is going very far for an etymology, and yet it is by far the beſt we have met with, and perhaps nearer than that of our learned *Hammond*, who takes it to be the *Meggiddo* mentioned by the prophet (23), and famous for the death of two *Jewiſh* kings, *Ahaziah* and *Joſiah* (24).

Magdala is a corruption of the *Hebrew Migdol*, ſignifying *a high tower*. There might be many places of that name in *Judæa*, as well as in the neighbouring provinces; and if this *Medan* or *Meldan* was the ſame with *Dalmanutha*, then *Magdala* may have been ſome famous tower or land-mark leading to it, or ſome ſtrong caſtle or fortreſs belonging to it. All which is at beſt but conjecture.

(22) *Euſeb. Hieron in loc. Hebr. Reland. Lightfoot, Hammon, Calmet, & al.* (23) Zechar. xii. 11. (24) 2 Kings ix. 27. xxiii. 29.

of

of that canton, the ſon of *Herod the Great*, as was hinted a little higher, he began to queſtion his diſciples, who had by this time been about a year choſen into the apoſtleſhip, what the *Jews* commonly thought of him? Being anſwered, that he was ſuppoſed by ſome to be *John the Baptiſt*, by others *Elias*, or ſome other prophet, he aſked them, what their own opinion was of him? To this *Peter* anſwered for himſelf, as well as for the reſt, whoſe judgment concerning him he could not but know, and affirmed him poſitively to be *the Meſſiah, the Son of God.* It was upon this noble confeſſion that Chriſt ſurnamed him *Peter*, or *Rock*, and promiſed him upon that rock to build his church, to give him the keys of his heavenly kingdom, and the power of binding and looſing; ſo that which of the two ſentences he pronounced upon earth, ſhould be ratified in heaven. But he charged him and the reſt of his collegues not to let it be ſo much as whiſpered abroad, that he was the Meſſiah or Chriſt, till he was riſen from the dead [r].

The Jews opinion of Chriſt.

Peter's noble confeſſion of him.

FROM this time finding their faith ſo well founded, he began to open a myſtery to them, which they little dreamed of, but which it was high time for them to be acquainted with; namely, that of his ſufferings and death at *Jeruſalem*. *Peter*, thunder-ſtruck as it were, at ſuch an unexpected diſcovery, could not forbear crying out, *Lord, far be it from thee, that ever any ſuch thing ſhould befall thee*; but he preſently received ſuch a ſevere rebuke from him, as gave him to underſtand, that he was but a novice in the doctrines of man's redemption and ſelf-denial. He took therefore that fair opportunity to rid them of all their prejudices concerning a temporal kingdom, and to aſſure them, that there was no way for them, or any other of his diſciples, to enter into his heavenly one, but by treading in his ſteps, and going from the croſs to that glorious crown, which waited for them at the end of their race. He concluded this ſorrowful diſcourſe with aſſuring them, that ſome of thoſe that were there preſent ſhould not ſee death, till they had ſeen the beginnings of this his kingdom powerfully diſplayed before them [s] (N). But

Chriſt *foretells his ſufferings and death.*

[r] Matth. xvi. 13, & ſeq. Luke ix. 18, & ſeq. & alib [s] Matth. ibid. verſ 22, & ſeq. Luke ubi ſupra, verſ 22, & ſeq. Mark viii 31, & ſeq.

(N) Accordingly he gave them ſoon after ſeveral ſure indices of it: Firſt, in his glorious transfiguration, then in his reſurrection, aſcenſion, in the wonderful change that was wrought on them by

But as he had given ſuch a kind of foretaſte of his ſufferings and death, as could not but make a deep effect upon them, conſidering that they had always looked on him as the reſtorer of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, and continued to do ſo even after his reſurrection [t]; he thought fit to give ſome of the moſt intimate of them a ſpecimen of his future glory.

Transfigured upon the mount.

THESE were *Peter*, and *James*, and *John*, whom he took up with him to an exceeding high mountain, generally believed to have been mount *Tabor*, or *Thabor*, deſcribed in a former volume †, and was there transfigured before them: This happened whilſt he was at prayer [u], when they ſuddenly beheld a luſtre darting from his face, outſhining even that of the ſun. His garments contracted a ſplendid whiteneſs exceeding that of ſnow. *Moſes* and *Elias* appeared immediately after, in all the brightneſs of their glorified ſtate, and conferred with him about the ſufferings and death which he was ſhortly to undergo at *Jeruſalem*, and for which he was to be exalted above every name in heaven or earth [w]. During this extraordinary intercourſe the three apoſtles, whether overpowered with the heavenly viſion, and fallen into a kind of trance; or whether it happened at night, when their eyes were uſed to be cloſed with ſleep; they found themſelves in a kind of ſlumber for ſome time, from which being at length recovered, they beheld the glory, wherewith their maſter and his two heavenly viſitors were ſurrounded; and *Peter*, in a kind of ecſtatic ſurprize, cried out, *Lord, how good is it for us to be here! Let us make three tabernacles, one for you, one for* Moſes, *and the third for* Elias (O),

[t] Vid. Acts i. 6. † See Vol. III. p. 101, & A. [u] See Luke ix. 28, & ſeq. and the parallels. [w] Conf Pſ. cxxxviii. 2, & Philip. ii. 9, and Vol. IX. p. 536, note.

the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, when they came to ſee and taſte of that ſpiritual kingdom, which they had before but the moſt imperfect notion of; in the ſucceſs of the goſpel through the greateſt part of the world, in ſpight of all the oppoſition of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*; and, laſtly, in the dreadful vengeance he took againſt the former, by the arms and power of the latter, according to his formal prediction of that laſt cataſtrophe. All which will be beſt ſeen in the ſequel.

(O) *Bede* informs us (25), that, in conſideration of this requeſt of the apoſtle, the chriſtians in after-times built three ſumptuous churches on the top of that mount, which were had in great reverence, and very much reſorted to by the devout pilgrims.

(25) *Homil. in Matth. xvi.*

being

being ſcarcely ſenſible of what he ſaid. Their ſurprize increaſed, when they found themſelves ſurrounded by a bright luminous cloud; ſoon after which they heard a voice from heaven, ſaying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed: hear ye him.* At theſe words they remained proſtrate on the ground, ſtruck with wonder and amazement, till their maſter came and raiſed them up; when, upon their looking about, they were ſurpriſed to find him alone, and in his uſual dreſs and appearance[x].

THEY came down ſoon after to rejoin the reſt of their company, and, in the way, *Jeſus* gave *Peter*, and his two aſſociates, a ſtrict charge to conceal the viſion till he was riſen from the dead. Theſe laſt words cauſed a freſh queſtion among them, what the expreſſion of his riſing from the dead ſhould mean; for, it ſeems, they could not yet perſuade themſelves of what he had ſo lately told them concerning his death at *Jeruſalem*. However, they took care not to ſpeak of his tranſfiguration till after his reſurrection. St. *Peter*, by his ſecond epiſtle, which he wrote a little before his own death[y], appears to have retained ſtill the moſt lively impreſſion of it by that ſhort, but elegant deſcription he gives of it there[z], though he owns at the ſame time the evidence which is drawn from the teſtimony of the prophets to be ſuperior to it. By that time they were got to the foot of the mountain, where a great multitude, and among them ſome *Phariſees*, waited for them, and had had no ſmall ſtrife with thoſe diſciples of his, whom *Jeſus* had left behind him; before he could well inquire into the occaſion of their diſpute, a man preſſed through the croud, and fell proſtrate at his feet, and implored his aſſiſtance in the behalf of his ſon, who was miſerably tormented with a dumb demon, by whom he was ſometimes hurried into the fire, and at other times into the water, and was become ſuch a diſmal object of pity, that he had brought him to his diſciples, but that they had not been able to give him any relief. *Jeſus*, moved with the deepeſt compaſſion at this doleful ſtory, could not forbear upbraiding both his diſciples and the whole *Jewiſh* generation with their want of faith; and, to convince them the more powerfully of it, ordered the child to be brought before him; and, whilſt he was in the ſtrongeſt convulſions and agonies, and his ſorrowful father beſeeching him in moſt moving terms, only returned him this anſwer, that, if he could believe, the cure of his ſon would be eaſily performed. At theſe words

Comes down from the mount.

[x] Matth. xvii. 1, & ſeq. Mark ix. 2, & ſeq. Luke ix. 28, & ſeq.
[y] Chap. i. v. 13, 14. [z] Ibid. v. 16, & ſeq.

the

the father immediately cried out, *Lord, I believe, supply my unbelief*; and *Jesus*, rebuking the evil spirit, forced him to go out, not without hideous cries, and leaving the boy breathless on the ground, insomuch that the by-standers believed him dead. But *Jesus* soon undeceived them, and, taking him by the hand, raised him up, and delivered him to his father perfectly cured. As soon as they had withdrawn themselves from the astonished multitude, his disciples begged of him to know the reason, why they had in vain attempted to cast this devil out? to whom he answered, that all their disappointments in general were owing to their want of faith; but that this particular one was owing to their neglect of fasting and prayer, which alone could obtain a sufficient power from heaven to expel that kind of evil spirits [a].

Heals a demoniac.

Foretels his crucifixion and resurrection.

Jesus having observed the three, at their coming down from the mount, questioning about his resurrection, took this opportunity, as they were moving towards *Capernaum*, and freed from the crouds, to speak to the twelve afresh concerning his approaching death; and to assure them, that he should be betrayed into wicked hands, to be crucified, but that he should rise again on the third day. But their heads seem to have been so filled with a notion of an earthly kingdom, that, instead of desiring him to explain further to them the grating mystery of his cross, they were rather debating how he was likely to dispose of his new dignities, which they had more immediately in view. This dispute lasted till they were got to the city, where the collectors asked them, whether their master did not pay the usual tribute (P)? and *Peter*, who knew his disposition to give God and

[a] Matth. xvii. 14, & seq. Mark ix. 14, & seq. Luke ix. 37, & seq.

(P) Several interpreters have thought the tribute-money here exacted, to have been that which every one was to pay yearly to the temple; and that *Jesus* pronounced himself exempt from it, on account of his being the Son of God. But we rather think with *Beza*, that it was the capitation-money, which had been made in the time of *Cyrenius*, after *Archelaus*'s banishment; of which we have lately spoke. For, as our Saviour seems to observe to St. *Peter* here, it was a tax imposed upon the *Jews* by the arbitrary will of *Cæsar*, against justice and equity; because, by their former alliances with *Rome*, they were to be free from all such imposts. However, to avoid giving offence, or too great a countenance to the pernicious *Gaulonitish* faction, *Jesus* rather chose to work a miracle, than refuse to conform to the law of the conqueror,

and *Cæsar* their due, answered them in the affirmative. *Jesus*, however, expressed himself to him in such manner, as plainly hinted that tribute to be due only from strangers, and not from the children, or those who are free-born. Nevertheless, added he to *Peter*, to prevent giving any offence on that account, go and cast thy hook into the lake, and in the mouth of the first fish thou takest, thou wilt find a piece of money (Q); pay that for thee and me [b].

Pays the tribute.

As soon as *Peter* was returned, *Jesus* asked them, what they had been disputing about in their way thither, whilst they, conscious of their ill-timed ambition, held their peace. But *Jesus*, who knew it perfectly well, taking a child in his arms, expressly told them, that the only way of becoming great in his heavenly kingdom was, to become like that little child in innocence and humility; and that the more nearly they resembled him in those two excellent virtues, the peculiar foundation of his religion, and of all christian virtues, the greater and higher would their rank be there; whereas pride and ambition, the bane of his new and divine institution, were the ready means to exclude them from having any share or title to that glorious kingdom. Here one of the apostles interrupted him, to acquaint him, that they had observed a man take upon him to cast out devils in his name, and had forbidden him, because he thought himself above following them. But *Jesus* blamed his untimely zeal, since no man could work miracles in his name, but out of some due

Reproves the ambition of his disciples.

[b] Matth. ibid. 22,& seq. Mark & Luke ubi supra, ad fin.

queror, and bring thereby a greater mischief upon himself and nation.

It seems, as if by this law or tax every man had been obliged to inrol himself in some city, whether of his nativity or abode. *Jesus* had made his chief residence at *Capernaum*, after he had forsook *Nazareth*. *Peter* had done the same in all likelihood, and that is the reason why he bids him give the piece of money for them both, without mentioning any thing of the other apostles, who might be inrolled at *Bethsaida*, or some other town near the lake.

(Q) This piece the *Greek* calls *Stater*, and the *Hebrew* or *Syriac* אסתירא, *astira*; it was equal to the double shekel, and was worth about half a crown of our money (26).

(26) *De hoc vid. int. al. Brerewood de ponder. Bernard de mensur. & Prideaux in præf. ad connect. Beza, & al. in Matt. ubi supra.*

regard

regard to his person and character [c]; then, resuming his figurative discourse, he told his audience, that whosoever should receive one of these little children, or meek and humble disciples, the least favour bestowed on them, though but a cup of water, in his name, should not fail of a reward. On the other hand, added he, whosoever shall presume to despise or give them just cause of offence (as it is indeed scarcely possible for men of that low and humble character to escape such a contemptuous treatment from a haughty and degenerate world), such indignities will meet with the same severe punishment, as if offered to my own person, or even to God himself, whose greatest favourites they are. But whilst mankind entertain a spirit so contrary to that of my gospel, they will hardly ever be free from such pernicious offences; and this is the reason why I, who am come to save that which is in danger of being lost, am so earnest in warning you against them. If a good shepherd find, that one in a hundred of his sheep is gone astray, how readily doth he leave the rest, to go and fetch back the straggling one! and how much greater pleasure would it be to me to recal every poor straggling mortal, who know how desirous my heavenly father is that none of them should perish, but that they may all be saved!

Recommends humility.

Charity.

But I tell you moreover, that you should be so far from offending these meek disciples of mine, who are incapable of giving you the least just provocation to it, that you ought to avoid even retaliating the wrongs and offences that are done to you. You all stand in great need of forgiveness from your heavenly father; but how can you ever expect it from him, if you refuse it to your fellow-creatures? In offences of a different nature, and of ill tendency to religion, your duty is to admonish the offender, first in the privatest manner; if this fails, repeat it before one or two witnesses; if this doth not reclaim him, declare his offence to the church; and if he rejects their admonition and censure, let him be rescinded from it; and, till he return and submit, look upon him as an infidel; pity and pray for him, but avoid all familiar intercourse with him. For here I repeat it again, whatever sentence is thus regularly passed upon such an obstinate offender by you here on earth, shall be ratified in heaven. For whatever any number of you, though ever so small, thus gathered in my name and spirit, shall agree to ask from above, I will surely be in the midst of them, to di-

[c] Mark ibid. ver. 38, 39. Luke ix. 49.

rect

rect and help their prayers, and ſend them home with the deſired bleſſing.

HERE *Peter*, finding that an offender was to be forgiven, if private admonition reclaimed him, aſked his maſter, how often he muſt repeat that forgiveneſs? whether ſo far as ſeven times? and was anſwered, not only as far as ſeven, but as ſeventy times ſeven times. But to prevent their being ſcared at ſuch an unlimited number, he explained to them the unreaſonableneſs, as well as danger, of an unforgiving temper, by the ſignificant parable of a wicked ſervant, who, having had the vaſt debt of ten thouſand talents mercifully forgiven by his lord, went and arreſted a fellow-ſervant for a poor hundred pence, and, without any regard to his intreaties and tears, threw him into a gaol; for which mercileſs cruelty his lord condemned him to a condign puniſhment. The application was eaſy, and the force of the parallel eaſily felt; but *Jeſus* was pleaſed to corroborate it, by aſſuring them on his infallible word, that they muſt expect no forgiveneſs from his heavenly Father, unleſs they were willing and ready to forgive each other their treſpaſſes [d]. *Forgiveneſs.*

AFTER a ſhort ſtay at *Capernaum*, the feaſt of tabernacles drawing near, ſome of his near relations, who were, it ſeems, the backwardeſt to believe in him, obſerving what a long ſtay he had made in *Galilee*, and how the fear of the *Jews* had made him avoid going into *Judæa* [e], took upon them to reprove him for it, telling him, that, if his deſign was to make himſelf known to the world, he ought to go and ſhew himſelf at *Jeruſalem* to the great concourſe of people that were juſt ready to flock to that feaſt, inſtead of hiding himſelf in thoſe obſcure corners of *Galilee*. *Jeſus*, inſtead of reproving their temerity, only took occaſion to remind them, that they indeed had nothing to fear there from the *Jews*; but that it was otherwiſe with him, againſt whoſe life the heads of that nation were more buſily plotting at this time than ever. He therefore told them, that they might go thither as ſoon as they pleaſed; but as to himſelf, he would take his own time. He ſtaid not long, however, after them, but went thither in the privateſt manner he could, for fear of awaking the jealouſy of his enemies [f]. He choſe to go through ſome parts of *Samaria*, and ſent one or two of his diſciples to prepare a lodging for him at one of their towns on the road; but theſe, according to their uſual rancour, underſtanding that he was going to *Jeruſalem* to the approaching feaſt, refuſed to give him any entertainment; which ſo exaſperated his company, that Jeſus *goes to the feaſt of tabernacles.*

[d] MATTH. xviii. 15, ad fin & alib. [e] JOHN vii. 1, & ſeq.
[f] Ibid ver. 4, & ſeq.

the two *Boanerges*, whom we mentioned in a late note, were for bringing down fire from heaven to consume that ungodly place. But *Jesus* gave them so severe a rebuke, as made them sensible how diametrically opposite such a revengeful and murdering spirit was to that meek and charitable one, which brought him from heaven to save mankind [g].

Appoints seventy disciples.

BEFORE he reached *Jerusalem*, he was pleased to appoint another college of disciples, to the number of seventy, answering to the number of the elders chosen by *Moses* to be his assistants [h], as that of the twelve apostles did to the twelve tribes of *Israel* (R). These he sent also by two and two, and with the same instructions and miraculous power which he had given to the twelve apostles; with this difference only, that the former were permitted to go to any city of *Israel*, but these only to those particular cities where himself designed to come after and preach [i]. By this time the feast of tabernacles was come, when there was no small search after, nor small strife about, him; some doubting whether he would venture himself there, some affirming him to be a prophet, others an impostor. He appeared at length publickly in the temple about the latter end of the feast, and, to their great surprize, taught boldly and openly there; and displayed such a superior knowledge of the sacred books, that they could not forbear asking one another in a kind of amazement, whence a man of so mean an education could ever attain to it? When *Jesus* heard this reasoning, he assured them, that his doctrine was not from men, but from heaven; and that if any of them

Teaches in the temple.

[g] LUKE ix. 51, & seq. [h] Vid. Exod. xviii. pass. DEUT. i. 9. See also Vol. II. p. 547, & Vol. III. p 3. & (H). [i] LUKE x. 1, & seq.

(R) The names of these seventy or seventy two (for they are indifferently called by either number, the first because expressly mentioned by St. *Luke*, and the latter from a supposition that he uses the round number instead of that of seventy-two, answering to seven out of each of the twelve tribes) are mostly unknown to us We find only twenty-eight of them in *Eusebius* (27), *Epiphanius* (28), and *Papias* (29), chiefly mentioned in the acts, they are as follows: *Matthias*, *Mark*, *Luke*, *Barnabas*, *Stephen*, *Philip*, *Prochorus*, *Nicanor*, *Timon*, *Parmenas*, *Nicolas*, *Justus*, *Apelles*, *Sosthenes*, *Rufus*, *Niger*, *Cephas*, *Thaddeus*, *Aristion*, *John*, *Barsabas*, *Andronicus*, *Junius*, *Silas*, *Lucius*, *Menahem*, *Manason*, and *Ananias*, the same who baptized St *Paul* (30).

(27) *Eccl. hist.* l. i. c. 12. *Vid. & Mills in Luke* x. 1. (28) *De Christ* c. 1. (29) *Ap. Euseb. ubi supra*, l. iii. c. 39. (30) *Acts* ix. 10, & *seq.*

were

were but ſincerely diſpoſed to do the will of God, they would ſoon be convinced of the truth of what he ſaid. Whilſt therefore ſome admired his courage, in ſpeaking ſuch bold truths at the hazard of his life, and affirmed his miracles to demonſtrate him to be the true Meſſiah, others, more obſtinate, objected the meanneſs of his birth and parentage. To theſe he anſwered, that whatever they might know of his earthly deſcent, they were wholly ignorant of his heavenly one; all which he inforced by ſuch irrefragable proofs, that a great number of them began to believe openly in him, which *when the Jewiſh* magiſtrates knew, they ſent ſome of their officers to apprehend him. But as his time was not yet come, inſtead of following their inſtructions, they came back filled with admiration, and told thoſe chiefs, that they never heard a man ſpeak like him. [k].

ON the laſt day of the feaſt, in which they uſed the ceremony of drawing water, and bringing of wood into the temple, concerning which the reader may ſee what we have ſaid in a former volume *, *Jeſus* took occaſion to entertain his audience with a diſcourſe on thoſe living waters, which were to be imparted to thoſe who believed in him, alluding, as the evangeliſt obſerves, to thoſe gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, which were ſhortly after to be poured on his church. This laſt ſpeech cauſed a freſh diviſion among them, ſome believing that none but the Meſſiah could expreſs himſelf in that exalted manner; others objecting his being an obſcure *Galilean*, whereas the Meſſiah was, they rightly ſaid, to be born in *Bethlehem*; for ſo he was, though they knew it not. But the *Phariſees*, more exaſperated than the reſt, to hear ſuch numbers of the multitude, and particularly the officers ſent to ſeize on him, declare themſelves ſo openly for him, were the loudeſt in their invectives againſt him and them, alledging, that none of their learned rabbies or rulers, or indeed any but an accurſed ignorant mob, had believed on him. Here *Nicodemus*, who was his diſciple, though ſecretly, undertook to moderate the difference, by reminding thoſe hot headed zealots, that the law did not permit them to condemn a man in that raſh and mercileſs manner, and without hearing what he had to ſay in his own defence. This ſpeech galled them ſo much the more, becauſe though they were conſcious of the charge, they dared not bring it to ſo fair an iſſue. They therefore aſked him in a tumultuous manner, whether he was a *Galilean?* and bid him go and ſearch the ſcriptures, and he would find that that province never yet produced a pro-

The Phariſees *inveigh againſt him.*

[k] JOHN vii. 11, & ſeq. * Vol. III. p 183, & 266.

phet (S); after which the assembly was broke up for that time [l].

An adultress brought before him.

Jesus went that night out of the city, and retired towards the mount of olives, and returned again early in the morning, and taught in the treasury of the temple, where the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* brought an adultress before him, said to be taken in the very act (T). We have seen in a former volume, that the *Mosaic* law condemned such offenders to death †. and they failed not to remind him of it; but pretended to have a desire to know what he thought was to be done in this case, that they might find some accusation against him, such as his too great severity, if he condemned; or if he did not, his too great indulgence and disregard to the law; or, in either case, his assuming a judicial power. *Jesus*, who easily perceived their malicious design, stooped down, and made as if he did not hear them, but was writing something with his finger on the ground. This made them more earnest to make him declare his mind, upon which he rose up, and told them, that he, who was free from sin, should cast the first stone, and then returned to his former attitude. This unlooked-for answer filled those hypocrites, not only with wonder, but with such shame and remorse, that they withdrew themselves one after another, and left the woman alone with him. When *Jesus* stood up and found all her accusers gone, he dismissed her with this mild reproof, *Go thy way, and sin no more*, and then resumed his discourse to his audience [m].

[l] John ibid. vers. 37, ad fin. † See Vol. III. p. 318.
[m] John viii, 1, & seq.

(S) And yet we have formerly shewn, that *Jonah*, who is universally acknowledged by them to have been a prophet, was a native of *Gathepher*, a town in the tribe of *Zebulun* in *Galilee* †, so that these men must have been either very ignorant or perverse to have affirmed such a palpable falshood.

(T) This whole story of the woman is omitted in the *Syriac* and some other antient versions. Those who conclude from our Saviour's absolving or rather refusing to condemn her, according to the *Mosaic* law (31), that adultery ought not therefore to be looked upon as a capital crime under the gospel, may as well argue against the lawfulness of dividing inheritances, because he refused in the like manner to intermeddle with such an affair, when desired by one of the parties (32).

† *Vid sup Vol. IV. p.* 62, (A). (31) *Deut. xvii.* 7. (32) *Luke xii.* 13.

He

HE began with telling them, that he was the true light of the world, and that thoſe who followed him were free from darkneſs. This expreſſion exaſperated the *Phariſees* afreſh, who thought that title to belong to them alone. They therefore deſpiſed him, as bearing teſtimony of himſelf, but were anſwered, that they indeed were peculiarly famed for bearing a pompous teſtimony and complimenting one another; but as for him, he had the teſtimony of *Moſes* and the prophets, of *John the Baptiſt*, and above all, that of his heavenly father, of which the ſtupendous works, which he wrought before them, were an undeniable proof. But, added he, this will more evidently appear after ye have lifted me up on the croſs; for then ſhall my diſciples find themſelves truly freed from that yoke and thraldom, under which the reſt of the world doth groan. Here the *Phariſees*, not perceiving that he ſpoke of the freedom from ſin and guilt, told him with their wonted aſſurance, that they being *Abraham*'s children, it was out of his power to make them freer than they were, ſince they had never been in bondage to any; but *Jeſus*, inſtead of exploding the falſhood, told them, that if their actions were to determine whoſe children they were, their pride, avarice, perſecuting and murdering ſpirit, and their perverſe oppoſing of all ſaving truths, rather proved them the children of the devil and the ſlaves of ſin, than the free-born off-ſpring of a righteous *Abraham*. The *Jews*, unable to reſiſt ſo juſt a cenſure, contented themſelves with calling him a *Samaritan* and a *demoniac*, but were anſwered, that the zeal which he had conſtantly expreſſed for his father's honour, and the malice with which they had as conſtantly oppoſed him in it, could eaſily determine which of the two did moſt deſerve the appellative of *demoniac*. However, he added, turning to his audience, this I aſſure you of, that he who obeys that divine law which I am preaching unto you, ſhall never die. This equivocal expreſſion raiſed new arguments, as well as new invectives, from the carnal *Jews*, which, in this and ſome other occaſions, we ſhall for brevity omit; tho' they roſe to ſuch height, that they attempted ſeveral times to ſtone him, but he as often miraculouſly conveyed himſelf away from them [n].

The ſeventy return with joy.

UPON his departure from the city, the ſeventy diſciples rejoined him, and with no ſmall joy acquainted him with their ſucceſs, and that the very devils became ſubject unto them. *Jeſus*, though pleaſed with the approaching downfal of ſatan's

[n] Ibid. verſ. 12, & ſeq.

power,

power, yet obſerving that his diſciples ſeemed to expreſs too great a ſatisfaction at their miraculous power, bid them rather rejoice at their having their names written in heaven. Whilſt he was giving them ſome further directions for their rightly diſpenſing of theſe new gifts, a certain doctor of the law aſked him, what he muſt do to be ſaved? *Jeſus* referred him to the *Moſaic* law, the ſum and ſubſtance of which conſiſted in loving God above all things, and our neighbour as one's ſelf. But as the ſtrait-laced *Jews* ſcarcely accounted any but thoſe of their nation and ſect for their neighbour, the lawyer aſked him further, whom he ought to look upon as ſuch? Upon which *Jeſus* put forth that moſt excellent parable of the *Jew* that fell among thieves; and, after having been overlooked and neglected by prieſt and levites, was at length happily relieved by the charitable *Samaritan*. From which he concluded, that our duty to our neighbour was not confined to ſect, nation, or any other circumſtance, but extended to all mankind. In his way to *Galilee*, he ſtopped at a ſmall village called *Bethany*, ſituate on the furtheſt part of the mount of olives, where he was entertained by *Lazarus* and his two ſiſters. Theſe upon his arrival were very differently employed, *Martha* in preparing an elegant ſupper, and *Mary* in liſtening at *Jeſus*'s feet to his heavenly diſcourſe. *Martha*, vexed to ſee her ſiſter *Mary* (U) leave the whole care of the feaſt to her, went and complained of it before him; but, inſtead of her help, ſhe received this ſevere rebuke from *Jeſus*'s mouth, that ſhe incumbered herſelf too much about the trifling affairs of a ſupper, whilſt her wiſer ſiſter was minding the one thing neceſſary, the concerns of another and a better life [o].

Parable of the good Samaritan

Teaches in Galilee.

FROM *Bethany* he proceeded to *Galilee*, where he went about teaching in every ſynagogue, and other convenient places, inſtructing his followers with many excellent parables,

[o] Luke x. 17, ad fin.

(U) This *Mary* has been wrongfully confounded with that ſinful woman, mentioned a little higher, out of the ſame evangeliſt, who doth not tell us her name, but only that ſhe came to be abſolved by *Jeſus*. It doth in no caſe appear, that *Mary*, *Lazarus*'s ſiſter, was ever a woman of that looſe character; on the contrary, *Jeſus*, who often lodged at their houſe, is expreſly ſaid to have had a particular affection for the whole family; we ſhall ſee a pregnant inſtance of it in the ſequel.

and

and confirming all ſtill with ſome new miracles [p]. Among the laſt, he wrought one on the ſabbath day, in ſome *Jewiſh* ſynagogue, on a poor decrepid woman, whom old age and ſickneſs had ſo bowed down, that ſhe had not been able to raiſe herſelf up during the ſpace of eighteen years. *Jeſus*, moved with her miſery, called her to him, and having laid his hands on her, pronounced her free from her infirmity, not without moving the *Phariſaic* indignation and reſentment; but *Jeſus* retorted their reproofs with ſuch powerful arguments and familiar parables, as did at leaſt ſilence them, though all too little to convince them, that doing ſuch good deeds was the proper work of that day. The following is a very pregnant inſtance of it.

Jeſus, after frequent peragrations through *Galilee* and *Judæa*, was come to the feaſt of the dedication of the temple, inſtituted by *Judas Maccabæus*, and mentioned in a former ſection *. He chanced one day, which was the ſabbath, to meet in the ſtreet a man that was born blind, concerning whom his diſciples aſked him, whether the ſins of his parents, or his own, had brought that calamity upon him (W)? *Jeſus* anſwered, that neither his own nor his forefathers ſins were the cauſe of his blindneſs; but that God ſuffered ſuch things to happen for the greater manifeſtation of his unlimited power, adding that he was chiefly come to make a fuller diſplay of it. Having thus ſaid, he ſpit upon the ground, and anointed the blind-man's eyes with the moiſtened earth, and bid him go and waſh himſelf in *Siloam*'s pool. He did ſo, and obtained his ſight, to the no ſmall admiration of all that ſaw him, who could hardly perſuade themſelves that he was the ſame perſon, till he had aſſured them of it. The news of this wonderful cure was ſoon brought to the ſanhedrin, whither the man was alſo brought, and carefully examined; but, upon his acquainting them with the circumſtance of *Jeſus*'s anointing his eyes with the clay made with his ſpittle, a great diſſenſion aroſe among them, one ſide affirming this action to be a breach of the ſabbath, and the other aſking them, how they could ſuppoſe it poſſible for a ſinner and ſabbath-breaker to work ſuch an extraordinary miracle? To

Cures a man that was born blind.

[p] Luke cap. xi, & xii paſſ.

* See before, p. 12, & ſeq. & note (W).

(W) This queſtion plainly proves, that the *Jews* believed the doctrine of the ſoul's ſinning in a pre-exiſtent ſtate, and being puniſhed for it in another. Elſe a man born blind could not be ſuppoſed to have been born ſo on account of his own ſins.

be

be therefore satisfied of the truth of the fact, they ordered his parents to be brought before them, who, upon examination, owned the man to be their son, and to have been born blind; but pretended to be ignorant how he had recovered his sight. Upon their receiving this further evidence, they called the young man in again, and bid him ascribe the glory of his cure to God alone; for as to the man who had wrought it, they knew him to be a sinner and a cheat. After several other inquiries, in which they betrayed the most unaccountable partiality, and inveterate rancour against his divine physician, the young man at length took the liberty to plead in his defence; and to remind them, that since the creation of the world no such cure had ever been wrought on a man born blind, and that it was consequently not only above the power of such a hateful sinner as they represented him, (since all such are in the highest detestation with God) but even above the power of any but a true prophet sent from above.

The sanhedrin condemn him.

Such strong reasoning, accompanied with so much candor and honest boldness, might have wrought on any hearts but those of the *Pharisaic* mould; but these, exasperated to hear themselves so justly reproved by a man whom they accounted altogether born in sin, after a severe and contemptuous rebuke, ordered him to be turned out of the assembly [q] (X). But *Jesus*, who found him soon after in the temple, gave him a more gracious reception, and then, turning to the audience, took occasion from the late partial behaviour of the sanhedrin, to exclaim against those false and pernicious teachers, under the similitude of shepherds and their flocks, and to shew them, that many of those climbed up into the sheep-fold by private and unlawful ways, like thieves and robbers, only to kill and destroy the sheep. That others, who were only hirelings, and had neither property in, nor

[q] John ix. per tot.

(X) The text doth barely say, that they ordered him to be turned out; but some understand it of his being cast out of the synagogue, or, in other words, that they excommunicated him. It is true, they had passed that sentence on every one that should *Jesus* acknowledge to be the Christ (33), and his actually doing so before them all, had laid him liable to it; but it doth not appear from the evangelist, that they pronounced excommunication against him: if they did, he seems to have been the first confessor, as *John the Baptist* had been the first martyr, for the testimony of Christ.

(33) *John ix. 22.*

true

true concern for their flocks, minded nothing but their fleece and their milk; ſo that when they ſaw them in danger from ravenous beaſts, they left them to become a prey, inſtead of protecting and defending them. Hence he proved himſelf to be the true ſhepherd, becauſe he came to give his life for his ſheep, and to procure them wholeſome and laſting paſture. He concluded with telling them, that he had other ſheep than thoſe of the *Jewiſh* kind, to bring into his fold, which would prove more tractable and obedient to his voice, intimating thereby the converſion of the heathen world.

THIS diſcourſe had likewiſe a different effect on his audience, ſome calling him a demoniac, and blaming the reſt for liſtening to him; others aſking, when they had ever known a demoniac utter ſuch excellent truths, or open the eyes of a man born blind[r]?

WE paſs now to the fourth and laſt year of his public miniſtry, an epoch full of the moſt ſurpriſing and ſignal events that ever the world beheld; the redemption of mankind by the blood of the Son of God; his reſurrection, aſcenſion, miſſion of the Holy Spirit; miraculous change wrought on the apoſtles and firſt preachers of chriſtianity; the church of Chriſt planted by the powerful preaching of a few plain and illiterate fiſhermen, confirmed by great and glorious miracles wrought by them, by many ſupernatural gifts beſtowed on them, and by them on the firſt believers and preachers, and in a little time cemented by the blood of innumerable martyrs, and founded on ſo firm and immoveable rock, that neither the powers of earth or hell have ſince been able to deſtroy it. We ſhall omit a great number of his excellent ſermons, parables, ſtrenuous ſtruggles with the incredulous *Jews*, and frequent perſecutions from the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*; but eſpecially a much greater number and variety of miracles which he wrought within this ſhort interval, to come to that celebrated one, which determined the ſanhedrin at length at any rate to put him to death. We mean the raiſing of his friend *Lazarus* from death to life, after he had been four days buried, and corrupting in his grave, and in the preſence of a great multitude of conſiderable *Jews*, who, by reaſon of the nearneſs of *Bethany* to *Jeruſalem*, were come thither from that metropolis to the burial, and were eye-witneſſes of this ſtupendous fact.

Year of the flood, 4035. Of Chriſt, 36.

The laſt year of Chriſt's miniſtry.

Jeſus had deſignedly conveyed himſelf away at ſome diſtance from him, during the time of his ſickneſs, and had at laſt acquainted his diſciples with his death, adding to it, that

He raiſes Lazarus from the dead.

[r] JOHN x. 21ſt.

he would now go and raiſe him up to life. Upon his approaching to *Bethany*, *Martha*, who was informed of his coming, went to meet him at ſome diſtance from the place, and complained to him with tears, that if he had been there, her brother would not have died. *Jeſus* comforted her with the promiſe of his riſing again, but ſhe underſtanding it of the laſt reſurrection, earneſtly intreated him, that he would now uſe his never-failing interceſſion with his heavenly father to have him reſtored to life. Having obtained a gracious promiſe from him, ſhe went in haſte to call her ſiſter, who came accordingly, accompanied with a great number of *Jews*, who were come to comfort her, and, by her haſty departure, ſuppoſed that ſhe was going to vent her tears at her brother's grave. As ſoon as ſhe came in ſight of *Jeſus*, ſhe fell on her knees, and expreſſed her grief in ſuch a pathetic manner, as drew ſome ſighs and tears from him, as well as from the reſt of the by-ſtanders. At length, ſeeing freſh multitudes coming towards him, he deſired the two ſiſters to conduct him to the grave, the ſight of which drew a freſh ſhower of tears from him; inſomuch that the *Jews* wondered, that he, who could give ſight to a man born blind, ſhould not interpoſe the ſame miraculous power to have ſaved ſo dear a friend from death. Whilſt they held this diſcourſe, *Jeſus* ordered the grave-ſtone to be removed, at which *Martha* cried out, *Lord, by this time he ſtinketh!* But he, after a gentle reproof for ſuffering her faith to fail ſo ſoon, addreſſing himſelf to heaven in a pathetic prayer, called out aloud, Lazarus, *come forth*. Upon which he that was dead came out, bound as he was in his funeral dreſs (Y); from which he was, at *Jeſus*'s deſire, immediately looſed [f].

It

[f] John xi. 1, & ſeq.

(Y) This circumſtance, expreſly mentioned by the evangeliſt, renders the miracle ſtill more authentic and unqueſtionable. We are told by him in another place (34), that the cuſtom of the *Jews* (thoſe at leaſt that could afford it) was to embalm the dead with an aromatic mixture of myrrh, aloes, and other gums, mixed with ſpices, with which they rubbed their bodies all over, more or leſs profuſely, according to their circumſtances, or regard to the dead perſon; after which they wrapped their heads all over with a napkin, and their whole body with a ſhroud or winding ſheet, both which they afterwards ſweathed as tightly as they could with proper bandages (35).

(34) *xix.* 39. (35) *De his vid. Jo Nicolas ſepult. Hebræor. Calmet diſſert. in ead. Leo de Moden. cerem. Jud. part.* 5. *c.* 8. *Lamy apparat. & al.*

We

IT is eaſy to imagine either the joy of the two ſiſters, or the ſurpriſe of the reſt of the *Jews*, at the ſight of ſo ſtupendous a miracle; and indeed it wrought ſuch a conviction in the greateſt part of them, that they began now to confeſs him in good earneſt to be the Meſſiah. And not only thoſe who had been witneſſes of it, but vaſt multitudes of others, who, hearing of it from them, came flocking to *Bethany* to be further ſatisfied of it, believed alſo in him. The ſanhedrin was ſoon acquainted with this tranſaction, and were in no ſmall concern how to put an effectual ſtop to this dangerous increaſe both of his fame, and of the number of his diſciples. For, as they rightly argued, if we let him alone and ſuffer him to work ſuch ſignal miracles, all men will believe on him; the conſeq:ence of which will be, that the *jealous* Romans *will come and deſtroy both our place and nation.* At length *Caiaphas*, the then high-prieſt ſtood up and ſpake to this effect: You ſeem to know nothing at all, nor to conſider that it is expedient that one man ſhould die to prevent the ruin of a nation[t]. Little did he or they think he was then inſpired from above, and that he was delivering the will and decrees of heaven, that *Jeſus* ſhould ſuffer death, not for the *Jewiſh* nation only, but for the faithful, which were to be gathered together in him, from the four corners of the earth. For being high-prieſt that

The Jews conſult to put him to death.

Caiaphas *propheſies.*

[t] Ibid. verſ. 47, & ſeq.

We formerly obſerved alſo, that they buried their dead very ſoon †, ſeldom or never keeping them twenty-four hours above-ground. *Lazarus* therefore having been dead four days, muſt have lain at leaſt three of them in his grave, which was a cave cut into the rock and covered with a large ſtone; ſo that it was impoſſible for any cheat or impoſture to be tranſacted with all thoſe circumſtances, ſince if it could be even ſuppoſed, that a perſon could live ſo many days in ſuch a damp and airleſs cave, yet the linen ſweathed on his face and body, and over ſuch a gummy compoſition, muſt have ſmothered him in leſs than ſo many hours.

This was ſo plain and unqueſtionable, that neither any *Jews* there preſent, nor even any of the ſanhedrin, pretended to deny or doubt of the fact, but rather condemned him upon the notoriety of it, and as tending to give riſe to a new ſect, which would indanger their church and ſtate. Of the ſame nature afterwards was the apoſtle's cure of an old cripple; which, though the whole ſanhedrin owned a d acknowledged to be a miracle (36), yet they endeavoured, by the like unjuſtifiable means, to ſuppreſs, and upon the ſame account.

† *Vid. ſup. Vol. III. p.* 360, & *ſeq.* (36) *Vid. Acts iv.* 14, & *ſeq. Conf. cum cap. iii.* 4, & *ſeq.*

year, it pleased God to give him the spirit of prophecy, to utter this great and comfortable truth, and thereby further manifest the accomplishment of the divine oracles, concerning the Messiah's dying for the sins of the world. His advice was readily embraced, and after they had once resolved on his death, they were easily determined to cut off *Lazarus* also, the sight of whom daily increased the number of believers.

But *Jesus*, who knew his own appointed time, as well as the result of their last consultation, withdrew himself into a small city, called *Ephraim*, in the neighbourhood of the wood or wilderness of that name [u], and there continued with his disciples till the approaching feast of the passover. He left the place six days before that feast to go to *Jerusalem*, and took *Bethany* in his way, where *Lazarus* and his sisters entertained him and his disciples at a sumptuous supper; it being a sabbath night, at which times they kept a more plenteous table. Whilst they were eating, *Mary*, to shew her extreme regard to their guest, came and anointed his feet with a precious ointment of spikenard, whose fragrancy filled the whole house. Whilst the disciples were wondering at her profuseness, *Judas*, whom we observed to have been their knavish treasurer, could not conceal his indignation at it, and asking, why the ointment was not rather sold and the money given to the poor? the rest of the twelve seemed also in some measure to join with him in it [x], till *Jesus* had severely rebuked him, and excused her generous action, as an anticipation of his burial rite; adding moreover, that the memorial of it should be preserved to her honour, as far, and as long as, the preaching of his gospel should reach, or endure [y].

On the very next day (Z), *Jesus*, knowing his time to be just at hand, marched now boldly towards *Jerusalem*, whilst his disciples, to whom he had more than once or twice foretold all the circumstances of his future sufferings and death [z], accompanied him with heavy and trembling hearts.

[u] Vid. 2 Sam. xviii. 6, & seq. [x] Conf. Matth. xxvi. 8, Mark xiv. 4. & John xii. 4. [y] John ibid 7. & seq. [z] Vid. Matth. xx. 17, & seq. Mark x. 32, & seq. Luke xviii. 31.

(Z) This happened in this year on the tenth day of the month *Nisan*, answering to the twenty ninth of our *March*, and was the day on which the passover lamb was taken up and presented at *Jerusalem* (37).

(37) *Vid. Usher. & Echard. & sup. Vol III. p.* 170, *& seq.*

A

As for the traytor *Judas*, he conceived ſuch a grudge againſt him at the laſt night's action, that he reſolved to betray him into the hands of his enemies upon the very firſt opportunity. When they were come to *Bethphage* upon mount *Olivet*, within a ſmall mile of *Jeruſalem*, *Jeſus* directed two of his diſciples to a place where two roads met, and bid them bring from thence a ſhe aſs, with a young colt by her, that had never been backed; and if the owners aſked them any queſtions, they ſhould only anſwer, that the Lord had occaſion for them, and they would readily permit them to be brought to him. They brought the aſs and colt accordingly, and having ſpread a garment upon the latter, ſet *Jeſus* on it, and accompanied him to *Jeruſalem*, in a kind of triumph, attended by great multitudes; ſome of whom going before, ſtrewed the way with their garments and green boughs, crying out *Hozanna* (A); *bleſſed is the ſon of* David, *and bleſſed is the king of* Iſrael, *who cometh in the name of the Lord.* Thus was that famous prophecy of *Zechary* fulfilled; *Fear not, O daughter of* Sion, *behold thy king cometh to thee, juſt, humble, and meek, and riding on the fole of an aſs* [a]. The multitudes ſtill increaſing as they went on, the *Phariſees*, which beheld the ſight and heard thoſe acclamations with no ſmall indignation, drew nearer to him, and earneſtly deſired him that he would command at leaſt his diſciples, if not the whole croud, to be ſilent. But *Jeſus* rather choſe to ſilence their own envy, by aſſuring them, that if thoſe ſhould hold their peace, the very ſtones would cry out, and proclaim the divine author of ſo many glorious miracles. But he took a much more effectual method to ſuppreſs the pomp and noiſe of that mock triumph, as well as the *Hozannas* of the multitude, which, he but too well knew, would in a few days be changed into the blaſphemous cry of, *Away with him, crucify him.* For as he drew nearer to *Jeruſalem*, the ſight of that rebellious and unhappy metropolis having revived in his mind the more dreadful proſpect of that approaching ruin, which was now haſtening on upon it, and which he himſelf had more than once

Jeſus *weeps over* Jeruſalem.

[a] Conf. ZECH. ix. 9. ISAIAH lxii, 1. MATH. xxi. 1. ſeq. MARK xi. 1, & ſeq. & alib.

(A) Or rather, according the *Hebrew*, *Hoſhah na*, *Save, we pray*; ſo that this was a kind of prayer or bleſſing uſed by the *Jews*, and taken from the hundred and eighteenth pſalm (38), and ſignified *ſave, prayer we*, and *proſper, Lord, this Son of* David.

(38) *verſ.* 25.

foretold

foretold to his disciples (B), it was then a proper time to damp their untimely joys, by reminding them of it; and here

(B) Particularly in that full, elegant, and pathetic description he gave to them of it, when being near the same place, the twelve desired him to look back, and behold the beauty and magnificence of the temple; the strength and prodigious size of its stones, and the like (39); and where he foretold them, that before the present generation was dead and past, not only that stately and stupendous fabric, but the whole city, would be reduced into a heap of rubbish (40).

And on this occasion it was, that from the likeness of the destruction of the *Jewish* polity, and that of the world, or, (as other perhaps more rightly understand it) the final end of idolatry, irreligion, and every wicked work, ushering in the millenium, in which Christ and his doctrine shall be universally acknowledged and professed throughout the world, during a thousand years; from the near resemblance, I say, of those two dreadful catastrophes, of which the former seems to have been a lively type of the latter; whether as to its prognostics, such an universal degeneracy and apostacy, a general deception by false prophets, lying wonders, abominable wickedness, cruelty, oppression, wars, tumults on the earth, dreadful signs in the heavens; and the like; or, as to its dismal consequences, the horrid destruction of the *Jews* by war, pestilence, and famine, in the former, or of the sinful race of men in the latter, typified by that of *Gog* and *Magog*, and other figurative expressions preceding the milennum; Christ takes occasion to make such a natural, but almost unperceptible, transition, that the primitive christians could not easily distinguish them, but were led into a notion, that he spoke of one and the same catastrophe, which was consequently to happen before the extinction of the then living race.

For it was in this sense that they took the word *generation*, according to which it was also meant, and really fulfilled with respect to the *Jews*; but the word דור *dor*, was no less capable of a larger sense; the *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, &c. having none other or better to express a much longer series of time. Thus they indifferently speak of the generation of the antediluvians, of that under the judges, kings, priests &c. and we have elsewhere more than once observed that they divided the world into three epochas, or, in their style, into three generations, consisting each of two thousand years. The first before, the second under, the law, and the third under the messiah. It was therefore to the exit of this last, that the second part of his prophecy had an eye, when that thorough change was to be wrought in the world, elegantly expressed

(39) *Vid. Matth.* xxiv. 1, & *seq.* (40) *Ibid. vers.* 34. in

here it was, that the dismal scene, having quite disarmed him of his anger and resentment, made him break out into the following compassionate expostulation, mixed with a flood of tears: *Oh that thou hadst but known, at least in these thy latter days, the things that would have conduced to thy peace! but now are they hidden from thee; and now the sad appointed time draws near, when the enemy shall surround thee with trenches, and inclose thee on every side, butcher thy children within thy bosom, and level thee with the ground, so that not a stone shall be left standing upon another, because thou wouldst not know the time of thy visitation* [b] (C). The people, however, more

[b] Conf. LUKE xix. 37, & seq. & JOHN xii. 12, & seq.

in the pruphetic writings by a new heaven, and a new earth, a new *Jerusalem*, &c.

As long therefore as the mistake of the primitive christians in cutting that epocha so very short, had no other tendency than to make them more fervent, zealous, and heavenly-minded, more patient and heroic under sufferings and persecutions, and more fervent and diligent in preaching the gospel; the inspired writers might have thought it a sufficient warrant for their overlooking it. But St. *Peter*, among others, seems to have taken particular care to rectify it, and to obviate the objection which might be raised from their non-completion at the expected time, by reminding them that what they mistook for a delay, was not really such, since with God a thousand years were but as one day (41). A phrase well understood then by the *Jews*, to whom he wrote, and which alluded most probably to the notion of the six days of the creation, presignifying the six thousand years duration of the world, before the great and glorious change, which it was to receive at Christ's second coming.

(C) Those who maintain the doctrine of predestination, though even in the more moderate sense of it, called by them the *Sublapsarian system*, would do well to consider, what a horrid scene of mockery and injustice they make the son of God, and Redeemer of the world, to act here upon this melancholy occasion. For if the *Jews* blindness and infidelity, their persecuting and murdering of him, their obstinacy in rejecting him and his doctrine, and those dreadful punishments which were shortly to be the consequence of it, were not only absolutely unavoidable by them, but were owing to the want of that supernatural grace and power, which he only came to impart to some few elect, whilst he wholly excluded the rest of mankind from it; with what sincerity could he say to them, even with tears, *Oh that thou hadst known at least*, &c. or with what

(41) 2 *Peter iii.* 8. *Conf. cum Revel. xx.* 6.

justice

more full of the preſent triumph, than mindful of his diſtant threatnings, went and entered the city with their uſual acclamations, and drew ſuch a vaſt concouſe after them, to know who this prophet was for whom they made all this buſtle, that the whole city was in an uproar; and well it might, when they heard them ſay, that it was *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, the promiſed Meſſiah, and remembered at the ſame time what a ſevere ſentence the ſandedrin had paſſed againſt not only him, but every one who ſhould acknowledge him to be the Chriſt.

Monday *before his paſſion.*

Jeſus repaired immediately to the temple, and, as he had formerly done, expelled all the mercantile brood from that ſacred place, and convinced them of his authority in ſo doing, by working ſeveral cures there on the ſick, lame, and blind, whilſt the wondering multitude continued their loud acclamations of *Hoſannah to the ſon of* David [c], to the great ſcandal of the *Phariſees*, who did all they could to ſilence them. But *Jeſus*, who knew the main ſpring of all their pretended zeal, not only ſtopped their inveCtives, by reminding them of that prophecy out of the pſalmiſt; *Out of the mouths of babes and ſucklings thou haſt perfected praiſe*; but expoſed their malice and obſtinacy by ſuch ſtrong arguments and pungent parables, that they would doubtleſs have laid hold on him, had not the fight of ſo great a multitude overawed them [d]. There were at this time a number of *Greeks* (D), who were come to the

[c] Conf. Pſ. viii. 2, & Matth. xxi 15. [d] Matth. ibid. 24. ad fin.

juſtice cry out againſt them, *Oh* Jeruſalem, *that murdereſt the prophets*, &c. *how often would I have gathered thee and thy children, with the ſame care and tenderneſs that a hen doth her chickens! and ye would not, therefore*, &c. (42); but there is ſomething ſo monſtrouſly ſhocking and impious both in that ſuppoſition, and in the doCtrine from which it flows of courſe, that we may juſtly wonder, that neither this, nor all the learned treatiſes which have been written againſt it (43), have hitherto been able to explode it; but as the argument belongs no further to our province, than as we are bound to vindicate the divine juſtice and mercy diſplayed in the goſpel, we ſhall gladly diſmiſs it.

(D) Theſe were properly neither *Jews* nor *Gentiles*, but what the former called *proſelytes of the gate*, of whom we have ſpoken more fully in a former volume †.

(42) *Matth. xxiii. 34. & ſeq.* (43) *Vid int al. Le Clerc, Pilling, Whitby.* † *See Vol. III. p. 293.*

ſcalt,

feaſt, and expreſſed a deſire to ſee him. *Jeſus* readily cauſed them to be called in; and to take off the ſcandal of the croſs; by which he was going to procure the ſalvation of both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, he entertained them with a diſcourſe on his ſufferings, and cloſed it with aſſuring his audience, that thoſe only, who, after his example, were ready to lay down their lives for the ſake of heaven, would be intitled to it. Reflecting next on the glory which God would receive from his death, he broke out into this ejaculation, *Father, glorify thy name*; and was anſwered by a voice from heaven, *I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again.* This was probably meant of the plentiful effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, and that converſion of the *Gentile* world, which was ſhortly to follow his death; but the people, not rightly attending to it, miſtook the voice, ſome for that of an angel ſpeaking to him, ſome for what they called the *bath-col* (E), and others for a clap

(E) This word which literally ſignifies *the daughter voice*, or *daughter of the voice*, is what the *Jews* have ſubſtituted to the gift of prophecy, after this laſt had been extinct in *Zechary* and *Malachi*, the laſt of the prophets. For though they allow, that ſeveral eminent men among them have been ſince endowed with it, ſuch as we have ſeen ſome of the *Eſſenians*; yet they looked upon them in an inferior view to the former, who received theirs by immediate inſpiration, whilſt theſe had it chiefly by the help of the *bath col*.

They are, however, divided in their notions concerning this laſt, having no other guide to go by than their pretended tradition, which they make no difficulty to underſtand, every one in his own way, and as it beſt ſerves their turn. Whilſt therefore ſome pretended, that it was a plain, loud, and articulate voice, ſuch as was heard by young *Samuel* (44); others looked upon it as a kind of ſoft whiſper, and others again as a kind of internal voice ſpeaking to the heart of the perſon.

Whether there is any foundation for the two former, is hard to affirm upon ſo tottering a teſtimony as that of the rabbies, who all own to have lived long after they had in ſome meaſure ceaſed to be common. Of this nature was that which is affirmed to have been heard to pronounce rabbi *Akiba*, happy in the next world, after he had been ſent out of this by order of the emperor *Hadrian*; and another, which declared two famous doctors, *Hillel* and *Samuel*, to be worthy to receive the Holy Ghoſt; and ſome others (45), which I really heard, might be yet owing to ſome juggle of thoſe who were concerned in it. As for the laſt, or inward one, though it

(44) 1 *Sam.* iii. 4, & *ſeq.* (45) *Vid. de his Baſnag. hiſt. de Juifs, tom.* 3. *ch.* 5. *ſect.* 8, & *ſeq.*

clap of thunder; till he aſſured them, that it was a real voice ſent from heaven, not for his but their ſakes; and to warn them to make a right uſe of that light, or irrefragable evidence, which he had afforded them, leſt they ſhould bring upon themſelves a judicial blindneſs. For, added he, when I am once lifted up, alluding to his death upon the croſs, I ſhall draw all men unto me [e], intimating thereby doubtleſs, that his laying down his life in confirmation of his doctrine, joined

[e] John. xii. 20. & ſeq.

were hard to diſprove good men having ſuch ſecret motions or impulſes, yet they may be of too uncertain a nature to be always depended upon.

But if we examine the practice of the compilers of the talmud, or even of thoſe that lived before them, we ſhall find them conſulting this *bath-col* in a much different way, and not unlike that of the *Romans* in their *ſortes Virgilianæ*, and other heatheniſh ſuperſtitious methods; of which the two or three following, taken out of the talmud (46), will be a ſufficient proof. "*Rabbi Jochanan* and "*Rabbi Simeon*, deſirous of ſeeing the face of *Rabbi Samuel*, a "prince among the *Babyloniſh* doctors, ſaid, Let us follow the "directions of the *bath-col*. As they were paſſing by a ſchool in "their travel thither, they heard one of the boys reading theſe "words out of the book of *Samuel*; *And* Samuel *died*; from which "they inferred, that the perſon they were in ſearch after was dead, "and ſo it actually proved".

Two other doctors going to ſee a friend of theirs, and hearing a woman ſpeak the words, *The lamp is going out*, and her next neighbour anſwer, *May the lamp of* Iſrael *never go out*, took this alſo for a warning from the *bath-col* (47). But the moſt ſurpriſing was, that of one rabbi *Aſher*, who had been guilty of ſo many notorious crimes, that upon his being led through thirteen different ſynagogues, in each of which they examined the verſe which the readers were then upon, they were every one found to be reading a grievous ſentence againſt him, ſuch as in one, the words, *There is no peace to the wicked*; in another, thoſe of the pſalmiſt, *Unto the wicked God ſays, What haſt thou to do to preach my laws?* &c. and ſo of the reſt (48).

The whimſical way likewiſe of prying into futurity by the caſual opening of a book, was not confined to *Jews* and *Gentiles*, but was even practiſed by the chriſtians in the times of ignorance and ſuperſtition, of which the reader may ſee ſome inſtances in dean *Prideaux* in the place laſt-quoted out of his connection.

(46) *Tractat. Shabbath. fol.* 8. *col* 3. *Vid Prid. connect. ſub an.* c. 29. (47) *Otho, hiſt doct. Miſhn. ap. Baſnag. ubi ſupra, ſect.* 9 (48) *Vid. Hotting. excerpt. gemar. & Baſnag. ubi ſupra.*

to

to all the other evidences, that had preceded and were to follow it, and to the excellency of his precepts and rewards, would be ſufficient to draw all ſincere and well-diſpoſed perſons to his goſpel and religion.

THIS heavenly diſcourſe made a deep impreſſion on many of his audience, and amongſt them upon ſome of their chief rulers, who yet did not dare own themſelves his converts, for fear of being thruſt out of the ſynagogue. When the evening came, *Jeſus*, to avoid the croud, withdrew himſelf and his diſciples for that night to *Bethany*; and on the next morning they returned to *Jeruſalem*. In his way he obſerved a fig-tree afar off, full of leaves indeed; but upon his approaching nearer it, as expecting to have found ſome fruit upon it, according to the ſeaſon of the year (F), and finding himſelf

(F) It is ſtrange, that all verſions, except the antient *Saxon* one, have made St. *Mark* there ſay, that the time of the figs was not yet come, when the very time of the year, the warmneſs of the climate there, as well as the tenor of the ſtory, the deſign and juſtice of the curſe (for who can think the judge of all the earth could pronounce an unjuſt one?) all ſhew, that the time of the figs was come 49.

The deſign of this ſentence on a fruitleſs tree, like that other, *Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground*, was, to ſhew the *Jews* what they muſt expect to be their lot, if, after having received ſo many incentives to repentance, eſpecially of late from the preaching of the baptiſt, of Chriſt's apoſtles and his own, they continued ſtill, like this fig-tree, barren and fruitleſs. This ſhould therefore have made the interpreters ſee, that there was either ſome error crept into the text, or a manifeſt one in the verſion; and, upon due conſideration, they would have found, that, without any violence to the former, the latter ſhould have been rendered, *For where he was, the time of the figs was come*, or *it was the time of the figs there*.

This verſion will likewiſe juſtify the act, ſince it could be no injuſtice to the owner to rid his ground of a plant which ſucked its nouriſhment from it, without making any return to him; and here we beg leave to obſerve, that except this withering of the fig-tree, and that of ſending the ſwine into the lake, of which we have ſpoken in another note, all the other miracles were of the beneficent and merciful kind; ſo that to complain of two miracles of ſevere juſtice, if they were really ſuch, againſt him, who, ſetting aſide his abſolute power, has given us ſo many thouſands of goodneſs and mercy, argues a mind ſo extremely perverſe and ungrateful, as ought to make them fear leſt ſomething worſe ſhould befal them.

(49) *Vid. Heinſ. in loc. Le Scene Eſſay, part 2. c. 6.*

disappointed, he cursed the tree, upon which it presently withered down to the very root. On the next morning; Tuesday. which was the *Tuesday*, *Peter* casting his eye upon it as they went to *Jerusalem*, could not forbear wondering at the suddenness of the change; upon which Christ took occasion to assure them, that if they had but a stedfast faith in God, they might work much greater wonders than this; which they did accordingly, when their faith was soon after miraculously strengthened by the supernatural effusion of the Holy Ghost upon them. *Confutes the Pharisees.* Being arrived at the temple, the *Pharisees* began to ask him again for some surer tokens of his authority, than those miracles he wrought before them: *Jesus*, who knew that nothing could convince them, if these did not; appealed immediately to the testimony of the baptist, asking them at the same time, whether or no they acknowledged it from heaven? Here they found themselves sadly intangled; if they answered in the affirmative, they condemned themselves; and if negatively, they were in danger of being condemned by the audience; so that they were forced, after some deliberation, to have recourse to that pitiful shift of owning that they knew not whence it was; for which *Jesus* justly pronounced them unworthy of any further evidence from him [f].

It was upon this occasion, that he tried to awaken them to a sense of their obstinacy and dangers, by several familiar but pungent parables, such as that of the unjust and murdering husbandmen; of the wedding supper; and of the ingratitude and inhumanity of those that were invited to it; and some others of the same nature. But these, though feelingly enough understood by that hypocritical tribe, wrought no other effect upon them, than to set them upon seeking for some more effectual means to cut him off; and since they found it dangerous, by reason of the admiring multitude, to make any attempt upon him, to expose him at least to the resentment of the civil power. It was with this view that they sent their disciples, with some of the *Herodians*, to intangle him with the grand question about the lawfulness of paying tribute to *Cæsar*, of which we took notice in the last section; and which being easily perceived, *Jesus* as easily defeated their malicious intent, by calling for a piece of *Cæsar*'s coin, and exposing their hypocrisy, in making use of his money and protection, and yet refusing to pay tribute to him, as affirming

[f] Matth. xxi. 23, & seq. Mark xi. 27, & seq. Luke xx. 1, & seq.

ing it inconsistent with their duty to God [g]. Next to these came the *Sadducees*, armed, as they thought, with such a puzzling question against the resurrection, as all his learning could not elude the force of. It was of a woman, who, having been married, according to the *Mosaic* law [h], to seven brethren, had died at length, without having any children by any of them. They asked him therefore, if there was any resurrection, whose wife she must be, since they all had her to wife?

Jesus prefaced his answer to their stupid question with this excellent one; *Do ye not therefore err, because ye know not the scriptures nor the power of God* [i]? implying thereby that their denial of the resurrection proceeded from their either not acknowledging (G), or, if they did, from their not rightly considering

[g] MATTH xxii. 15, & seq. LUKE & MARK. [h] DEUT. xxv. 5. [i] MARK xii. 24.

(G) We think the words, *not knowing*, might be more properly rendered, according to the *Hebrew* idiom in other parallel places, *not acknowledging the scriptures and the power of God* Thus St. *Paul* is introduced, as not knowing the high priest (50), who presided at the judgment seat, before which he was brought to be tried; when it is plain every child could not but have known him, both by his garb and the place where he sat. Those who understand it, that the apostle, in the height of his resentment, had forgot, or did not consider, that he was the high-priest, make him say something unworthy of his great character and usual behaviour on such occasions; besides, that it puts some strain upon the plain meaning of the word *know*, which cannot be properly used to imply to *consider*, *call to mind*.

But the sense which with some critics we give here to that word, is both more agreeable to the *Hebrew* idiom, and to the known zeal of the apostle; and he may justly say, *I do not acknowledge him to be high-priest*; since we have seen throughout the two last sections, that that dignity was become so venable, that the vilest wretches might obtain it, provided they proved but the highest bidders. All which was contrary to the *Jewish* law. In this sense then, the *Sadducean* error will be founded on their unbelief of, and not on their not understanding the scriptures, or the power of God; and, indeed, considering their denial of the immortality of the soul, and the rewards and punishments of another life, they can scarcely be supposed to have believed either scriptures or the divine power.

(50) *Acts* xxiii. 5.

But

confidering the ſenſe of the ſcriptures and the extent of the divine power. For, ſaid he to them, the ſtate of the bleſſed after the reſurrection is not to be meaſured by the exigencies of this life. Here marriage is neceſſary to keep up the race of mankind; there they will, like the angels in heaven, be free from ſuch carnal and ſuperfluous appetites, where their life will be wholly ſpiritual. He concluded with proving the truth of the reſurrection from thoſe of the ſacred books, which they profeſſed to acknowledge; which not only put a final end to that diſpute, but forced even an approbation from the contrary ſect of the *Phariſees* [k]. He next received a ſingular applauſe from one of the ſcribes for his excellent anſwer concerning the grand and chief command in the law [l]; after which he ventured to propoſe a queſtion to them concerning the Meſſiah, namely, Whoſe ſon they thought he was to be? To which they anſwered with one accord, the ſon of *David*; if ſo, ſaid he to them, how came *David* to call him Lord by the Spirit, *Saying, the Lord ſaid unto my Lord, ſit thou on my right hand?* How then think ye he could be at once his Lord and his ſon (H)? This laſt queſtion quite nonpluſed his whole audience,

Silences the Sadducees.

His queſtion about the Chriſt.

[k] Matth. xxii. 23, & ſeq. Vid. & parallel. [l] Ibid. verſ. 34, & ſeq.

But if we take the word in the other ſenſe, and admit, that their error proceeded from the want of a right and due underſtanding of both, and not through a queſtioning or diſputing of either; yet as long as they took upon them to limit the ſenſe of the one, and the extent of the other, by the ſhallow ſcan of their reaſon, they did but pretend to believe, or at beſt fancied they did ſo, though in fact they denied them. If we were to examine the ſource of that ſcepticiſm and infidelity which reigns now ſo much among us, and oppoſes all goſpel truths with ſuch ſeeming aſſurance, we ſhould find it flowing from this *Sadducean* leaven, which is ever ready to limit the divine power and will, as ſoon as their reaſon cannot keep pace with it.

(H) It doth not indeed appear that they had any notion of his divine nature, and therefore might be eaſily puzzled to anſwer this queſtion; though it ſeems from ſome expreſſions in the goſpel, that they had had ſome higher idea of him, than that of his being the bare ſon of *David*, or deliverer of *Iſrael*. Thus *Nathanael*, being convinced of his being the Meſſiah, addreſſes him with theſe words: *Rabbi, thou art the ſon of God, thou art the king of* Iſrael (1). Thus *Peter*, and *Martha* alſo, to name no more, affirmed him to be the Chriſt the ſon of God, that was to come into the world (2).

(1) *John* i. 49. (2) *Ibid.* xi. 27. *Matth.* xvi. 16.

However

audience, insomuch, that they never ventured to put any more puzzling questions to him from that time [m]. It was probably on this night, that being retired with his small attendance to *Bethany*, he was there invited by *Simon*, surnamed *The Leper*, and where *Mary* came and anointed his head and feet with a fresh quantity of the same precious ointment, which she had lately bestowed on him on the like occasion (I); and gave a new subject of murmuring, not to *Judas* only, but to the rest of the twelve. *Jesus* excused her a second time as he had done before, and perhaps to the satisfaction of the rest; but *Judas*, who thought it an unreasonable profusion, resolved that night to go and betray him to the sanhedrin [n].

IN the mean time, *Jesus* knowing his time to be just at hand, and recollecting how oft the twelve had quarrelled among themselves about precedency, and perhaps they had started the same dispute on this very night [o]; to give therefore an effectual check to their unreasonable ambition, so contrary to the spirit of his gospel, and to leave them a lasting memorial of the contrary virtue, instead of rebuking them as he had done heretofore, he rose up from the table, and having

[m] Ibid. vers. 42, & seq. MARK xii. 34. LUKE, &c. [n] MAT. xxvi. 6, & seq. MARK xiv. LUKE, &c. [o] Vid. LUKE xxii. 24.

However, the *Jews* have since found out a more effectual way of evading the force of this question, by affirming, that *David* did not there speak of the Messiah, it never being the custom any where for the ancestors to give any of their successors the pompous title of their lord; but the meaning of *David*, according to them is, *the Lord* (God) *said unto my Lord* Abraham, *Sit thou on my right hand*, &c. (3), for *Abraham* being superior to *David* in point of geniture, might be properly called lord by him.

(I) The circumstances of these two actions are so alike in all parts, except the first being said to have happened at the house of *Lazarus*, and this last at that of *Simon*, the leper (so called, perhaps, because he had been lately cured of that distemper, either by *Jesus*, or by some other means) that it is not easy to know whether they were really two, or one and the same. We should be apter to suppose the last, were not the generality of commentators for the first. The house might belong to *Simon*, and go by his name, and *Lazarus* might be a tenant and the master of the feast, and so both evangelists be reconciled.

(3) *Vid Munst. vers. Hebr. Matth. not. ult. in cap. xxii.*

laid

laid aside his upper garment, and girded himself with a napkin in the guise of a waiting servant, came with a bason of water, and began to wash their feet, and wipe them with the towel which girded him. *Peter*, however, was so offended at this condescension, that he could not at first be prevailed upon to suffer it; whereupon *Jesus* told him, that though he could not see the reason of it now, he should be made sensible of it in time. But *Peter*, still stiffly persisting in his refusal, was commanded immediately to submit, under the penalty of forfeiting all his right and title in him [p]; which terrible threatening frighted him at length into a ready compliance (K). After *Jesus* had gone round with his humble task, he took up his upper garment, and addressed himself to the twelve in words to this effect: Ye rightly call me Lord and master, for such I really am; if then you have seen me, for your example and encouragement, condescend so low as to wash your feet (which among the *Jews* was reckoned the lowest office [q] a man could do to another), know and remember, that those who pretend to be my disciples, must never think themselves above performing the lowest office of charity to one another. It is by such acts of mutual and sincere love, that men will know, and I acknowledge, you for mine. A new command I leave with you, that as I have loved you, and did not think my life too dear a price to save you, so ye also love one another, and stop at no difficulty or discouragement, where the good of your fellow creatures, especially fellow christians, calls for your charitable assistance. Upon these conditions I leave you my peace, such a peace as neither the world can bestow on you, nor any thing make you capable of

Washes his disciples feet.

Recommends charity to them.

[p] John xiii. 8. [q] De hoc vid. 1. Sam. xxv. 41.

(K) If ever a non-compliance to a command was justifiable, or even, we had almost said, commendable, it was certainly on this occasion, where it apparently flowed from the deepest regard which that apostle had of his master, as well as from the humblest sense of his own unworthiness. Since therefore *Jesus* was so far from admitting it as an excuse, that, without giving him any further satisfaction, he bids him to obey under the most severe penalty; this whole circumstance seems to be transmitted to us as a warning, how we make our short-sighted reason the standard of our faith or obedience, in things plainly revealed or expressly commanded. Since God is not obliged to give us, nor we indeed capable of comprehending his all wise ends and purposes, whose ways and reasons must be allowed to be infinitely above our comprehensions.

fasting

taſting the ſweet influence of, but the divine virtue I am recommending to you [r].

AFTER theſe and ſome other heavenly diſcourſes, with which he cloſe to entertain them, during the ſhort time he had to ſtay, that they might make the ſtronger impreſſion on them, he concluded the whole with an elegant and pathetic deſcription of the laſt day, when every man ſhould receive the rewards of his deeds done in this life, according as they were either good or evil. And becauſe he knew how apt men were to be more apprehenſive of the divine anger for the commiſſion of wilful crimes, than for the omiſſion of ſuch neceſſary duties, as he had been inforcing, and to find out a ſalvo to excuſe their neglect of them; he choſe to awaken them from that fatal miſtake, by deſcribing the general enquiry of that ſolemn day, as running chiefly on theſe laſt; that is, whether they had, or had not, fed the hungry, cloathed the naked, viſited the ſick, and the like; and the retribution of his rewards or puniſhments, as chiefly diſpenſed according to their performance or neglect of thoſe eſſential duties [s]. *Deſcribes the day of Judgment.*

WHILST he was inſtructing his diſciples in theſe and many other excellent truths [t], the ſanhedrin were holding their conſultations how to lay hands upon him, at ſome proper ſeaſon, when the multitude were out of the way. As they therefore feared doing it during the approaching feſtival, leſt they ſhould cauſe ſome inſurrection among the people, *Judas* came to their relief, and offered to betray him unto them for a certain reward, which they gladly agreed to, and paid him out of hand. The ſum covenanted had been long ago foretold by one of the prophets, and we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of it in the ſequel. The feaſt of unleavened bread or paſſover being then juſt at hand, the *Jews* ſet about removing all the leaven from their houſes, according to the *Moſaic* law, and preparing themſelves for the celebration of that grand feſtival. Wedneſday. Judas *betrays him.*

Thurſday being come, in which *Jeſus* was to celebrate his laſt, and moſt ſolemn, paſſover, he directed two of his diſciples by a ſpecial token to a houſe in *Jeruſalem*, where they ſhould prepare all things for it; and he followed them thither with the reſt of the twelve towards the evening. When they were ſet down on their couches, according to the cuſtom of thoſe countries, he drank a glaſs of wine, with which the maſter of the family always began the ſolemnity of the paſchal lamb; Thurſday.

[r] JOHN, ibid, & ſeq. [s] MATTH. xxvi. 31. ad fin. [t] JOHN xiv, xv, xvi, xvii. paſſ.

after which, whilſt they were eating, he told them with ſome concern, that one of them ſhould betray him, pointing to *Judas*; that *Peter*, who had always appeared the moſt zealous, ſhould thrice deny him; and that the reſt ſhould all forſake him on that very night, and reminded them of ſome prophecies, in which theſe things were written concerning him. At the concluſion of the ſupper, *Jeſus* took the bread, and, having broke and bleſſed it, diſtributed it among them, ſaying, *Take eat, this is my body, which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me.* Then taking and bleſſing the cup of wine alſo, he ſaid, *Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the* New Teſtament, *which is ſhed for you, and for many, for the remiſſion of ſin* (L). He ended this ſolemn rite, with aſſuring them, that this was the laſt wine he ſhould drink; for the traytor's hand, which was ſhortly to betray him, was juſt ready to deliver him up to death; when all

Chriſt's laſt ſupper.

(L) We have contented ourſelves with repeating the bare words of this divine inſtitution, without venturing to give them any gloſs that ſhould ſeem to lean towards any of thoſe various ſyſtems, which every church and ſect has ſeverally formed from them; and which, being not only endleſs, but out of our province, we gladly forbear entering further into, to avoid giving any offence.

The oppoſition which a conſiderable writer has of late met with from ſeveral quarters, upon his venturing to give the world his own particular one on that ſacred ſubject, ſhews, how dangerous it is to revive a controverſy of this high nature; in which every ſide is ſo jealous of any word that glances even the leaſt contradiction to their received doctrine.

And yet we cannot but own, that too tenacious a zeal ſeems in this laſt inſtance to have carried his opponents cenſures farther than is, perhaps, conſiſtent with chriſtian candor and charity. The ſmall regard that is paid to that ſacred inſtitute by very great numbers, on the one hand, and the viſible neglect of it in others, from ſome miſtaken dreadful apprehenſions about it, might incline that writer to think his book and ſyſtem excellently well calculated to obviate thoſe two grand obſtacles to a more frequent uſe of it.

As for thoſe men, who from a firm and ſincere perſuaſion, that God diſplays ſome further miracles of grace and mercy in that ſacrament, find themſelves inſpired with greater love to God, and charity to men; with a great propenſity to virtue, and abhorrence to vice; and, in a word, feel their minds and hearts more effectually attracted from earth to heaven; that author muſt be ſuppoſed too ſagacious to have wrote his book for ſuch men, ſince they could not come down to his notions of it, without being conſiderable loſers by the change.

things

things, that were written of his being numbered with the tranſgreſſors, would have their full accompliſhment [u]. The whole ceremony was cloſed as uſual with a proper hymn (M); after which, *Jeſus* having again exhorted his diſciples to continue ſtedfaſt in their faith and reliance on him, and recommended them to the protection and care of his heavenly Father, by a moſt fervent and pathetic prayer, he ordered them to follow him over the brook *Kedron* [w].

Enters the doleful garden.

WHILST they were going to the mount of olives, to a place called *Gethſemane* (N), *Judas* ſlipped from them, and went to the high-prieſt's palace to get a ſufficient number of hands to come and ſurprize *Jeſus* in his retirement. *Jeſus*, on the other hand, being entered into the garden, where he uſually reſorted, bid ſome of his diſciples to ſtay and watch near the entrance of it, whilſt he took *Peter*, *James* and *John* further into the garden; that as they had been the witneſſes of his glorious tranſfiguration, they might now be ſo of his preſent ſorrows and dreadful agonies. Having therefore earneſtly injoined them to be watchful, he parted from them about a ſtone's caſt; where his human nature feeling the moſt violent ſtruggles between fleſh and ſpirit, at the apprehenſion of his future ſufferings, he threw himſelf proſtrate on his face, and with utmoſt fervency, mixed with the moſt ſubmiſſive reſignation to the heavenly will, he prayed, that, if it were poſſible, the dreadful cup might paſs from him. He repeated the ſame prayer twice more, but with ſuch fervency and reſignation, that the vehemency of the ſtruggle between thoſe two paſſions, joined to the proſpect of what

[u] MATTH. xxvi. 20, & ſeq MARK. xiv 18, & ſeq. LUKE xxii. 1, & ſeq &c. [w] JOHN xvi, & xvii. paſſ.

(M) Or rather what the *Jews* call the *Hallal*, conſiſting of ſix euchariſtical pſalms, beginning at the hundred and thirteenth, and ending with the hundred and eighteenth, and with which they uſed to cloſe all thoſe ſolemnities (4).

(N) So called probably from the *Hebrew* גת השמן, *gath haſhemen*, *the oyl preſs*. For as the mount had its name from the quantity of olive trees that grew upon it, it is probable, that this garden, which was at the foot of it, had a preſs in it; and this reconciles the evangeliſts, two of whom mention only the mount (5), another the garden (6), and the fourth *the gethſemane* or *oyl-preſs* (7),

(4) *Vid.* הגדה־של־פסח & *al ritual. Jud.* (5) *Matth.* xxvi. 30. *Luke* xxii. 39. (6) *John* xviii. 1, (7) *Mark* xiv. 32.

he was to undergo from the malice of men and devils, threw him into an agony and bloody ſweat, inſomuch, that there was an angel ſent on purpoſe to comfort and ſtrengthen him under it [x] (O). By this time the traytor *Judas*, at the head of his armed gang, was far advanced into the garden, whilſt the diſciples were fallen into a ſound ſleep. *Jeſus* therefore, having awakened them with the news of his enemies being at hand, went forward to meet them, whilſt *Judas*, who led the van, came to offer him the treacherous kiſs, which was to be the ſignal to the reſt; who thereupon ſurrounded and made ſure of him. In the interim, *Peter* drew his ſword, and ſtruck off the ear of one of the high-prieſt's ſervants, but was ſeverely rebuked for it by his maſter, who, by a miraculous touch, healed the wounded perſon, and then ſuffered himſelf to be bound and led away as a malefactor, without any other mark of reſentment, than his obſerving to them, that it was now their hour, in which the power of darkneſs was let looſe againſt him. When the eleven heard this ſaying, they immediately forſook him and fled, according to his prediction (P), and the ſoldiers conveyed their priſoner firſt to

His agony and prayer.

Is betrayed and apprehended.

[x] Luke xxii. 40, & ſeq.

(O) This dreadful ſcene muſt be confeſſed to contain ſome myſteries far enough above our utmoſt capacities; but which, we think, may be much more reaſonably and ſafely believed on the authority of the ſacred writers, than the latter diſputed on the account of the former. The whole œconomy of man's redemption is every-where repreſented to us as an unſearchable myſtery of divine wiſdom and goodneſs, and as the object of our belief, and not of our comprehenſion.

For this reaſon therefore it is, that God has taken ſuch care to confirm it to us by the moſt irrefragable evidence, by types and prophecies from the beginning, and by innumerable miracles and ſupernatural gifts accompanying the preaching of theſe ſaving truths. It was on that divine authority, that the primative chriſtians received them, and ſealed their faith in them with their lives; and it is on the ſame grounds, that they have been conveyed to us through a ſucceſſion of near ſeventeen centuries; and it will be time enough for us to give up the one, when infidelity has overthrown the other. Till when the imperfect notion we have of the mutual action of our ſouls and bodies will be an effectual check, how we preſume to call in queſtion, or to reconcile, thoſe oppoſite paſſions in the human to the divine nature of Chriſt.

(P) Which he quoted to them out of the próphet (8); *I will ſmite the ſhepherd, and the ſheep ſhall be ſcattered.* In the like man-

(8) *Zechariah xiii.* 7.

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to *Annas*, the late high-prieſt and father-in-law to *Caiaphas*, who was now in poſſeſſion of that dignity, as we hinted a little higher out of the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian [y].

Tried before the ſanhedrin

HERE they found the ſanhedrin ſitting, though at that late time of night, and waiting for *Jeſus* to be brought before them, as he was accordingly: upon which the high-prieſt began to ask him ſeveral queſtions concerning his doctrine and diſciples, in hopes to find either ſome hereſy in the one, or rebellion in the other. *Jeſus* contented himſelf with referring him to theſe laſt, whom he told them he had always taught in the moſt public manner, and who were therefore fitteſt to bear witneſs againſt him, if he had taught them any thing amiſs. For this anſwer, juſt and modeſt as it was, an officer ſtruck him a violent blow on the face; and *Jeſus*, having given him a gentle reproof for his raſhneſs, ſtood before them, with aſtoniſhing patience and humble ſilence, whilſt the inſtruments of the ſanhedrin were buſy in ſeeking out freſh evidence to put him to death. After much ado, they brought a couple of fellows, who depoſed, that they had heard him brag, that he would deſtroy the temple and rebuild it in three days; but even their evidence jarring in ſome particulars, as the expreſſion of *Jeſus* was figurative, they dared not condemn him upon it; but were forced to have recourſe to another expedient, which was to make him turn his own accuſer. *Caiaphas* therefore riſing up, adjured him by the living God, to anſwer directly to the ſupreme court, whether he was the Chriſt the ſon of God or not (Q); and, upon his readily anſwering in the affirmative, and adding, that they ſhould hereafter be convinced of it, when they beheld him ſitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven; fell a rending his cloaths, which was not law-

[y] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. Vid & LUKE ubi ſupra, v 54. MATTH. xxvi. 57 JOHN xviii. 12, & ſeq.

ner the whole ſcene of his ſufferings is moſt lively deſcribed by another prophet (9), who is therefore called evangelical, becauſe his prophecy ſeems rather a rehearſal of things paſt, than a prophecy of what was to happen ſo many centuries off; as the ſequel will preſently ſhew.

(Q) Nothing could be more cunningly excogitated than this queſtion; to which if he anſwered in the affirmative, they were ready to condemn him as a blaſphemer, and if in the negative, as an impoſtor and deceiver of the people.

(9) *Iſai. liii. paſſ. & alib.*

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ful for an high-prieſt to do [z], and pronounced him guilty of blaſphemy. The reſt of the court did readily join with him, and having pronounced him guilty of death, and ordered him to be brought early on the next morning to receive his ſentence, they left him to the mercy of the guard, who made it the cruel diverſion of that night to uſe him with the vileſt indignities and blaſpemies [a].

Condemned

Whilst this melancholy ſcene was acting *Peter* and *John*, the latter of whom was known to ſome of the family, having recovered themſelves from their laſt fright, had got admittance into the hall, willing to know what was likely to be determined concerning their maſter. Their courage, however, was ſoon cooled again, when they ſaw what treatment he underwent from an inraged and inſulting rabble; ſo that *Peter* being thrice challenged for one of his diſciples, as often ſtiffly denied it, and, rather than not be believed, bound it the laſt time with an oath. The cock crowing now the third time, put him in mind of *Jeſus*'s prediction; but that which gave him a more lively ſenſe of his cowardice and perfidy, was a pitying look which he received at that inſtant from that gracious and forgiving Saviour; upon which the tears guſhing plentifully out of his eyes he was forced to leave the hall to go and hide his grief and ſhame [b].

Denied by Peter.

Friday. Early on the next morning, the chief-prieſts and ſanhedrin, being convened at their uſual place, ſent for *Jeſus* to have him further examined, and to pronounce their final ſentence upon him, in order to have it ratified by the *Roman* governor (R). In the mean time, *Judas*, being ſurpriſed at what had

[z] Vid. Levit. xxi. 10, & alib. [a] Matth. xxvi. 57 ad fin. Mark xiv. 53 ad fin. Luke & John. Vid. & Isai. l. 6. [b] John xviii. 15. & ſeq. Matth. Luke &c.

(R Not, as ſome have imagined, becauſe the *Romans* had ſome years ago deprived that court of the power of life and death; for we ſhall meet with ſeveral inſtances of the contrary in the ſequel; in particular that of the protomartyr *Stephen*, who was regularly tried, condemned, and ſtoned, by their ſingle authority (10), about a year after. But they ſeem to have had a double end in it; the one to throw the odium of his death, as much as poſſible, upon *Pilate* and the *Romans*, as if he had condemned him for raiſing ſome rebellion againſt them; and the other, to make him undergo a more ſevere and ignominious puniſhment, and ſuch a one as they could not inflict upon him by their own power, becauſe it was not one

(10) *Acts* vi. 8. & *ſeq.* vii *per tot.*

of

had paſſed within the ſanhedrin, was ſtung with ſuch lively remorſe, that he came and threw the reward of his treachery down before them, owning himſelf the vileſt of wretches, for having betrayed an innocent perſon to them; but they, regardleſs of his ſorrow and deſpair, bid him look to it; upon which he went, and, as moſt verſions render it, hanged himſelf[c] (S). But thoſe hypocritical judges were ſoon Judas's *remorſe.*

[c] MATTH. xxvii. 5.

of thoſe that were preſcribed by their law; concerning which the reader may, if pleaſes, turn to our third volume †. So that their pretence of its not being lawful for them to put any man to death was no farther true, than in caſes where the crime was againſt the ſtate; of which the governor was the proper judge But as to blaſphemy, or any other crime againſt the *Jewiſh* religion, the inſtance above related of St. *Stephen* plainly ſhews that they made no ſcruple to put the guilty perſon to death without the governors conſent.

Yet nothing of this was done without the direction of providence, ſince crucifixion was the death which it had been foretold by *David* he ſhould undergo (11), and which he himſelf had likewiſe often hinted, both to the apoſtles and to the reſt of the *Jews* (12). Accordingly therefore, the acculation, which they intented againſt him before *Pilate*, was of a civil nature: We have found, ſaid they, this turbulent fellow raiſing up ſeditions, and forbidding to pay tribute to *Cæſar* (13)

It istrue, indeed, when they found that this accuſation could not determine that governor, who ſaw through their malice and injuſtice, to condemn him; they tacked the other of blaſphemy to it, and inſiſted, that their law made it capital; but this was only added to give more weight to their other accuſation; upon which they wanted him to be condemned, as the ſequel will ſhew.

However, it was neceſſary to obſerve theſe circumſtances thus far here, againſt thoſe, who, from the notion of the whole power of life and death being taken away before this time, have inferred, that the ſceptre ſpoken of by *Jacob* (14) was alſo departed from *Judah*. The contrary of which will be ſeen in its due place.

(S) The difficulty which interpreters have found to reconcile what is ſaid of his hanging himſelf here. with what St. *Peter* ſays in another place (15), *That he fell headlong, and burſt aſunder, and his bowels guſhed out*, has made them fall into ſeveral conjectures, ſuch as the breaking of the rope before he was quite dead, and his throwing himſelf down ſome precipice, which brought on the laſt diſmal

† *Page* 310, *& ſeq*

(11) *Pſal. xxii*, 16.

(12) *Vid. John iii* 14. *xii.* 32, 33.

(13) *Luke xxiii.* 2.

(14) *Gen. xlix.* 10. *Vid. & Vol. II.* 441, (G).

(15) *Acts i* 18.

ſoon after taken with a quite different qualm of conſcience, thinking it now unlawful to refund thoſe thirty pieces of ſilver into the treaſury, becauſe it was the price of blood, tho' they had made no ſcruple to take them out of it, to purchaſe that very blood. After ſome deliberation therefore, they agreed to buy a potter's field with them, for a burying-place for ſtrangers; and in ſo doing fulfilled an old prophecy, in which the number of pieces, the deſign for which they were given, the purchaſe made with them, and the potter to whoſe ſhare they came at laſt, were expreſsly foretold [d]. The field was accordingly bought ſoon after the feaſt was over, and from thence was called in their tongue, *Haceldama*, or *the field of blood* [e]. It ſtood on the ſouth ſide of mount *Sion*, within a ſtone-caſt of the pool of *Siloam*.

[d] Conf. Zech. xi. 12, 13. [e] Vid. Matth. ubi, ſupra. ver. 7, & ſeq. Acts i. 19.

diſmal circumſtances of his death, and the like * ; all which is ſaid without foundation.

What the ſame apoſtle ſays a little lower, and which the verſions have, as we obſerved in a former note, miſrendered, *that he might go into his own place* (16), has led others to look upon his fall, burſting, &c. as a further judgment on that unhappy wretch (17), who did yet ſhew the moſt lively tokens of a ſincere repentance, *viz* the moſt public acknowledgment of his crime, reſtitution of the ill-gotten money, reparation to the beſt of his power to the injured perſon, and an open condemnation of their unjuſt proceedings againſt him. Now all theſe difficulties might be eaſily removed, if they had rendered the words of St. *Matthew*, according to *Le Scene*, *that he was ſuffocated*, namely with grief, ſhame, and remorſe, or, which is the ſame thing, *died of a ſquinancy* occaſioned by it (18).

His falling on his face which, as the ſame critic obſerves, is all that is implied by what we render, *he fell*, and others, *he thruſt himſelf headlong, and burſt aſunder*, is, it ſeems, no more than what is common to people in that diſtemper; who fall down on their faces for want of breath, and commonly burſt after it (19). This ſenſe therefore will eaſily reconcile the two ſacred hiſtorians, without either doing violence to the text, having recourſe to improbable conjectures, or introducing the divine vengeance purſuing even his breathleſs carcaſe.

* *Vid. Theophylact. Maldonat et al in loc.* (16) *Acts Ibid. ver.* 23. (17) *Vid int. al. Taylor's life of Chriſt, in loc. Echard eccleſ. hiſt. Tremell. Beza, et al* (18) *Le Scene's Eſſay, part* 2 *c.* 7. *ſect.* 3. (19) *Vid. eund. & auct. ab eo citat.*

A a

As ſoon as the ſanhedrin had ended their proceſs againſt *Jeſus*, he was hurried before the *Roman* tribunal, and there accuſed of perverting the people, raiſing ſeditions, ſetting up for a king, and forbidding tribute to be paid to *Cæſar*. They would not, however, venture into the prætorium, or judgment-hall, for fear of polluting themſelves, and becoming unfit for the approaching ſolemnity; but deſired the governor to come out to them, whilſt they ſtood in the open place before his palace-gate. When *Pilate* heard the accuſation, and found that it was cognizable by himſelf alone, he cauſed *Jeſus* to be brought before his tribunal, where he aſked him, whether he was really a king? *Jeſus* readily anſwered him in the affirmative (T); but added at the ſame time, that his kingdom was not of this world; for if it had, his ſervants would have fought in his defence, and ſaved him from falling into the hands of his perſecutors. This was enough to convince the governor of the injuſtice of his accuſation, which he already knew was the effect of ſome private malice they had againſt him. However, that he might know ſomething more concerning his imaginary kingdom, for ſuch and no other he ſeems to have ſuppoſed it, he aſked him again, Art thou really a king? To which he replied, I am indeed. For this cauſe was I born, that I might bear witneſs to the truth; and none are my ſubjects, but ſuch as obey the voice of truth. *Pilate*, being ſtill more out of conceit with this new kind of kingdom, contented himſelf with aſking what he meant by truth? and, without ſtaying for an anſwer, went out to the people, and told them, that he could find no fault in their pretended criminal. When the *Jewiſh* rulers heard this, they were ſtill more vehement in their accuſations. *Pilate* therefore urged him to give ſome kind of anſwer to them; but he, who knew how vain it was to attempt it, made then no other defence, than that of a ſurprizing and invincible ſilence. *Jeſus brought before* Pilate.

THE *Jews* took this opportunity to be more vehement in in their invectives, in order to exaſperate the fluctuating governor againſt him, by aſſuring him, that he had filled not only *Jeruſalem* and all *Judæa*, but even all his own country of *Galilee*, with his ſeditious doctrine. As ſoon therefore as *Pilate* heard that he was of that country, and belonged to

(T) Ours and ſome verſions make his anſwer ſomewhat ambiguous, as if he dared not to ſpeak out, *Thou ſayeſt it*, or, *thou ſayeſt that I am a king*; whereas, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, it ſhould properly be rendered, *It is as thou ſayeſt, I am indeed a king*.

Sent to Herod.

Herod's jurisdiction, he ordered him to be immediately sent to him, in hopes at once to lay an obligation on that tetrarch, with whom he had been at some variance, and to throw the whole burden of this intricate and dangerous trial upon him; he being then come to *Jerusalem* to the feast. *Herod* was no less glad to see a person, of whom he had heard such wonders, and from whom he expected to have seen some signal miracles; but *Jesus*, ready and liberal as he was of them to the poor and afflicted, disdained to work them, either to gratify the curiosity of such a tyrant, or to silence the malice of his enemies; so that, in spight of all their vehement accusations and of *Herod*'s scornful treatment of him, he would not so much as vouchsafe him an answer to any of his questions. *Herod*, affronted at his obstinate silence and his own disappointment, began to treat him as a despicable person, and turned him over to his guards, with orders to send him back to *Pilate*; and these, after several rude indignities, arrayed him in a gorgeous robe of mockery, and brought him back to the hall of judgment. From this time, however, *Pilate* and *Herod* laid aside all their resentment, and were perfectly reconciled to each other.

Brought back to Pilate.

WHILST this was doing, *Pilate*'s wife had sent to warn him against having any hand in condemning that just person, on whose account she had been terrified with some dreadful dreams that night. The *Romans* were very observing of these kinds of superstitions; so that this message made him still more afraid to yield to the pressing instances of the tumultuous *Jews*. As soon therefore as *Jesus* was brought back to him, he came out to them, and plainly told them, that he could not condemn a person, in whom, after the strictest examination, he had not been able to find the least capital crime; nor even *Herod* himself, who, tho' much better acquainted with their laws, had sent him back to him absolved. I will therefore, added he, inflict some lighter punishment on him, and let him go. This proposal, instead of mollifying them, made them more instant to have him crucified. He bethought himself at length of another expedient, which he expected would have both saved him, and assuaged their fury. You know, said he to them, that it is a custom for your governors to release to you some one criminal on these festivals, whom you shall name. Tell me therefore, shall I deliver you this man, or *Barabbas*, who lies in prison for an insurrection and murder? He judged indeed, and reasonably too, that they would not carry their resentment or boldness so far, as to prefer a rebel and a murderer before an innocent person; and therefore it was, that he gave them only the choice of these two.

Barabbas *preferred to him.*

two. But, two his great ſurprize, the people, inſtigated by the prieſts and rulers, demanded *Barabbas* to be releaſed, and *Jeſus* to be crucified, in ſpight of all he could ſay in his behalf.

SINCE therefore he could not work on their reaſon and conſcience, he reſolved to try what he could do on their pity, and ordered *Jeſus* to be ſent to the pillar, and to be ſeverely ſcourged (U); which was accordingly done, and (as we may ſuppoſe, from the natural barbarity of the *Roman* ſoldiers, as well as from the additional indignities which they offered to him preſently after) was executed with utmoſt ſeverity. After they had untied him, the whole cohort gathered about him, threw a ragged purple robe about his mangled body, ſet a crown of thorns upon his head, and put a reed in his hand; and whilſt ſome bowed the knee to him in mockery, and ſaluted him king of the *Jews*, others did buffet him, ſpit upon him, and uſe him with utmoſt inſolence and inhumanity. *Pilate* thought this a proper time to bring him forth to them in this ſad and deplorable guiſe, not doubting, but the ſight of ſo diſmal an object would have melted them into pity and remorſe. But he little knew the temper of the *Jews*, and that the more abject and miſerable the perſon appeared, on whom they had fixed ſuch great hopes and expectation, the more they would deteſt and abhor him. And ſo he found it happened on this occaſion, tho' to his greateſt ſurprize; and the

Jeſus ſcourged and mocked

(U) This puniſhment was not like that uſed among the *Jews*, of which we have given an account in a former volume †, and did neither exceed forty ſtripes, nor was reckoned diſhonourable, ſince even their monarchs were ſubjected to it. But among the *Romans*, it was very ſevere and ſhameful. The perſon being ſtripped naked, at leaſt down to the girdle, had his hands tied to a ring faſtened to a ſtone pillar, not above a foot and half high, if ſo much, ſo that his body was bent forward almoſt double, which gave ſuch an advantage to the executioners, that the blows came down, as it were, with double force.

This particular part of our Saviour's ſuffering is rightly ſuppoſed to be foretold by the pſalmiſt (20), in theſe words; *The plowers plowed upon my back, and made long furrows.* As likewiſe that of his being buffeted, and ſcornfully ſpit upon in the halls of the high-prieſt, and of the governor, by the prophet *Iſaiah* (21) in theſe terms; *I gave my back to the ſmiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; neither did I hide,* or *defend, my face from being ſhamefully ſpit upon.*

† *Vol. III. p.* 310, & (A). (20) *Pſ.* cxxix. 3. (21) *Ch. l.* 6, & *ſeq.*

very people, who, but six days before, followed him with their loud *Hosannahs*, could not now behold him in that abject state, without crying out with greater vehemence, *Away with him, crucify him. Pilate*, surprized at this horrid cruelty, refused again to comply, alledging, that he found no fault in him; upon which the priests and elders, finding it impossible to get him condemned for sedition, began to accuse him of blasphemy: We have a law, said they to him, which condemns him to death for calling himself the Son of God. At these last words, *Pilate*, still more terrified, took him again to his tribunal, and asked him several questions, to which *Jesus* disdaining to answer, he tried again to provoke him to it, by reminding him, that it was in his power to condemn or release him. *Jesus* gave no other answer to it, than by reminding him in his turn, that all his boasted power came to him from above, and that he should therefore be accountable for his abuse of it, though the greater guilt did fall on those who had delivered him up unto him. These last words made such an impression on the governor, that he went out to the people, fully determined, as he thought, at any rate to release him. But during this interval the priests and rulers, who knew but too well the temper of the *Roman* prætor, bethought themselves of an expedient which would quickly bring him into a compliance; so that, before he could well discover his resolution to them, they began to cry out, with one accord and in a threatening tone, Thou art not *Cæsar*'s friend, if thou lettest a man go, who, by assuming the royal title and forbidding to pay the usual tribute, has declared himself his open enemy. This argument proved more powerful than all the rest, and *Pilate* now no longer daring to refuse their unjust demands, for fear of bringing his loyalty to *Cæsar* into question, having first washed his hands (W) before them all, and declared himself innocent of the blood of that innocent person, delivered him up to be crucified, and released the seditious murderer, according to their desire [f].

Accused of blasphemy.

Condemned to the cross

[f] Vid. Matth. xxvii. per tot. Mark xv. pass. Luke xxiii. per tot. John xviii. & xix. pass

(W) This mock ceremony seems to have been a kind of form used by judges in cases of this unjustifiable nature. Else *Pilate* could not but be conscious, that all the water of the sea could not wash away the guilt of his unrighteous sentence; no! not, though the impious *Jews* did then pray that the sin and punishment of it might fall on them and their unhappy posterity (22).

(22) *Matth.* xxviii. 25.

As

As ſoon as *Pilate* had pronounced that moſt unjuſt ſentence againſt the moſt innocent of men, the *Roman* ſoldiers led him back to the hall, where they ſtripped him of his mock royalty, and put on him his own garments; and having laid his croſs on him, they led him with two other criminals out of the city (X), to a place called in *Hebrew*, *Golgotha*, and in *Latin*, *Calvary*, to be crucified. His tender body, quite ſpent with watching and ſufferings, beginning to ſink under its weight, they compelled a *Cyrenean Jew* †, named *Simon*, to help to bear his croſs after him. In this doleful march he beheld ſome women melting into tears at the ſight of his deplorable condition; but it ſeems, as if the more dreadful fate, which waited the unhappy *Jews*, had made him quite inſenſible of his own miſery; for turning to them with uſual compaſſion, he bid them rather weep at the more diſmal proſpect of their future ruin, when their calamities would make them wiſh their wombs had been barren, and their breaſts incapable of yielding any nouriſhment to a generation, whoſe infidelity would ſhortly render them the ſad objects of the divine vengeance, and the ſcorn and hatred of the world [g].

† De his vid. Vol. IX. pag. 561, & (D). [g] Luke xxiii. 27, & ſeq.

(X) The *Jews* ſuffered no criminals to be put to death in any of their cities, much leſs in the metropolis; and this was done in imitation of what had been practiſed in their camps in the wilderneſs (23), and was typified by the red heifer and ſcape-goat, of which we have ſpoken in a former volume *; ſo that Chriſt the grand propitiatory victim, was led, loaden with the ſins of mankind †, to be offered up without the gates of *Jeruſalem*.

Golgotha or *Calvary* was a rocky hill on the weſt ſide of the city (24), and was a kind of charnel ſtore houſe from which it had thoſe names, which ſignify *the place of a ſcull*, probably from its reſemblance to it; and was alſo made uſe of for a place of execution.

It is ſuppoſed by the antient fathers to have been the mountain where *Abraham* went to ſacrifice his ſon. Some of them add, on the authority of a *Jewiſh* tradition, that the ſcull of *Adam* had been there buried by *Shem*, to whom his father gave it in charge after the flood, as it was he who was to people the holy land (25).

(23) *De hoc vid. int. al Vol. III. p.* 11. & 71, & *note.* * *Ibid.* 205, (V). 210, & (Z). † *Ibid. in fin. note* (Z). (24) *See the map of the city.* (25) *Hieron. Euſeb. Tertul. Orig. & al. mult.*

It was now about the ſixth hour of the day, anſwering to our mid-day (Y), when they came to the place, where they offered him ſome wine mixed with myrrh (Z), which, when he

(Y) The difference between St. *Mark*, who calls it *the third hour* (26), and the other two evangeliſts, who call it *the ſixth* (27), is eaſily reconciled by their different ways of dividing the day, namely, either into twelve hours, beginning at the ſun-riſe (28), which the two laſt follow, and into four parts, called alſo hours; but which they diſtinguiſhed only by three, ſix, nine, and twelve; and theſe were the uſual hours to repair to the temple or ſynagogues, &c. to pray (29); and to this laſt way of reckoning the former ſeems to allude, calling it the third hour, probably becauſe the ſixth was not quite begun. Perhaps alſo is he there ſpeaking, not of his real crucifixion, but of the *Jews* obtaining *Pilate*'s ſentence of it againſt him, which was certainly near the third hour, or our nine of the clock in the morning.

(Z) This mixture was probably given to intoxicate the ſufferers, that they might be leſs ſenſible of their torment; and *Jeſus* might refuſe it upon that very account, becauſe it became him, who was then going to offer himſelf a free and voluntary ſacrifice to God for the ſins of men, and was to ſhew them a pattern how to bear afflictions with due reſignation to the divine will; to avoid a thing which might too far diſcompoſe his thoughts, and ſhew too ill a precedent to his followers.

One of the evangeliſts makes this mixture to conſiſt of myrrh and wine (30), and another of vinegar and gall (31). Hence ſome ſuppoſe, that though the former was uſually given on ſuch occaſions, yet the ſoldiers, out of ſpight and contempt, gave him the latter, which would have a contrary effect. But we much doubt, whether the *Romans*, naturally delighting in being cruel to perſons in miſery, could be capable of ſo much compaſſion towards criminals. Their barbarous ſports and ſpectacles argue rather the reverſe. Beſides, the *vinum myrrhatum*, we are told (32), was highly eſteemed by them, inſomuch that one of the laws of the twelve tables forbad their dead to be waſhed or ſprinkled with it. And who can imagine, that they would beſtow it on ſuch criminals as they condemned to this kind of death, which was held in the greateſt ignominy and reproach among them?

It is more likely, that the evangeliſt, who wrote in the *Hebrew*, or *Syriac*, made uſe of the word מר, *mar*, which ſignifies *bitterneſs*, or *any bitter ingredient*, and that his tranſlator miſtook it for מור,

(26) *Ch. xv. 25.* (27) *Luke xxiii. 44. John xix. 14.* (28) *Vid. Matth. xx. 3, & ſeq. John xi. 9* (29) *Ut Act iii. 1. x. 9. De his vid. & Druſ. in loc. Goodwin. Moſes & Aar. l. iii. c. 1. ſect. 6, 7, & ſeq.* (30) *Mark xv. 23.* (31) *Matt. xxvii. 34.* (32) *Vid. Plin. l. xiv. c. 13.*

mor,

he had tasted, he refused to drink. They then stripped him of his cloaths, and, extending his body on the cross, fastened him to it, with nails driven through his hands and feet, whilst he was earnestly praying to his Father, to forgive them a deed, which they committed through ignorance. After which they reared up the cross, and fixed it on the ground, so that his body hanged on four wounds, made on the most tender and sensible parts of the body. With him they crucified two malefactors (A), one on each side, according to that oracle, which foretold his being numbered with transgressors [h]. *Pilate* had likewise ordered the title of his accusation to be fixed to the cross; it was written in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, the three most known tongues at that time, and in these words; *Jesus of* Nazareth, *king of the* Jews. The chiefs were therefore highly affronted at it, and came to beg of *Pilate* to have it altered, and, instead of calling him king of the *Jews*, to have it inserted that he assumed that title to him. But he as stiffly refused it, and sent them away with this haughty answer, *What I have written, I have written.* Here, whilst the soldiers, who were set to watch him, fulfilled another prophecy of him, in the division they made of his garments, and casting lots on his robe, because it was without seam, and woven from top throughout [i]; the priests and elders were verifying another, in the scornful taunts and injurious reflections they cast upon him, in the height of his anguish and dying pangs. *He saved others*, said they in a deriding tone; *but cannot save himself: he pretended to trust in God, let him now deliver him, if he had such delight in him* [k]. Their example was followed by

Jesus crucified between two thieves.

Reviled by the priests, &c.

[h] Conf. Isai. liii. ult. & Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37. xxiii. 33.
[i] Conf. Ps. xxii. 18. & Luke xxiii. 34. [k] Conf. Ps. xxii. 7, 8, & Matth. xxvii. 41, & seq.

mor, *myrrh*; and thus the two evangelists will be reconciled, and the prophecy fulfilled, *They gave me gall to eat, and, in my thirst, vinegar to drink* (33). For the whole tenor of this psalm seems to be a continued prophecy of Christ's sufferings, as well as of that judicial blindness, ruin, and dispersion, which fell on the impenitent *Jews* (34).

(A) These are reasonably supposed to have been two of the gang of those free booters, whom the *Jews* called לסטים, *listessin*, and the *Romans prædones*; such as we have observed in a former section, used to infest those countries, and had given *Herod* so much trouble to suppress.

(33) *Ps. lxix.* 21. (34) *Vid. a vers.* 22, *ad fin.*

all

all the multitudes that were gathered to see the dismal sight. The very criminals, who were crucified on each side, could not forbear reviling him, till one of them, stung at last with some lively remorse, gave his fellow-sufferer a severe rebuke for his impiety; then addressing himself to the suffering *Jesus*, who was then, more than ever, touched with a feeling of our infirmities, and sympathising with his torments and agonies; in the humblest terms confessed his own guilt; and in that pathetic and glorious confession he made of him, whilst under the same shameful sentence and punishment, gave such a signal instance of his faith and piety, as no age of the christian church since that time could ever parallel (B); and for which he received this comfortable assurance, from him that had the keys of life and death, *This day shalt thou be with me in paradise* [1].

The penitent thief forgiven.

When *Jesus* hanged on the cross, he beheld his sorrowful virgin-mother standing by, on whom was now verified the saying of old *Simeon*, that *a sword should pierce her very soul*; and with her stood his beloved disciple, with *Mary Magdalen*, and some other women. The sight of her grief, which must be supposed to be beyond expression at this dismal juncture, revived his tenderness for her; so that, being now come to the last period of his life, he recommended her to the care of that favourite disciple, intreating them to shew to each other from thenceforward the endearing duties of mother and son; and from that time *John* took her to his own

[1] Luke ibid. 39, & seq.

(B) This remarkable circumstance is the more worthy being observed in all its parts, because many a wicked person have flattered themselves with a dangerous notion, that some such short ejaculation at their last agonies will meet with the like success, though in every other particular quite opposite to him.

He sees *Jesus* rejected and condemned by his whole nation, who had been witnesses of his stupendous works; sentenced by the *Romans*; reviled by the *Jewish* priests and elders; forsaken by his own disciples; undergoing a most ignominious and excruciating death; and yet, under all these disadvantageous circumstances, acknowledges him a King, a Saviour, and a Lord He proclaims the unrighteousness of his sentence, and the justice of his own: he declares his faith and hope in him; his belief of another life; and so submissive is he under his torments, that, instead of praying to be delivered from them, either by some miracle, or by a speedy death, his extreme humility will not suffer him to ask for more than a bare remembrance of him, when he came into his kingdom.

house.

houſe [m]. In the mean time a horrid darkneſs overſpread the face of the earth; the ſun hid, as it were, himſelf from ſo diſmal a ſight (C); all the ſpectators were ſeized with a ſudden terror and amazement. Some returned to *Jeruſalem*, ſmiting their breaſts, and proclaiming him a righteous man, whilſt the reſt, more hardened, ſtood in a kind of mournful ſilence, expecting the event. This unnatural darkneſs and diſorder, which laſted from the ſixth to the ninth hour, that is, from noon to three of the clock after it, was followed by a greater, when *Jeſus*, quite ſpent with pain and anguiſh, cried out, *Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachtani* (D); and having taſted the mingled

[m] John xix. 25, & ſeq.

(C) This darkneſs was the more miraculous, becauſe it happened in the time of the oppoſition of the two luminaries, when conſequently there could be no eclipſe of the ſun. For we have formerly obſerved, that the paſſover began in the full moon *; beſides, the total darkneſs of the ſun's eclipſes laſted but at moſt twelve or fifteen minutes; whereas this is recorded to have laſted three full hours (35). Whether it reached the whole hemiſphere, or only the land of *Judæa*, is not eaſily determined, the antient fathers being divided about it. *Origen*, and ſome others, confined it to the latter (36), whilſt others (37) extend it over the former. Theſe quote the famous aſtronomer *Phlegon*, the free-man of the emperor *Adrian*, who affirms, that in the fourth year of the CCII olympiad, which is ſuppoſed to be that of the death of Chriſt, there was ſuch a total eclipſe of the ſun at noon-day, that the ſtars were plainly to be ſeen. It has indeed been diſputed, whether this year of Chriſt's crucifixion anſwered to that of the olympiad abovementioned; and what is there of this nature that ſome bold critics will not diſpute? but we ſhall refer our readers, for a fuller view of the controverſy, to the learned doctor *Dawſon*'s diſſertation on that ſubject. *Tertullian*, in his uſual elegant way, refers the heathens to their public records for this ſurpriſing phænomenon, wherein mid-night happened at noon-day (38). And *Suidas* introduces *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, then at *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, expreſſing himſelf to his friend *Apollophanes* concerning this unnatural eclipſe; that *either the author of nature ſuffered, or was ſympathiſing with the ſufferer*.

(D) Or, which is more probable, repeated the whole twenty-ſecond pſalm, of which thoſe are the title, or firſt words, and in which there are the moſt lively ſtrokes of all the remarkable par-

* *Vol. II. p.* 521, *& Vol. III. p.* 170, *& ſeq.* (35) *Vid. Matth. xxvii.* 45. (36) *In Matth. ubi ſupra, & alib.* (37) *Julius Africanus ap. Syncel. Euſeb. in chron. Hieron. & al.* (38) *Apolog. c.* 21.

gled vinegar, which was offered to imbitter his laſt gaſp, recommended his ſpirit into the hands of his heavenly Father, and in an agony of prayer yielded up the ghoſt.

For

ticulars of his paſſion; ſome of which we have already quoted, others we have elſewhere explained in a manner wholly new, and yet ſatisfactory, as we have found, to many of our readers *. The word שבקתני, *ſabachtani*, here uſed, inſtead of the *Hebrew* עזבתני, *hazabthani*, ſhews, that it was quoted out of the *Chaldee* paraphraſe, which was then the moſt in uſe, and in which alone that word is to be found (39). So that he ſeems here to have, as it were, reminded his heavenly Father, how he was now fulfilling all thoſe prophecies contained in that pſalm, which is a kind of epitome or ſummary of all the other oracles relating to his ſufferings and death. In conſequence of which, he was praying to him that he would make good to him and to his ſpiritual poſterity, that is, to his church, all thoſe gracious promiſes, which are contained in the latter part of the ſame pſalm, from the twenty-ſecond verſe to the end.

The *Jews* therefore, who knew that there was no other way then, to quote either a pſalm, or any other ſection of holy writ, but from the firſt words of it, as we have elſewhere ſhewn might have ſaved their invectives againſt Chriſt, as if he had been then ſeized with a kind of deſpair (40), and objecting to him the words of the pſalmiſt, *I never ſaw the righteous forſaken*, &c. (41). Our commentators might likewiſe have ſaved themſelves the trouble of accounting for this ſeemingly deſpairing expoſtulation, from the ſuppoſition, that the Deity had wholly withdrawn every ſpark of comfort and hope from him, whilſt he was thus undergoing the puniſhment due to ſin; ſome of whom have carried it to ſuch a height, as cannot be read without horror (42). Whereas the ſuppoſition above mentioned, that he was then repeating this noble pſalm, which, after the capitulation of his unparallelled ſufferings, concludes with the moſt comfortable promiſes both to him and his followers; ſhews him to have been ſo far from either doubt or deſpair, that he comforted himſelf under the terrible weight of the former by the aſſured proſpect of the latter. And that he really died in this godlike temper of mind, all the other circumſtances of his paſſion and death, as well as his laſt dying ejaculations, and the noble teſtimony which the centurion gave of it, do plainly ſhew.

And here we beg leave to make one remark more on the elaborate metrical verſion, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter,

* *Vid Vol III. p.* 211, *in fin.* (Z). (39) *Vid. Munſt. in Pſ.* xxii. *note b. Prid connect. part.* 2. *l.* 8. *ſub an A. C.* 27. (49) שוחר־טוב, & *al. comment. in Pſal.* (41) *Pſal.* xxxvii. 24, 25, & *alib.* (42) *Vid. inter al. Calvin. in loc.* & *inſtitut.*

wherein

FOR immediately upon his expiring, the frame of nature fell, as it were, into convulſions: the earth quaked, the rocks wherein that learned prelate, ſpeaking of the pſalm we are now upon, thinks to have found in it ſuch difference of ſtyle, matter, *&c.* that he cannot forbear ſuppoſing they are two different pſalms, abſurdly tacked together by the *Jews*, and which ought to be divided at the twenty-ſecond verſe above-mentioned, where a kind of new theme ſeems to begin. *The ſtrange prodigies which happened at his death.*

But, with due ſubmiſſion to his lordſhip's great judgment, we think this difference of ſtyle, *&c.* highly conſiſtent with the twofold deſign of it, the one to foretel the great humiliation of Chriſt, and the other to ſhew his glorious exaltation immediately following it (43). The ſubject of thoſe two prophecies being vaſtly different, it could hardly be otherwiſe, but the ſtyle muſt be ſo likewiſe. We may add, that the fifty third chapter of *Iſaiah*, which runs almoſt parallel in both theſe caſes, and is allowed by all chriſtians, as it was once by the antient *Jews*, to relate to the Meſſiah (44), might be as properly divided into two, as this pſalm; which yet never came into any man's head, on account of that difference, or any other. No not even into that of the *Jews*, though ſo cloſely pinched by it, that they have even ventured to ſplit the perſon there ſpoken of into two.

Before we diſmiſs this noble pſalm, we beg leave to anſwer an objection which the latter raiſe againſt our reading in the ſixteenth verſe, כארי, *caru*, *they pierced my hands*, &c. inſtead of כארי, *caare*, which they pretend is the true reading, and ſignifies *like a lion*, as if the meaning had been, *my hands and feet, like thoſe of a lion*; (to which they were forced to add to make it ſenſe,) *were watched* or *obſerved*. And this exchange of the latter for the former they do not ſcruple to charge us with, as done deſignedly by the ſacred hiſtorian (45).

As we have no manuſcript of ſo old a date as to be able to decide the matter on either ſide. it might be a ſufficient anſwer to obſerve to them the unlikelihood, that St. *Matthew*, who was a converted *Jew*, and wrote in a language ſo well underſtood by the whole nation, ſhould dare to quote a paſſage ſo contrary to its received reading and ſenſe, if theirs had really been the right one.

We might tell them farther, that by their own confeſſion the ſeptuagint verſion had altered the ſenſe of ſeveral texts of ſcripture, which they thought looked derogatory of either their lawgiver, or of the Meſſiah. Of this laſt nature was the changing of the words of the text, *Mine ears haſt thou bored, for a body haſt thou prepared for me.* Concerning which we have ſpoken more

(43) *De hoc vid. Philip* ii. 8, & 9. (44) *Vid. int. al. Mori Diatrib. in Iſai.* liii. *præf. & not. paſſ. & paralleliſm. int. loc. & nov. teſt. ſcript.* (45) *Vid. int. al Auct. lib. Nitzachon.*

rocks were cleft aſunder, the graves opened, the dead raiſed; and the veil, which covered the moſt holy place, was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, uncovering thereby thoſe myſteries of the *Moſaic* diſpenſation, which had now in his death their full accompliſhment; in token of which he broke out in his laſt agonies with thoſe ſignal words, *It is finiſhed.* Here the centurion and infidel ſoldiers, obſerving his meek and pious exit, and the miraculous circumſtances which attended it, were ſtruck with ſuch admiration and dread, that they confeſſed him to be the ſon of God [n]. Not

[n] Matth. xxvii. 50. & ſeq.

fully in our third volume ‡; to which we might add, that *Juſtin Martyr* charges them (46) with having made many other more conſiderable alterations, and in particular with having expunged the words ἀπο τȣ ξυλȣ out of the tenth verſe of the ninety-ſixth pſalm, when both that verſion and the ancient *Latin* one made from it, called *Vetus Itala*, read, *Dicite in gentibus, Dominus regnavit à ligno*; which laſt words are likewiſe to be ſeen in ſome other verſions in the ſame tongue (47); and is it not more reaſonable to think, that when the old *Mazorites* came to find what uſe was made of this text againſt them, they might at firſt ſlide the כארי in the margin, or *keri*, and by degrees change that into the *ketib*; than to ſuppoſe an evangeliſt to be guilty of ſuch a manifeſt and wilful corruption. Thoſe who are unacquainted with the terms of *keri* and *ketib*, may ſee what we have ſaid of them at the beginning of this chapter *.

But let the words have ſlipped in or out of the text as they will, as long as they own that כארי is the true reading, it will be ſufficient to anſwer them with the learned *Hottinger*, in his diſſertation on that word, that it may as well be the participle כרי and ſo ſignify as properly *piercing*, the א being there euphonical or hemantic; in which caſe the ſenſe will run more elegant and agreeable to the *Hebrew* idiom, which often uſes the participle for the verb, *piercing my hands and my feet*; whereas, take the *caari* in the *Jewiſh* ſignification, the ſenſe is imperfect, and muſt be ſupplied with a far-fetched verb, to make it intelligible.

However, we are far enough from allowing this laſt to be the true ancient reading; the contrary has been fully proved from the ſeptuagint verſion, which reads it as we do, *Caru*; and from the confeſſion of ſeveral rabbies, as the reader may ſee, among many more, in the two learned authors quoted in the margin (48).

‡ *Pag.* 194. *not.* (N). (46) *Dialog. con. Tryph.* (47) *Vid. Orig. Hexapl. in loc. Pſalter. pentaglot Auguſt. in Pſ. in loc.*
* *Pag.* 524, (Z). (48) *Bochart. hieroz. p.* 1. *l.* iii. *c.* 6. *Hare in Pſ.* xxii. *vere* 17.

to

ſo did the *Jewiſh* prieſts and elders, who remained inflexible in ſpite of all theſe prodigies, and purſued their malice to the utmoſt, and without the leaſt relenting. It was now paſt three of the clock, the time in which the evening lamb was daily offered up; and this was the eve of their ſabbath, and of one of their grand feſtivals; that the ſolemnity of it therefore might not be ſullied or diſturbed by the hanging of the three bodies on the croſs [o], they went to beg of *Pilate*, that he would order their legs to be broke, and that they might be taken down, and carried off. This was immediately executed on the two criminals; but when they came to *Jeſus*, and found him already dead, they broke not his legs, but one of the ſoldiers, ſeemingly out of wantonneſs, ſtruck his lance into his ſide, which immediately iſſued forth water and blood. Theſe laſt circumſtances happened, not without a peculiar direction of providence, not only as they fully aſſured us of his being really dead, but as they verified two ſignal prophecies concerning him; the one, that *not a bone of his ſhould be broken* [p]; and the other, that *they*, *the inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *ſhould behold him whom they had pierced* [q].

WHILST theſe things were tranſacting on mount *Calvary*, *Joſeph of Arimathea* (E), a wealthy and honourable *Jewiſh* ruler, and a ſecret diſciple of *Jeſus*, but yet of ſuch courage and integrity, as to proteſt againſt their violent and unjuſt proceedings againſt him, went boldly to *Pilate* and begged leave to take down and bury his ſacred remains. *Pilate* at firſt could ſcarcely believe that he could be ſo ſoon dead, but being aſſured of it by the centurion, he readily granted his

[o] De hoc vid. Deut. xxi. 22. & ſeq. & Vol. III. p. 313.
[p] Vid Exod. xii. 46. Numb. ix. 12, & alib.
[q] Zechar. xii. 10. Conf. cum. John xix. 36, & ſeq.

(E) The ſame which is called in the ſacred *Hebrew* books *Ramah*, and *Ramathah*, and ſignifies a *high place*; and this is the reaſon why we meet with ſeveral of the ſame name, which have been confounded one with another. This therefore here ſpoken of by the evangeliſts, and which St. *Jerom* places between *Joppa* and *Lydda* (49), and ſome modern travellers on an eminence between the former and *Jeruſalem*, being conſequently on the weſt of that metropolis, was very different from *Ramathaim Zophim*, *Samuel*'s native place, which was ſituate on the north of it. As the reader may ſee by comparing *Saul*'s journey, in ſearch of his father's aſſes (50), with the map of *Paleſtine* (51).

(49) *Epitaph. in Paul.* (50) 1 *Sam.* ix. 4, *& ſeq.* (51) *Vid. R. I. Paleſt.*

requeſt.

Christ embalmed and buried.

request. *Joseph* had a garden adjoining to the place, in which he had hewn a new tomb in the rock, which he designed for himself, but was now by a particular providence better disposed of, and was made the repository of his master's body. We have formerly observed in what manner criminals that died by the hands of justice were to be buried apart †; but, in reconding him in this maiden grave, they seem to have fulfilled another signal prophecy in the same chapter of *Isaiah*, where the history of his sufferings is so lively represented, and where this remarkable circumstance is foretold, *that tho' he was numbered* (in his death) *with the transgressors, yet he should have his grave among the great or wealthy* [r]. *Nicodemus*, another of his private disciples, assisted at the doleful rite; and these two having hastily embalmed the body with a large quantity of myrrh and aloes, and wrapt it in a new winding-sheet, deposited it into this new sepulchre, wherein no corpse had as yet been laid; and covered the mouth of it with a large stone, not to be removed but by a good number of hands; after which they went to prepare themselves for the celebration of the ensuing solemnity [s]. In the mean while, the jealous *Jews* went to *Pilate*, and acquainted him, that *Jesus*, whom they there style *this deceiver*, had formerly boasted, that he would rise again on the third day; and that it was therefore highly necessary to have his tomb well guarded till then, lest his disciples should privately steal him away, and then give out, that he was really risen, which would make the last mistake more dangerous than the first. *Pilate* easily agreed to what they asked, and to prevent any imposition of that kind, told them, Ye have a guard (F); go ye therefore

His tomb sealed and guarded.

† See Vol. III. p. 313

[r] Isaiah liii. 9. Vid. Mor. diatrib. in loc. & parallel. in fin.

[s] Matth. xxvii. 57, & seq. Mark xv, 42, &c. Luke xxiii. 50, &c. John xix. 38, & seq.

(F) We think there is here a material circumstance, which has hitherto past unobserved, and which still more secures the truth of Christ's resurrection, *viz.* his tomb being guarded, not by a *Roman* but a *Jewish* watch. The former might have been liable to suspicion, and these *Pagan* soldiers, little minding whether the *Jews* or Christ's disciples were most in the right, might have been bribed by the latter to connive at an attempt to impose on a whole nation, which they hated and despised. But a *Jewish* guard, or, as they are

therefore and make every thing as ſure as you can. So they went and ſet a guard at the door of the ſepulchre, and ſet their ſeal upon the ſtone [t]; and, by their extraordinary care to prevent any private attempt, made the truth of his reſurrection appear in the ſtronger light, as we ſhall ſee in the next ſection.

SECT. VII.

The Hiſtory of the Jews, *from Chriſt's reſurrection to the total deſtruction of their city and temple, and diſperſion of that people.*

WE have hitherto ſeen Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God in his loweſt humiliation, deſpiſed, rejected, and abhorred; perſecuted, tried, and condemned to a death of utmoſt ſhame and ignominy; expiring on a croſs and laid in a grave, and in all theſe reſpects in the loweſt and moſt abject condition of a man. The third day after his death, being the firſt day of the week, or our *Sunday*, and

[t] Matth. xxvii. 62, ad fin.

are elſewhere called, *the officers and band of the high-prieſts* (2), and were perhaps the ſame who had ſo lately brought him from the garden into that pontiff's palace, where they had made him ſuffer ſo many indignities, theſe, we ſay, could not be ſuppoſed to join in ſuch a cheat.

Now this ſeems to be the reaſon why *Pilate*, who by his late behaviour ſeems to have entertained a much higher notion of Chriſt, might now be ſo far apprehenſive of his keeping his promiſe, that to prevent all ſuſpicion from him or his ſoldiers, he tells the *Jewiſh* chiefs, You have a guard of your own; make the beſt uſe you can of it. We do not, however, pretend to inſinuate, that they were permitted by the *Romans* to keep any troops of militia of their own; but only, that ſince the high-prieſthood had been joined to the royalty in the time of the *Maccabees*, they uſed to have a conſiderable body of life-guards, it is more than probable, that, after theſe two dignities were parted, the pontiffs were ſtill allowed the ſame, though perhaps in a leſs number, or elſe it will be difficult to gueſs what to make of thoſe ſoldiers and officers of the high-prieſt, which are ſo often met with in the goſpels and in the acts.

(2) *Vid John xviii.* 3. *Conf. cum vii.* 32, 45. *Matth. xxvi.* 47. *Mark xiv.* 43. *Acts iv. i, & alib.*.

the

Christ rises from the dead.

the fifth of *April* [a], offers him to our view in his glorified state, and risen again from the dead, according to his own promises, and the oracles written of old concerning him [b]. By the earliest dawn of this day, those pious women, who had accompanied him through his last three years travels, and had prepared a costly mixture to embalm his body, not dreaming at least of his so sudden resurrection, made their way towards the place, where they had seen him deposited two days before. They do not seem to have known any thing of a guard being set over it, their great concern was only how to get the ponderous stone rolled from the entrance. But that obstacle was already taken off by a miraculous earthquake, which had likewise put the guards to flight, so that at their arrival they found the stone rolled on one side, and an angel cloathed in a refulgent array sitting upon it. Their surprize was still greater, when they heard the heavenly messenger reprove their officious, but untimely, piety, in words to this effect: Why seek ye the living among the dead, forgetful of what he often repeated to you, that he was to suffer death, and to rise again on the third day? Behold the place where he was laid, and from which he is risen, and go and acquaint his disciples with it, and tell them, that he will meet you in *Galilee* according to his promise. They did so accordingly, and, with the greatest joy and wonder, went and told them what they had seen and heard; but those, still backward to believe, looked upon it as the effects of fancy and delusion [c].

The angel's speech to the women.

Two of them, however, had the curiosity to run to the sepulchre: *John*, who was the youngest of the two, came in it, and stooping down found, that the body was really gone; but when *Peter* came next, he went into the place along with that beloved disciple, and to their surprize found the grave-cloaths and the napkin, not hastily and confusedly thrown by, but neatly folded up separately; upon which they began to entertain some hopes, and returned to acquaint the rest with the news [d]. Whilst they were thus together, and the women with them, *Mary Magdalen*, who had stayed in the garden, prying about to find whether the body had not been removed to some other place, came hastily to them, and assured them, that the Lord had

[a] Vid. USSER. ann. sub A. M. 4030, p. 843. [b] Conf. Psalm xvi. 10. & Act. ii. 31 & alib. [c] Matth. xxviii. 1, & seq. Mark xvi. 1, & seq. Luke xxiv. 1, & seq. John xx. 1, & seq. [d] John ibid. vers. 3, & seq.

appeared

appeared to her there [e]. But neither could this further confirmation diſpel either their ſorrow or unbelief; till *Jeſus* at length came and ſhewed himſelf to them, gave them a gracious *All-hail*, and bid them be of good comfort, for he was alive again, and, according to his promiſe, would ſhortly meet them in *Galilee*. In the mean time, the frighted guards leaving the garden with utmoſt ſpeed and confuſion, went to acquaint the chief-prieſts and rulers with what had happened; upon which a council was immediately called. Here one might have reaſonably expected, they would either have yielded to ſo much evidence, or at leaſt ſuſpended all further reſolutions, till they had made a full inquiry into the fact. But inſtead of that, they rather choſe at any rate to ſuppreſs a truth, which was ſure to caſt the deepeſt guilt on their late unjuſt ſentence againſt Chriſt [f]; and accordingly bribed the watch with a good round ſum, to give out, that his diſciples had ſtolen him away whilſt they were aſleep, promiſing them at the ſame time, that if the matter came to the governor's ears, they would find means to pacify him, and bear them harmleſs. Upon which they went and ſpread abroad that report, which was readily ſwallowed by the greateſt part of the *Jews*, and went ſtill current among them for many years [g] (A).

ON that evening, two of the diſciples going to a village called *Emmaus*, diſtant about ſixty furlongs, or eight miles north-weſt of *Jeruſalem*, were diſcourſing with each other about the ſtrange tranſactions of the day, when *Jeſus* overtook them, and without making himſelf known, aſked

[e] Ibid. verſ. 15, & ſeq. [f] Vid. int. al. Acts v. 28. [g] Matth. xxviii. 9, & ſeq.

(A) So ſays the evangeliſt (1). But the *Jews* have ſince found out another way to oppoſe this ſignal truth, by denying that of his crucifixion, under pretence, that it was a puniſhment unuſual and unwarranted among them We have had frequent occaſion to mention this and ſome others of their poor and ſhameful evaſions, and ſhall not repeat them here.

Much leſs ſhall we take upon us to anſwer all the cavils which our modern ſceptics have raiſed againſt this important article, which has been ſo ſtrenuouſly defended by ſo many abler hands, and more particularly of late by a very learned pen, and in a manner wholly new, but ſo convincing, that nothing need be added to it (2), as indeed nothing has, or can be, replied to it.

(1) *Matth. xxviii.* 15.

(2) *Trial of the witneſſes, paſſ*

them the cauſe of their melancholy entertainment. *Cleophas*, one of the two, in a kind of ſurprize, that he ſhould ſeem ſo great a ſtranger to the tranſactions of the laſt week, began to give him an account both of them and of thoſe of that day; particularly their ſurprize at the viſion, which the women had ſeen at the ſepulchre, concluding the whole with a kind of complaint, that though they had hitherto looked upon *Jeſus* as the future deliverer of their unhappy nation: yet it being now three days ſince they had ſeen him expire on a ſhameful croſs, their hopes were almoſt at an end, in ſpite of the women's report of his reſurrection, and its being in ſome meaſure confirmed by ſome of the apoſtles, who had been that morning at the ſepulchre. Here *Jeſus* took occaſion to blame their want of faith, not only in him, but in the ſcriptures, where both his ſufferings and death, reſurrection and glory, were ſo plainly foretold, and to give them a thorough expoſition of them from the firſt to the laſt. By this time they were got to the village, where *Jeſus* made a ſhew as if he deſigned to go farther; but they had been ſo comforted by his diſcourſe, that they intreated him to ſpend that night with them, the evening being then juſt upon cloſing. He went in with them accordingly, and, being ſat down at table, began with the breaking of the bread, as he had been wont to do; upon which they knew him, and he immediately vaniſhed. This ſurpriſing diſcovery added to the warmth which their hearts had felt, whilſt he expounded the ſcriptures to them on the road, would not ſuffer them to tarry longer there; but they went to communicate their joy that very night to the reſt that were then gathered together at *Jeruſalem*, and who acquainted them at the ſame time with his having appeared unto them [h].

Appears to the twelve at ſupper.

All theſe circumſtances had been ſo far from convincing them hitherto, that they rather concluded, from his ſo ſudden diſappearing, that they had only ſeen ſome ſpirit in his likeneſs. They ſeemed ſtill more confirmed in it, when being ſat down to ſupper, with the gates faſt for fear of the *Jews*, he ſurprized them with his preſence, and gave them his uſual ſalutation, *Peace be to you.* To convince them therefore of their miſtake, he commanded them to draw near, and conſider his pierced hands and feet, handle his body, and ſatisfy themſelves by all proper means, that he was no ſpirit or phantaſm, but their real riſen lord and maſter. Whilſt they were ſtill fluctuating between joy and doubt,

Year of the Flood, 3035. Of Chriſt, 34.

[h] Luke xxiv. 13, & ſeq.

he

he reminded them of his former promiſes, explained thoſe oracles to them, in which theſe things were preſignified of him, renewed his former commiſſion and power to them to preach and confirm his goſpel, and left them for that night with his uſual bleſſing, full of joy and wonder, to collect and compare the ſeveral tranſactions of that glorious and ſignal day [i] (B).

Thomas, one of the eleven apoſtles, called *Didymus*, chanced to be abſent when this happened; ſo that when the reſt informed him of it, he plainly told them, that he ſhould never believe it, till he had thruſt his finger into the print of the nails, and his hand into his wounded ſide. Eight days after being the twelfth of *April*, *Jeſus* appeared again to them, when *Thomas* was there, and invited him to come and take that full demonſtration, which he had ſo ſtifly inſiſted on; but the incredulous ſervant, being now fully aſſured without it, fell at his gracious feet, and, with an humble ecſtaſy of joy, confeſſed him to be his Lord and his God; upon which he was diſmiſſed with this gentle reproof; *Thou believeſt*, Thomas, *becauſe thou haſt ſeen; but bleſſed are they that have not ſeen, and yet believe* [k]. Some days after, they all left *Jeruſalem*, and went according to his appointment into *Galilee*; where he appeared again unto them, and, after his uſual ſalutation, ſaid unto them, *All power is given me in heaven and earth. Go therefore and preach to all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, &c. [l] Seven of them being ſoon after gone to the ſea-ſide to fiſh, namely *Peter*, *John*, *James*, *Thomas*, *Bartholomew*, or *Nathanael*, and two others not named, and having toiled all night in vain, *Jeſus* manifeſted himſelf again to them in the morning, by the kind and known token of a beneficial miracle; and, after they had dragged their loaded net to the ſhore, condeſcended to eat and drink with them. After breakfaſt, *Jeſus* addreſſing himſelf to *Peter* aſked, whether he loved

Appears to Thomas.

To ſeven others.

[i] Luke xxiv. 36, & ſeq. JOHN xx. 19, & ſeq. & alib. [k] JOHN ibid. verſ. 24, & ſeq. [l] MATTH. xxviii. 16, & ſeq.

(B) This laſt was the fifth appearance he made of himſelf on this one day, *viz.* 1. to *Mary Magdalen*; 2. to the other women; 3. to *Peter*, in ſome manner not plainly recorded, but mentioned tranſitorily by St. *Luke* and St. *Paul* (3); 4. tothe two diſciples; and, 5. to the whole college at ſupper.

(3) *Luke* xxiv. 34. 1 *Corinth.* xv. 5.

him more than the reſt? and being anſwered in the affirmative, commanded him to feed his flock. He repeated the ſame queſtion twice more to him, inſomuch that *Peter*, being grieved at it, broke out into this expreſſion; *Lord, thou, who knoweſt all things, muſt know that I love thee.* After this treble confeſſion of his unfeigned love, deſigned probably as a kind of expiation for his treble denial of him, *Jeſus* plainly told him, that the time would come, when he ſhould make a much more authentic acknowledgment of him, when he ſuffered himſelf to be bound and led to a glorious matyrdom for his ſake, and in imitation of him, intimating thereby, as the evangeliſt hints, his crucifixion, by which he was to glorify God, as he did accordingly many years after, with a conſtancy becoming a chief apoſtle (C). This

His commiſſion to Peter.

was

(C) The ſufferings and matyrdom of the primitive preachers of the goſpel being not only an irrefragable teſtimony of their ſincerity, as well as aſſurance of the facts and truths delivered by them, but moreover one of the higheſt inſtances of the divine wiſdom and power, which was to be diſplayed in the propagation of it (4); it will not be amiſs to ſpeak a little more fully of them, in his place, and upon this occaſion; ſince the thread of this chapter will not permit us to follow them into thoſe foreign countries, where they ſealed it with their blood.

Whoever conſiders what a ſtrenuous oppoſition the degenerate world has always made to chriſtianity, muſt own, that whatever fate had attended the preachers of it, was ſure to be turned into an objection againſt it. Were they encouraged, admired, and careſſed, or did their charitable labour meet with ſuitable returns, No wonder, would it have been ſaid, they are ſo zealous and indefatigable to propagate a goſpel, which turns ſo much to their credit and advantage. Were they deſpiſed, abhorred, perſecuted, and liable to the moſt ſhocking diſcouragements, how inconſiſtent would it have been thought with the divine goodneſs and juſtice, to ſuffer ſuch faithful, zealous, and charitable ſervants to be thus treated by thoſe, whom their chief ſtudy and deſign was to render the moſt happy perſons both here and hereafter; or to permit men of ſuch excellent and godlike diſpoſitions to be expoſed to the barbarous fury of the very vileſt of human race!

What medium the moſt conſummate human forecaſt could have found out between theſe two caſes, we may well be at a loſs to imagine But here it was, that infinite wildom and power triumphed in ſuch a manner, as was once more to confound the moſt wiſe and prudent of the world. And this was done, by creating,

(4) *Conf. Iſai.* xxix. 14. 1 *Cor.* i. 19, & *ſeq.*

a

was the third time of his appearing to the full body of his disciples after his resurrection. After that prediction, *Jesus* bid *Peter*

as it were, such a new nature in those primitive professors of the gospel, as should not only render them insensible of, but even capable of receiving the most ecstatic comforts in the most excruciating torments, to which they were going to be exposed. By this, the objections of worldly gain on their part, or of injustice on God's were fully obviated; whilst the amazed world beheld them most calm, serene, and *joyful*, when, to all human appearance, they laboured under the heaviest loads of pain, and misery.

This miraculous change once wrought in them, they are no more the cowards that forsook their master, or shut their doors for fear of the *Jews*; but in the synagogues, the streets, and even to the face of death, freely confess and preach him (5). *Peter*, who through fear of the danger of being his, had thrice denied and forsworn him, can now sleep as calmly and soundly in a dungeon, with his hands and feet loaded with irons, and on the eve, as he thought, and *Herod* designed, of his matyrdom, as if he had been in his own bed, and out of all danger (6). *Paul* and *Silas* after having been unmercifully scourged, are thrust down into the lowest hold of a common gaol, and are heard by all the prisoners to sing psalms and hymns in the middle of the night (7).

In a word, this surprizing change was not confined to the apostles, disciples, and preachers of the gospel, much less to the infancy of it; but extended itself to their proselytes of all ranks, ages, sexes, conditions, and countries, during near three hundred years, if not much beyond. All which is a subject so well known and attested, not only by the primitive fathers and apologists; the former of whom, sealing the truth with their blood, and the latter, moreover, appealing to the records of their enemies and the notoriety of the facts, must consequently be allowed unexceptionable witnesses; but likewise by the very heathen authors themselves, who seemed as much to despise them for their folly, as they were astonished at their universal constancy; so that it would be superfluous to insist longer upon it.

We are not insensible indeed, how much the innumerable instances of this kind, which we meet with in the latter histories of *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and others, have been thought exaggerated, and what little credit those writers have of late among us. The story of a *Laurence* throwing his sarcastical jests on his judges and executioners, whilst broiling on a gridiron, has been thought so monstrously absurd and unnatural, that it has almost discredited all

(5) *Vid Act.* ii, iii, & *seq. pass.* (6) *Ibid.* xii 2, & *seq.*
(7) *Ibid.* xvi. 23, & *seq.*

the

Peter come after him; who, turning about and ſeeing the beloved diſciple, aſked his maſter, whether he would have him

the reſt. We would therefore beg leave to ask theſe doubtful gentlemen, whether they would have believed that ſtory, had it been tranſmitted down to us by any, but chriſtian writers; or, which is ſtill more, by men profeſſed enemies to chriſtanity, and at the ſame time of avowed ſenſe, learning, and integrity? If they would, we hope we may be permitted to ſubjoin one here of altogether as ſurpriſing a nature, and upon the authority of a perſon of the unqueſtionable character laſt mentioned

Libanius, the famous orator of *Antioch* a perſon greatly eſteemed by all for his learning and humanity, but eſpecially by the emperor *Julian*, as appears by their mutual literary intercourſe, is the author we are ſpeaking of (8). The ſtory he relates is of one *Mark*, a venerable old biſhop of *Arethuſa*, a city in *Syria* between *Emeſa* and *Epiphania*; who endured the moſt exquiſite torments, under the above mentioned emperor, not only with utmoſt conſtancy, but braved his enemies with ſuch biting ſarcaſms in the midſt of his torments, that, being at laſt overcome by his heroic behaviour they were forced to let him down, and go off with his life, to prevent the heathen ſpectators falling down and worſhipping him The deſign of this ſtory, as well as of the orator's letter, was, to ſtop a perſecution newly raiſed under that apoſtate monarch againſt the chriſtians, for the havock they had made of the *Pagan* temples under his predeceſſor's reign; and the judge to whom he writes it, had then a zealous chriſtian priſoner, named *Orion*, who, it was apprehended, would prove a ſecond *Mark*, if the ſame ſeverities ſhould be uſed againſt him, and much more, leſt the known conſtancy of the reſt ſhould cauſe an univerſal defection from paganiſm. For which reaſon *Libanius*, though a bitter enemy to chriſtianity, is for putting an immediate ſtop to all further perſecution.

His letters, to the number of above ſixteen hundred, though preſerved in manuſcript, in ſeveral public as well as private libraries, and a good number of them printed and tranſlated into *Latin* (9), are yet ſo little known by our *Engliſh* readers, that we hope it will not be thought impertinent, if we ſubjoin here the ſubſtance] both of the letter and of this ſignal ſtory; though, for the better underſtanding of it, we ſhall be forced to have recourſe to *Theodoret*'s (10) aſſiſtance. For the ſtyle of the former is ſo in-

(8) *De Liban. & ejus epiſtol. Vid. int. al. Eunap. vitæ Liban. Joban. Chriſt. Volf præfat. in cent. epiſt. Liban. ſophiſt. cum not. Lipſik.* 1711. (9) *Fr. Zambicar. Joban. Sommerfeld. Morel. & al ap Volf. ubi ſupra.* (10) *Hiſt. Eccl. l.* iii. *c.* 7. *Vid. & Sozomen l.* v. *c.* 10.

tricate

him alſo follow him? But *Jeſus* rebuked his untimely curioſity, with telling him, If I will have him tarry till I come, what

tricate and laconic every-where, eſpecially where he ſpeaks of things and facts of a recent nature and univerſally known, that, without the guide of ſome other hiſtorian, one would never gueſs what he means or alludes to, becauſe he contents himſelf with the bare hint of them, as the reader may ſee by the letter itſelf (11). We hope the curiouſneſs of the ſubject, as well as the character of the author, will excuſe the length of this note; though, to ſhorten it as much as we can, we ſhall join the account out of thoſe two authors together, leaving to our readers to compare them with each other at their own leiſure.

" *Mark*, the heroic biſhop in queſtion, having in the reign of " *Conſtans* built a chriſtian church by and on the ruins of a *Pagan* " temple, and being like to ſuffer for it under *Julian*, endeavoured " at firſt to avoid it by flight; where being informed that ſome of " his dioceſe were going to be taken up for it, he came back and " ſurrendered himſelf to the heathen officers, as the only perſon " accountable for that fact. But theſe, without regard to his learn- " ing, dignity, or great age, ordered him to be ſtripped naked, " and ſcourged from head to foot. From thence he was flung into a " ſtinking common-ſhore; and being taken out again, was ex- " poſed in that condition to the mercy of a great number of ſchool- " boys, who made it their cruel ſport to pink his fleſh with their " writing inſtruments.

" All this was done to oblige him to refund the damages of the " demoliſhed temple, which when he conſtantly refuſed to do, " they beſmeared him all over with honey and a kind of ſweet " ſauce, called *garon*, and hoiſted him up into the air in a kind of " net, or open baſket; where, it being then the heat of ſummer, " the bees, waſps, *&c.* did eat him up alive. Whilſt he hung in " this dreadful condition, they offered to abate him half of the " ſtipulated ſum, thinking his refuſal owing to his inability of pay- " ing the whole. But, to their ſurpriſe, he anſwrered, that he ſhould " think it as impious to refund a doit, as the whole ſum. But " what increaſed their wonder beyond expreſſion is, he was all " this time ſo far from uttering a groan, or ſhewing the leaſt ſenſe " of pain, that he even ſeemed to make himſelf merry with his " *Pagan* tormentors, telling them, that *they were from beneath*, " *but he from above*; alluding to his ſuſpenſion. The conſequence " of the whole was, that, being at length overcome by his ſuper- " natural conſtancy, they let him down, and releaſed him full of " the deepeſt veneration and reſpect ".

Now, when a ſtory comes to us confirmed by a perſon of *Libanius*'s character, and who was not only contemporary to it, but ſpeaks of it with the ſame aſſurance, as if he had been an eye wit-

(11) *In epiſt lxx.*

neſs

what have you to do with it? hence arose a strange notion among the rest, that that disciple should not die [m]; though, in all probability, Christ meant no more than his tarrying on earth, till his coming to take vengeance on the *Jewish* nation, which St. *John* actually lived to see totally dispersed.

THUS did our risen saviour manifest himself, either to his whole church, or to some of them more particularly, during the space of forty days, in all convincing proofs; instructing them still further in his heavenly doctrine, discoursing more familiarly with them of his spiritual kingdom, dispelling their doubts, allaying their fears, and comforting their hearts with the glorious prospect of an eternal life to crown their painful and arduous race. At length, the appointed time of his departure drawing near, he gathered them together, to the number, as St. *Paul* tells us, of above five hundred [n]. He led them into a retired part of a mountain, where he again gave them fresh assurances of his never-failing love, care, and protection, to the end of the world, renewed his commission and miraculous powers to them, together with the promise of

[m] JOHN xxi. per tot. [n] 1 CORINTH. XV. 6.

ness of it; we know not well how that of *Laurence*, or any other, can be questioned in those historians. The same sophist adds to what *Theodoret* says, that the people were so astonished at the old bishop's constancy, that they worshipped him as a god; and that when *Julian* heard of it, though he was vexed at the demolition of the temple, he yet chose rather to forgive him, than to make further trial of his patience.

He concludes his letter with desiring his friend the judge, not to make of *Orion* his prisoner a second *Mark*, or a second *Marsyas* (who had been lately flayed alive). If, says he, you think *Orion* has a golden mine in his skin, you would do well to get it out; if not, by *Jupiter*, you had better let him go; or if you must punish him, do it in such a manner, that he may have no opportunity to make a public shew of his patience and constancy. Some have thought, that all this moderation of our orator might be owing to an apprehension of *Julian*'s being succeeded by a christian (12); but, be that how it will, it cannot invalidate the testimony which he gives to those heroic sufferers. However, many of his letters appear full of the same moderate spirit, in other instances; and the tenor of the letter above mentioned shews him to have been rather afraid of the effects of the christian constancy, which under such grievous persecutions always drew, as well it might, a great number of converts, and threatened a total dereliction of their heathen temples and worship.

(12) *Le Clerc, bibl. A. M.* 1715. *part* 2. *sect* 4.

a plentiful

a plentiful effuſion of his Holy Spirit to direct them into all truth, and fit them for their glorious work, the converſion of the world •.

HAVING finiſhed his diſcourſe, he bid them return to *Jeruſalem*, where he would meet them before his aſcenſion, as he accordingly did‖; and ordered them to remain there till they had received the promiſed Comforter, by whom they ſhould ſhortly after be endowed with power from above, anſwerable to their high commiſſion. Great need they ſtill ſtood in of ſuch a divine director, ſince theſe laſt words filled them again with hopes, that their maſter was now going indeed to reſtore the kingdom of *Iſrael*. *Jeſus* was here again obliged to check their untimely curioſity, but referred the further diſplay of this important point to that promiſed heavenly inſtructor. And now having finiſhed his glorious work, he led them forth toward *Bethany*, to the mount of *Olives*; where being arrived, he tenderly gathered them about him, and, in their full ſight, went up to heaven, leaving his gracious bleſſing upon them, and the comfortable aſſurance, that he was going to prepare a place for them in his own kingdom; whilſt they, in an adoring poſture, followed him with their wiſhful eyes, till a bright cloud received him out of their ſight (D). Whilſt their eyes were thus fixed ſtill towards him, two angels appeared to them in bright apparel, and ſaid unto them, *Ye men of* Galilee, *why ſtand ye gazing up to heaven? The ſame* Jeſus, *whom ye have now beheld aſcending thither, ſhall in the like manner come down again from thence* P; meaning, doubtleſs, at the laſt day to judge the world; till when he will there re-

Aſcends into heaven.

• MARK xvi. 17. ad fin, ad fin. Act. i. 6, & ſeq.

‖ Ibid. ver. ult. LUKE xxiv. 46.

(D) This happened, according to our learned *Uſher*'s computation, hinted a little higher, on a *Thurſday*, the fourteenth of *May*, which is the ninth month of the *Jewiſh* year, and in the thirty-ſixth, or, according to others, the thirty-third year of his age, and the nineteenth of *Tiberius*'s reign. There is an antient tradition, which adds, that it was about the time of noon when he was taken up, and aſcended from one of the ſummits of mount *Olivet*, where the print of his feet, where he laſt ſtood, was ſtill to be ſeen, and on that account has been had in great veneration ever ſince. The reader may ſee what we have ſaid of it in a former volume †,

† *See before Vol. III. p.* 104, K, 105, L.

main, and reign at the right hand of his Father, till all his enemies be made his footſtool [q] (E). The

[q] Conf. Pſ. cx. 1. Matth. xxii. 44. Act. ii. 35. Hebr. i. 13. x. 12, 13.

(E) It will not be amiſs to cloſe this hiſtory of the Saviour of the world with thoſe other teſtimonies which we find concerning him, both in *Joſephus* and in ſome eminent heathen authors We begin with the former, becauſe we have elſewhere promiſed to ſay ſomething further concerning that known and much controverted paſſage of *his*, which runs to this effect (13):

" At the ſame time there was one *Jeſus*, a wiſe man, if at leaſt " he may be called a man, who was a great worker of miracles, and " a teacher of truth, to all that were deſirous to learn it, and had " a great number of diſciples, both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*. This " was (or as St. *Jerom* read it, *credebatur*, was believed to be) " the Chriſt whom *Pilate* through the envy of the heads of our " nation, cauſed to be crucified; but this did not hinder his diſ- " ciples from cleaving ſtedfaſtly unto him. He was ſeen by them " three days after his death, according to the prophecies concern- " ing him. The chriſtian ſect ſubſiſts to this day, call themſelves " by his name, and acknowledge him for their head".

This paſſage being not only found in all the manuſcripts of that hiſtorian, but quoted by St. *Jerom*, *Euſebius* (14), and other antients, the main objection againſt it is, how *Joſephus* could expreſs himſelf in ſuch a manner concerning Chriſt, and yet live and die a *Jew* To which may be added another difficulty, *viz.* how he could acknowledge him the promiſed Meſſiah, after he had once complimented the *Roman* emperor with that title. But thoſe who believe it to have been foiſted in by ſome pious chriſtians, will find it ſtill much more difficult to account how they could get it inſerted in all future copies, and ſuppreſs all the old and genuine ones.

Thoſe who know how much has been already writ for and againſt it, will eaſily excuſe our not entering further into that controverſy, than referring our readers to the authors themſelves, whom he will find quoted in the margin (15).

All that we ſhall add by way of leſſening the two difficulties raiſed againſt the genuineneſs of the text is, 1ſt, That *Joſephus* was no leſs a courtier, than a *Jew* and a *Phariſee*; he might, as an hiſtorian, who made great ſhew of ſincerity, be forced to publiſh a truth, the ſuppreſſion of which would have brought his character in queſtion, and yet not have reſolution enough to ſacrifice his temporal intereſt to his conviction. The cruel treatment which the diſciples of Chriſt met with from *Jews* and *Gentiles*, might be a ſufficient obſtacle, to a man of his mould, liſting himſelf into their number. He might, and had in all probability converſed with ſeveral learned chriſtians, who might have inſpired him with a great veneration for their di-

(13) *Antiq. l. xviii. c.* 4. (14) *Lib. de ſcriptor. Vid.* & *Euſeb Eccl hiſt. l. i cap.* 11. *iii. c.* 9. (15) *Vid int. al. Huet. demonſtr, evang prop ſect.* 11. & *Arnold. diſſert. de loc. ſuſp. an.* 1661.

vine

THE diſciples, thus warned, returned immediately to *Jeruſalem*, where they ſpent their time in prayers, faſtings, and ſuch-like

vine maſter, and, from the many prophecies concerning him, have convinced him of his being the Meſſiah, and at the ſame time, his brethren of the *Phariſaic* leaven might trump up their notion of a double Meſſiah, *viz.* a ſuffering one, and the other a great and glorious conqueror.

For no time could be more likely to produce ſuch a wild diſtinction, than that about which he wrote his hiſtory, when all their hopes were wholly quaſhed, the ſceptre long ago departed from *Judah*, the ſecond temple deſtroyed, the nation ruined, the utmoſt length of their computation of *Daniel*'s weeks long ſince ended, and the chriſtians every-where beating them out of all other reintrenchments, and forcing them at length to truſt themſelves to this broken plank; and was not a man of *Joſephus*'s character as likely to prefer this ſoothing notion, to the manifeſt danger of becoming a profeſſed chriſtian, as any of his fraternity?

But, laſtly, who can tell, how far the ill treatment which he met with from theſe laſt, at the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, their invincible obſtinacy and ingratitude, their cruelty, hypocriſy, and irreconcileable hatred to him, may have provoked him to lay this heavy charge upon them, of crucifying the Meſſiah, and to aggravate it with thoſe other teſtimonials concerning him, without being himſelf thoroughly ſatisfied with them, through prejudice and intereſt? If we join his reſentment againſt them, and their notion of two Meſſiahs, with his fawning action of complimenting *Veſpaſian* with the title of Meſſiah, we ſhall find, that he acted nothing but what became ſuch a conſummate politician; and the paſſage above-quoted concerning Chriſt, and that concerning the *Roman* emperor, tho' ſet at that great diſtance from each other, to conceal his deſign, when brought nearer together, may amount to no more than this: Since the heads of our nation did unjuſtly reject and crucify the firſt Meſſiah, who came to them in the ſpirit of meekneſs and charity, and in all reſpects anſwered the deſcription given of him by the antient prophets, it is but juſt that the ſecond, who is to be the glorious conquering one, ſhould ſignalize the premiſes of his reign, with the extirpation of thoſe unworthy wretches, and thereby fulfil the prophecies concerning himſelf, and his glorious and univerſal kingdom. All which was in a great meaſure already done before the hiſtorian wrote his two hiſtories, in the laſt of which he ſpeaks of his conference with that prince (16), and may have dreſſed it in the moſt advantageous manner to gain the applauſe of the *Romans*.

If therefore this text ever ſuffered any alteration, it ſeems to have been only in the omiſſion of the word was *believed*, which we find was

(16) *Bell. Jud. l. iii. c.* 14. *v. c.* 12.

ſuch-like other duties, as were likelieſt to qualify them for the reception of the promiſed Comforter. They were about a hundred and twenty perſons, probably exclusive of the women, who did not uſe to be reckoned in the number, though they kept ſtill with them, and among the reſt the virgin *Mary*, who is here particularly mentioned, and for the laſt time [r]. The place they uſed to aſſemble in, was a large upper rooom (F), where a few days after their maſter's aſcenſion, *Peter* addreſſed himſelf to the reſt, and reminded them how neceſſary it was, before they entered into their grand commiſſion, to chuſe a new member into the apoſtolic college, from among thoſe who had been converſant with *Jeſus* from *John*'s bap-

[r] Act. i. 14.

in St. *Jerom's* copy, though not in that of *Euſebius*, *Ruſinus*, and others, where it was left out; but whether through careleſsneſs, or wilfully, muſt be left to the readers candor. And, after all, we may as well ſuſpect the great character which the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian gives to *John the baptiſt*, and to St. *James*, whom he calls the brother of Chriſt (17, which yet caſt no ſmall honour to this laſt, whoſe martyrs they were.

Concerning the teſtimony of heathen writers, we have already mentioned thoſe which confirm the ſupernatural eclipſe which happened at Chriſt's paſſion and the appeal which the apologiſt fathers made to the heathen records for that and other facts. *Tacitus* confirms alſo Chriſt's having been put to death by *Pilate* governor of *Judæa* under the emperor *Tiberius* (18). We might add ſome others, were we not afraid of ſwelling this note too much. The readers may ſee them in the apologies above-mentioned, and in the authors quoted in the margin (19).

For the ſame reaſon we ſhall forbear mentioning that of the *Mohammedans*, and all further debate on the apocryphal goſpels, epiſtles, and other writings concerning him, and all uſeleſs inquiries after his perſon, ſhape, mien, and other ſuch particularities of neither importance, nor the leaſt certainty. As for his pretended correſpondence with the king of *Edeſſa*, we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid in a former volume †.

(F) The words εἰς το ὑπερῶον (20), do certainly imply ſome upper room of a houſe, and not of the temple, as ſome have imagined. This might be therefore that large one in which *Jeſus* had celebrated the laſt paſſover with his diſciples (21); and is ſuppoſed to have belonged to one of them, namely to *John*, ſurnamed *Mark*, and is ſaid to have been turned, in proceſs of time, into a ſtately church.

(17) *Antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 8. (18) *Annal.* lxv. *c.* 4. (19) *Vid. int. al. Minut. Felix. H. Grot. de verit. Le Clerc. in eund. Abadie & al.* (29) *Acts* xiii. † *See Vol.* IX. *p.* 481. (21) *Mark.* xiv. 14, 15.

tiſm

tiſm to that perſent time; to fill the vacancy which the traitor *Judas* had made to their number. The propoſal being approved, two candidates were offered to them, namely *Joſeph*, ſurnamed, *Juſtus* and *Barſabas* (who is ſuppoſed by ſome to be the brother of *James the Leſs*, and by others the ſame with *Barnabas*), and *Matthias*, who was one of the ſeventy diſciples (G). After a ſhort prayer to the diſcerner of all hearts, to direct them to the perſon whom he had made choice of, they caſt their lots, and *Matthias* was choſen into the apoſtolical miniſtry, and their number completed again [r].

WHEN fifty days from Chriſt's reſurrection were finiſhed, which uſhered in the grand feaſt of pentecoſt, whilſt the diſciples were all aſſembled at their uſual place, ſuddenly there was heard a mighty ſound from heaven; a vehement wind filled the room they were in, when there appeared a kind of cloven tongues of fire ſitting upon each of their heads; upon which they were all filled with the Holy Ghoſt, illuminated with his heavenly light, inflamed with his divine heat, inſpired with the knowledge of foreign tongues, and endowed with all other ſupernatural gifts, to qualify them for their glorious taſk, the converſion of the world. They ſet themſelves immediately about it, *Jeruſalem* being then filled with people, who came from all parts of the world, both *Jews* and proſelytes, who flocked thither, as uſual, to that grand ſolemnity. Theſe, hearing of that wonderful event, came to them in great crouds, and were beyond meaſure ſurprized to hear ſuch poor illiterate *Galileans*, who never knew any but their own mother tongue, and that no better than as ſimple fiſhermen, expreſs themſelves with ſuch unheard-of readineſs and energy, and diſplay in all their different tongues and dialects the moſt ſublime myſteries of the goſpel. The ſacred hiſtori-

The Holy Ghoſt deſcends on the apoſtles

[r] Act. ibid. 15. ad fin.

(G) The traditions concerning theſe two, and others of their collegues, are ſo uncertain, that there is no relying on them, otherwiſe this *Joſeph* ſhould be the ſame with that often mentioned in the goſpel among the relations of our Saviour; and by his ſurname of *Barſabas*, he ſhould be the ſame with *Barnabas*, who is yet ſaid to be a *Cyprian* levite (22). *Matthias* ſhould likewiſe be the ſame with *Zaccheus* (23), though this laſt became a diſciple but a few weeks before Chriſt's death, and the apoſtles choſe only thoſe for candidates, who had been with him from the beginning of his miniſtry.

(22) *Acts* iv. 36. (23) *De his vid Clem. Alexander. Strom. N. D. Lyra, Corn. a Lap. & al,*

an

an mentions fifteen different countries, out of which this assembly consisted [t]. Whilst therefore some, struck with amazement at what they saw and heard, were questioning what the issue of such a prodigy would be, others absurdly attributed it to some excess of new wine, which they supposed the apostles had been guilty of that morning. Which when *Peter* understood, he first exploded the supposition, by reminding them, that it was but the third hour of the day, or nine of the morning; and then proved to them from the scriptures, that there was nothing happened in this extraordinary change, but what had been plainly foretold and elegantly described by one of the prophets [u]. From that he proceeded to those other oracles, which had presignified the death and resurrection of Christ, the true Messiah; all which he shewed to them, with such powerful and convincing eloquence, that three thousand of his audience were immediately converted to his doctrine, and continued strict and zealous professors of it [w] (H).

They convert three thousand souls.

Some

[t] Ibid. c. ii. 8, & seq. [u] Joel ii. 28, & seq. conf. cum Isai. xxix. 19, & seq. xliv. 3, & seq. cum Act. xi. 15, & seq. [w] Act. c. ii. vers. 37, ad fin.

(H) Those that will not acknowledge the truth of this miraculous transaction, must suppose that surprising change in the apostles to have been wrought by some such method as this which follows; we leave them to their choice. They must suppose the hen-hearted college to have been all at once seized with a desperate phrentic courage, or inspired with it by some one of the boldest of them, suppose the pretended champion *Peter*, by some such speech as this:

Men and brethren, The natural consequence of our having been so egregiously cheated by our late master, and made to wait so long in vain for his pretended resurrection, should according to human prudence be this; that we should for the future detest the very memory and mention of him; that we should become so much the more tenacious of the expositions and traditions of our betters, since it was our departing from them, to follow him, that has brought us into this dilemma; and lastly, that we should go and beg for absolution of the sanhedrin, which they'll hardly make a difficulty to grant; for what wonder is it, that such poor illiterate fishermen as we are should be so easily deceived, when so many of their learned bench, were caught in the same snare?

But for my own part poor and simple as I am, I think I could undergo the most dreadful hazards in life, rather than to stoop to such a base submission; and my project, if I can but bring you into it,

SOME time after *Peter* and *John*, repairing to the temple at the uſual evening hour of prayer, healed a poor cripple, who

it, is to do the very reverſe; to cry our late maſter up ſtill for the true Meſſiah, to profeſs a greater love and veneration for him than ever, to affirm that we have ſeen him riſen from the dead, converſed with him full forty days, in all convincing proofs, and at length ſeen him go up to heaven; and to propagate the cheat, not only among our nation, but alſo among the *Gentiles*, as far and wide as we can; and, to make it the better go down with the world, we will pretend to a new and miraculous commiſſion from heaven to the ſupernatural gifts of prophecy, tongues, miracles, and every thing that is great and ſtupendous, or apt to raiſe our maſter's glory and our own.

Methinks, I hear you already making ten thouſand objections and difficulties againſt my project, which I doubt not but you look upon as the moſt romantic that ever came into a crazy brain; and I who have duly weighed them, do give you leave to think ſo ſtill, if I do not remove every one of them, and convince you that my ſcheme is no leſs practicable, than it is heroic and glorious.

You will object in the firſt place, that ſuch a deſign will expoſe us to the higheſt oppoſition and reſentment from *Jews* and *Gentiles*, to impriſonments, ſcourgings, tortures, and death; I own it, and that is the reaſon of my being ſo zealous for it; and I promiſe myſelf an unconceivable pleaſure in carrying it on under all theſe difficulties and dangers. But our pretence you'll ſay, to miracles, tongues and other ſupernatural gifts, will be a moſt effectual means to betray us, becauſe we ſhall at every turn be ready to diſcover our want of them. Suppoſe it happen ſo; can we not ſtill face them down that we have them, though they cannot ſee them? Can't we find means to impoſe, not only upon the eyes and ears of the world, but upon the very underſtandings of the greateſt philoſophers that now reign either at *Rome* or *Athens?* Let us but reſolutely undertake, and I promiſe you, you will meet with a thouſand unexpected accidents, that will force, as it were, a ſucceſs into your very laps.

But the greateſt objection perhaps to you is, that we ſhall bring the hatred of even God himſelf, as well as of the world, upon us; we ſhall not only deprive ourſelves of all the hopes of the true promiſed Meſſiah, but of all other comforts of this or of the next life; and what a dreadful thing muſt it be to be thrown into a dungeon, or led to ſome cruel execution; abhorred by God and man, tortured by the ſting of a conſcience as black as the very hell we are haſtening to, without one poor glympſe of hope or comfort, either from within, or from without us?

There

who fat begging at the gate. This drew immediately a great concourſe of people about them to the place called *Solomon's* porch;

There is indeed ſomething in this thought which may appear terrible to mean ſouls; but mine is above ſhrinking at ſuch bugbears, when the glorious proſpect of impoſing one of the vileſt cheats is put in the ſcale againſt it. For let our guilt be of never ſo deep a dye, and the generality of the world judge never ſo juſtly of it, yet as long as we make the greateſt boaſts to ſanctity, piety, charity, and every real virtue, and take care that our life, at leaſt outwardly, doth not bely our pretence, we ſhall ſtill meet with admirers enough to keep up our ſpirits from flagging in this noble undertaking; and who could grudge to run any dangers, or even to die for ſuch a cauſe?

And now, methinks, I ſee you all, like me, impatient to ſally out in this heroic race; but there is ſtill one danger, againſt which I muſt warn you all. It is likely, that when we come to be diſperſed at a vaſt diſtance from each other, as we muſt be of courſe to carry on the work, ſome one of us may, through fear of torments, or of ſome cruel death, be cowardly enough to diſcover the whole impoſture, in which caſe we ſhall all loſe the fruit of our labours. Our late puſillanimous behaviour, and mine in particular, to our late maſter in the garden, might indeed incline one to fear, leſt there ſhould turn out another *Judas* from among us. But there is ſomething within me that gives me a quite contrary notion of you all, and that you will reſolutely perſiſt in carrying on the common cauſe, and not, through any baſe fear or terror, torture or death, make ſhipwreck of that glorious deſign, to which we are going to ſacrifice all that is dear and valuable in this and the next world.

And therefore let me only add a few neceſſary directions to you, and then let us go on and proſper: 1. It is cuſtomary for perſons of our character to be elated at every ſucceſs or applauſe, and ſunk down at every foil. We muſt act the reverſe Never appear more joyful, lofty, and undaunted, than when you meet with the greateſt oppoſition, ſcorn, and ill treatment; nor ever more humble and abaſed, than when men are ready to fall down and worſhip you. This you know was our maſter's caſe, and we muſt, whatever we do, profeſs an utter contempt of every thing that this world is fond of, and ſeem to court nothing but poverty and miſery, croſſes and perſecutions. We may in all likelihood fare the better for it; but if we do not, we ſhall at leaſt ſave our credit, if we ſave nothing elſe.

2. It is not only natural, but ſweet, to ſuch men as we, to retaliate ill uſage, though never ſo juſtly deſerved, with ill language and ill offices, to complain of injuſtice and cruelty, and even to call for vengeance from heaven on our pretended oppreſſors. But I adviſe you, whatever betide us, to let your behaviour breathe nothing

porch; where *Peter*, having reproved their ſtupidity in gazing at them, as the authors of ſo ſignal a miracle, aſſured them,

thing but the moſt ſurpriſing patience, meekneſs, reſignation, and charity to your worſt enemies, and, in the midſt of the moſt exquiſite racks and tortures, and even with your laſt breath, to pray to heaven for them. You will perhaps aſk, how human nature can be capable of ſuch heroic courage? But remember only your character and reputation, as apoſtles, will riſe or ſink, according as *you follow this rule*; and then I doubt not, but that will enable you to go through all this, and much more.

Many other ſuch-like directions will occur in the courſe of our race, which I ſhall take care to communicate to you as often as opportunity offers. But one main one I muſt not omit before we ſet about the work: for without this you will be apt, in your preaching or writing the hiſtory of our late maſter, to aggravate every word or action of the *Jews* againſt him, to exclaim againſt the pretended injuſtice and impiety of the ſanhedrin for condemning him; on the baſeneſs and cowardice of *Pilate* in ratifying their bloody ſentence; on the cruelty of the *Roman* ſoldiers for their inhuman treatment of him; and on the obſtinacy and perverſeneſs of the *Jews* for not believing our report concerning him. And you may think yourſelves intitled to do ſo from the example of the antient prophets, of the baptiſt, and even of our maſter, who made no ſcruple to reprove our nation in the ſevereſt terms.

But I abſolutely forbid all ſuch invectives and aggravations as derogatory to our honour, and to that hitherto unexampled plainneſs and ſimplicity, to which, I inſiſt, every one of you ſhall confine himſelf in the relation of thoſe facts, without betraying the leaſt reſentment, or indeed any other emotion, but what ſhall ſeem to flow from the deepeſt concern, pity, and charity to all the actors in that ſcene. You may perhaps at firſt not be aware of the uſefulneſs and excellency of this caution; but a little experience will ſoon convince you, that nothing will preſerve or raiſe your character more. And now men and brethren, *&c.*

We ſhall go no further with this ſuppoſed ſcene, becauſe we think it clearly appears by this time, that a man muſt be capable of believing any thing, that can think it poſſible for one, or all, of theſe twelve fiſhermen to concert, much leſs to execute with ſuch ſurprizing ſucceſs and efficacy, a plot and impoſture of ſo black and helliſh a nature, under all thoſe difficulties and diſadvantages.

But here it will perhaps be pretended, that the whole ſtory of the goſpel, acts, *&c.* was made a long time after, and the characters, facts, and other advantageous circumſtances, feigned at leiſure. But then the queſtion will be, by what miracle, inchantment, or faſcination, they could be introduced into the world, be

them, that they had wrought it by no other power than that of *Jeſus Chriſt*, whom their elders and rulers had through ignorance condemned to the croſs. He concluded with ſuch a powerful diſcourſe, on the danger of an obſtinate and ungrateful unbelief, and on the unſpeakable benefits of a ſpeedy faith and repentance, that five thouſand more were added to them. Thus did the new church of Chriſt daily improve, not in the number only, but in the zeal and fervour, holineſs and charity, of its members; beginning now a kind of heavenly life upon earth, diſclaiming all property, ſelling all they had, and chearfully laying it at the apoſtles feet, to be diſtributed to the relief of their brethren; and being even in their worldly goods, as well as in their hearts and affections, ſo perfectly united, that they became the wonder of the world, even of their very enemies. Thus were the divine oracles fulfilled, the promiſes of Chriſt performed, and his church miraculouſly planted and propagated by that heavenly Spirit; to continue under his direction to the end of the world, maugre all the oppoſitions of *Jews* and *Gentiles* [x].

A new miracle adds five thouſand more.

But the malice of the prieſts and rulers did not expire with the death of its divine author. This new and ſignal miracle on the impotent man; the number of converts it drew after it; the zeal, boldneſs, and eloquence of the apoſtles, all contributed to awaken their fears with their wonder, and to put them upon freſh means to ſuppreſs what they called this new and dangerous ſect. The apoſtles and the cripple were brought before them, and *Peter*, in an elegant ſpeech, aſſured them, that it was by the name and power of their great maſter, now glorioufly inthroned in heaven, that they had wrought this miraculous cure; demonſtrated to them from the ſcriptures, that he was that chief corner-ſtone, which

Peter's ſpeech to the ſanhedrin.

[x] Acts iii. 1, & ſeq.

univerſally received, believed, and atteſted by a ſeries of men of all ranks and qualities, by men of learning and probity, who ſealed thoſe truths with their blood? How and in what age or generation, after Chriſt or his apoſtles, theſe things were introduced? a ſucceſſion of prelates, preachers, and martyrs, together with a great number of their pretended writings, the decrees of councils, and other records, each quoting their predeceſſors up to the ſacred writers, foiſted in with the whole concomitant chain of evidence, which has hitherto illuded the attempts of the ſubtileſt enemies of chriſtianity? When, we ſay, the bare poſſibility of ſuch an univerſal impoſition, with all theſe circumſtances, can once be ſhewed, it will be then time enough to turn ſceptics; and if ever that ſhould prove the caſe, where we ſhall ſtop, God alone can tell.

Wide

was long ſince foretold to be rejected by the builders [y], and was now become the foundation of the new covenant, ſince there was no name given under heaven, by which men might be ſaved, but that of *Jeſus Chriſt*, crucified indeed by them, but raiſed again by his own victorious power. The ſanhedrin, having nothing to oppoſe to theſe pregnant proofs, and yet aſhamed to be convinced, and afraid to uſe violent means by reaſon of the admiring multitude, contented themſelves for the preſent with forbidding them to preach any more in that name; to which *Peter* replied, We have received a contrary command from God, and you may eaſily judge which of the two ought to be obeyed [z].

Peter, upon his return to his collegues, acquainted them with what had paſt, and the orders they had received from the *Jewiſh* chiefs; upon which they joined unanimouſly in prayer to God, to ſtrengthen their faith, courage, and miraculous power, that they might boldly go on in their miniſtry, and preach his crucified Son in ſpite of all oppoſition and diſcouragements; upon which they felt their upper room violently ſhaken, and their hearts inſpired with ſuch zeal, that neither threatenings nor perſecutions, racks, tortures, or cruel deaths, could put a ſtop, either to their preaching, or to its miraculous ſucceſs: for ſuch it really was, being ſtill attended with ſome freſh miracle (I), which at once confirmed the believers, and ſtill added freſh ones to their number. In the mean while the ſanhedrin, which conſiſted chiefly of *Sadducees*, finding their endeavours ineffectual, began to think it high time to try ſome ſeverer means; and to that end ordered them to be ſeized, and caſt into a common gaol. But, before the next morning, an angel had opened the priſon-gates to them, and bid them return to their preaching, which they did accordingly. By that time the council was ſet to determine ſomething concerning them, word was brought to them, that the priſoners were eſcaped

His ſecond defence.

[y] Pſ. cxviii. 22. [z] Acts iii, & iv. paſſ.

(I) Theſe miracles, we are told (24), became ſo frequent and known by this time, that they drew multitudes of people from all the neighbouring cities and countries to *Jeruſalem*, who brought their ſick friends, paralytics, lunaticks, demoniacs, *&c.* to be healed by the apoſtles. Inſomuch that the very ſhadow of *Peter* paſſing by cured many of them, who, by reaſon of the throngs that followed him, could not by any other means get acceſs to him.

(24) *Acts* v. 15, *& ſeq.*

by ſome miracle; for that on that morning not one of them was to be met with, though the priſon-gates were found cloſely ſhut. Whilſt they were debating about this new prodigy, the news came, that they were preaching as uſual at the temple. Their fears now increaſing with their ſurpriſe, they ſent for them, yet without violence; and *Caiaphas*, having expoſtulated with them, how they dared tranſgreſs their command, they boldly anſwered for themſelves, that as obedience ceaſed to be due to magiſtrates, as ſoon as it began to contravene that which was due to God, they had *ſtrictly followed their duty in preaching the reſurrection of* Chriſt, and the remiſſion of ſins through him, and giving the ſame irrefragable proofs of thoſe ſaving truths, which they themſelves had of them [a].

Gamaliel's *advice to the Sanhedrin.*

This noble anſwer, which gave them to underſtand, that they were not to be frighted into a baſe compliance, did raiſe their indignation to ſuch a degree, that they were juſt ready to vent it in ſome ſeverer manner, when *Gamaliel* (K), one of their members, a perſon of greater coolneſs, and a learned *Phariſee*, ſtood up, and moderated their reſentment for the preſent, by reminding them, that if this counſel was merely human, it would ſoon be cruſhed, as many others of the like nature, which he named, and they knew had lately been; but if it was of God, it was vain, as well as impious, in them to oppoſe it. Wherefore, concluded he, my opinion is, that we let theſe men alone, and wait the event, leſt we ſhould be found at length to contend with an almighty power. His counſel was readily agreed to, and the apoſtles being called in, after having received a ſevere correction and rebuke for their contumacy, were diſmiſſed, and they joyfully rejoined their collegues [b]. About this time the tetrarch *Philip*, the brother of *Herod*, died at *Julias*, in the thirty ſeventh year of his reign, from the death of *Herod the*

Year of the Flood, 3037. Of Chriſt, 37.

[a] Ibid. & ch. v. 17, & ſeq. [b] Acts, ibid. ver. 33. ad fin.

(K) This was the perſon at whoſe feet St. *Paul* had been brought up (25); ſome add alſo *Stephen* and *Barnabas* (26); he is affirmed by an antient writer to have been already converted to chriſtianity (27); others pretend, that he was not till after the martyrdom of *Stephen*. But we have no certainty of any of theſe facts, nor of ſeveral others that are ſaid of him, concerning which the reader may conſult *Baſnage* in the place laſt quoted.

(25) *Ibid. xxii.* 3. (26) *Vid. Lucian Rev. de S Steph. Baſnag. Hiſt. des Juifs, Tom. 2. l. iv. c* 3. (27) *Recogn. c.* 65, *& ſeq.*

Great.

Great. He was buried in a magnificent tomb, which he had erected during his life; and, as he left no heirs of his own body, his tetrarchy was resumed by *Tiberius*, and annexed to the province of *Syria*, then under the government of *Flaccus Pomponius*; but with this restriction, that the revenues of that country should still be kept within the limits of it. *Josephus* tells us, that *Philip* was of so opposite a disposition to his father or brother, that his government was mild and quiet; that he went always attended with a small number of servants, some of whom carried a chair after him, which served him as his tribunal, to be ready to receive every petition or complaint, and to do justice every-where upon the spot [c].

ABOUT the same time, the apostles, at the complaint of some *Grecian* proselytes, ordained seven deacons from among the number of believers, to be overseers of the ministry in the relief of the necessitous members. We know little of five of them, besides their names, which the reader will find in the margin (L). But *Stephen*, who is mentioned at the head of the rest, was a man of extraordinary faith, learning, and zeal, and full of the Holy Ghost, who wrought such wonders among the people, that he gave great umbrage to the *Jews*. He had confuted several of the heads of them in their respective synagogues [d], concerning their notion of the perpetuity of the *Mosaic* law, for which he was accused before the sanhedrin. Here the high-priest having given him leave

Seven deacons chosen.

[c] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. [d] Acts vi. 9, & seq.

(L) These were *Stephen*, *Philip*, *Prochorus*, *Nicanor*, *Timon*, *Parmenas*, and *Nicolas*; this last is there called a proselyte of *Antioch*. The rest being also all *Greek* names, shews them to have been *Hellenists*, and that this new order was made in favour of the converts from them.

Some have affirmed this last to have been the author of the beastly *Nicolaitan* sect, that sprung up in the earliest age of the church (28); others have strenuously vindicated him from it (29). We can gather nothing certain concerning it. *Philip* is probably the same who converted the *Samaritans* (30), baptized the eunuch of queen *Candace* (31), and had four daughters endowed with the gift of prophecy (32). As for the other five, we know no more of them, than what has been mentioned above.

(28) *Vid. Epiphan haeres.* 25, & *not. Coteler.* (29) *Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. l. iii. Eusеb. Theodoret. August* & *al.* (30) *Acts viii.* 5, & *seq.* (31) *Ibid. ver.* 26, *ad fin.* (32) *Ibid. xxi.* 9, & *seq.*

[D]

to ſpeak for himſelf, he began his defence, with an hiſtorical deduction of the true worſhip of God, excluſive of the *Moſaic* rites; which laſt he ſhewed by authentic proofs were to be done away, to make room for a more ſpiritual religion under the promiſed Meſſiah. This ſpeech was accompanied with ſuch powerful eloquence, angelic majeſty, and with ſuch a ſevere reproof for their conſtant reſiſting the Holy Ghoſt, and perſecuting thoſe who delivered his divine oracles to them, that not being longer able to bear what they called his blaſphemy, they condemned him to death, and hurried him, as was uſual in ſuch caſes, out of the city; where the witneſſes, who were to throw the firſt ſtones, laid their upper garments at the feet of young *Saul*, then a zealous *Phariſee* and enemy to chriſtianity, but ſince the great apoſtle of the *Gentiles*; and having, according to the *Moſaic* law, laid their hands on the condemned perſon, overwhelmed him with ſtones, whilſt he called on God to forgive them his death, and on *Jeſus* to receive his departing ſoul [e]. Authors are not agreed about the exact year of his death, but moſt of them, after *Uſher*, *Pearſon*, and others, place it about this time, that is, about a year after that of his divine maſter.

Stephen ſtoned.

The chriſtians perſecuted.

THE death of this glorious protomartyr was ſoon followed by a more grievous perſecution againſt the chriſtian converts, which yet the divine providence turned into a means of propagating the goſpel far and wide, by the diſperſion of a great number of them, who, after *Stephen*'s death, left *Jeruſalem* and *Judæa*, according to our Saviour's advice, *When you are perſecuted in one city, flee into another* [f]. So that few but the apoſtles ſtayed at *Jeruſalem*, whilſt the reſt went and preached, ſome at *Samaria*, ſome at *Cyprus*, and others elſewhere; but ſtill among the *Jews*, for the time for the converſion of the *Gentiles* was not yet come. One of the chief inſtruments of this new perſecution was the young *Saul*, mentioned a little higher, who obſerving with what zeal the ſanhedrin endeavoured to cruſh the growing church, got a commiſſion from them to ſeize, bind, and impriſon all its members where-ever he met them; purſuant to which, he made a terrible havock of them, without regard to quality, age, or ſex, till being himſelf miraculouſly converted in the midſt of his bloody career, as he was going to *Damaſcus*, he became as zealous a promoter of it [g]. During this perſecution,

[e] Ibid. vii. per tot. [f] Matth. x. 23. [g] Vid. Act. viii, ix, & ſeq.

Samaria

Samaria having received the goſpel by the preaching of *Philip*, and *Simon Magus*, who had formerly bewildered them with his ſorceries, being himſelf become a convert, the apoſtolic college at *Jeruſalem* deputed thither *Peter* and *John*, who being come, imparted the Holy Ghoſt unto them by their prayer and impoſition of hands. *Simon*, obſerving the wonderful efficacy of this laſt ceremony, would have purchaſed the ſame power of the apoſtles at a large ſum; for which profane propoſal *Peter* ſharply rebuked him [h], and after-ages have branded his memory, by giving that new and unheard-of ſin the name of *Simony*.

The Samaritans *converted.*

ABOUT the beginning of the next year, *L. Vitellius*, being ſent by *Tiberius* proconſul of *Syria*, came to *Jeruſalem* about the feaſt of the paſſover, where he was honourably received by the magiſtrates of that metropolis, in requital of which he remitted to its inhabitants the whole duty of the fruits that were ſet to ſale. He likewiſe put all the pontifical habits, which uſed to be kept in the fortreſs of *Antonia* under the cuſtody of a *Roman* officer, into the poſſeſſion of the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, to be thenceforth kept and diſpoſed of at their pleaſure; after which, having depoſed *Caiaphas* from the pontifical chair, and raiſed *Jonathan* the ſon of *Annas* or *Ananus* to that dignity, he departed for *Antioch*, his capital [i]. Soon after this a tumult happened at *Samaria*, in which *Pilate* acted with ſuch arbitrarineſs and cruelty, that it proved a main ſtep to his ruin. There had appeared there a certain impoſtor, ſome think the *Simon* lately mentioned, who perſuaded the *Samaritans*, that if they would repair to their ſacred mount *Gerizim*, for ſuch they held it above all mountains, as we have often ſeen in this chapter, he would direct them to the ſacred veſſels, which *Moſes* had formerly buried there. The credulous people came in ſhoals armed to him, and encamped before a village called *Tirathaba*, waiting for others to join them there, till they could make a ſufficient body to go up and take poſſeſſion of the pretended holy treaſure. *Pilate*, who had timely notice of it, ſent a ſtrong body of horſe and foot, who attacked them with ſuch fury, that they killed a great number of thoſe deluded wretches, took many of them priſoners, and diſperſed the reſt; after which he ordered thoſe of the beſt rank and quality to be beheaded without mercy or delay. The *Samaritans* had immediately recourſe to *Vitellius*, and complained

Vitellius's *kindneſs to the* Jews.

[h] Ibid. viii. 14, & ſeq.

[i] Conf. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xv. 14. & xviii 6.

of

of the maſſacre done among them; aſſuring him at the ſame time, that their aſſembling in arms was not with a ſeditious view, but to ſecure themſelves from the intolerable oppreſſions of the *Jewiſh* governor. *Vitellius*, who was well acquainted with his cruel and rapacious character; upon this complaint diſpatched his friend *Marcellus* to take the government of *Judæa* upon him, and ſent orders to *Pilate* to repair immediately to *Rome*, there to anſwer the *Samaritans* accuſation before *Cæſar*'s tribunal. *Pilate* was forced to obey, but, being detained by contrary winds, *Tiberius* was dead before he could reach *Rome*. This depoſition, which was but the fore-runner of much greater evils to that cruel oppreſſor, happened in the tenth year of his tyrannic government[k] (M).

During

[k] Antiq. ibid. c. 5.

(M) The acts of *Pilate* have made ſo much noiſe among the learned, that it will doubtleſs be expected we ſhould give our *Engliſh* readers ſome idea of them, ſince they are ſo confidently quoted by a great number of antient fathers (33), and have been as ſtrenuouſly oppoſed or defended by learned moderns (34). It ſeems indeed very probable, that every governor of a province of the *Roman* empire was obliged to ſend an account, at leaſt, of the moſt material tranſactions that happened in his time; and if ſo, the crucifixion of a perſon of the Meſſiah's character, through the tumultuous malice of the *Jews*, and contrary to *Pilate*'s own inclination, was of too ſignal a nature not to be tranſmitted to *Rome* by him, though but to diſculpate himſelf of that unjuſt deed, and to throw all the odium of it on the ſanhedrin

It is true, thoſe acts that have been tranſmitted to us vary in many particulars, according to the ſeveral hands they have paſſed through; and ſome of them carry ſuch a face of forgery, that they cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed the ſame with thoſe which thoſe antient writters ſpeak ſo poſitively of, and have given us ſuch ſeemingly authentic fragments of. So that to conclude them all to be forged by ſome pious zealots, is to carry ſcepticiſm beyond its due bounds. For who can think that men of ſuch ſenſe, learning, and integrity, as the apologiſts were, ſhould dare to appeal to thoſe records in favour of the perſecuted chriſtians, which, if once found to be forged, muſt have done their cauſe the greateſt prejudice? How could

(33) *De his vid. Juſt. Mart Apol.* 2. *Tertul. Apolog.* 5. *Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l. ii c. ii. Oroſ l. vii. c.* 4. *Chryſoſt. Epiphan. hær.* 50. *Greg. Turon & al mult* (34) *Vid int. al. Caſaub. Exercit.* 16 *Baron. annal. Fabric. apocryph. N. T. & al. ab eo citat*

they

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Judæa*, *Herod* had been carrying on his unſucceſsful war againſt *Aretas*, of which we have

they ſpeak of them, not only as of things commonly known and acknowledged, but with the ſame confidence, and ſeeming exactneſs. as if they had ſeen them, conſulted, and copied them out of their archives? Is it not more reaſonable to believe, that there were ſuch records, though ſadly blended and corrupted in thoſe after-ages, which, through the baſeneſs of arch heretics, and the blind zeal of others, produced ſuch numbers of other apocryphal writings? *Euſebius* tells us, that even the *Pagans* did, in the beginning of the fourth century, trump up a new account of the *acta Pilati* (35), doubtleſs to oppoſe to thoſe cited by *Juſtin* and *Tertullian* in the foregoing one. Another mongrel ſect, called *Quatuordecimans*, had likewiſe a ſet of them quite different from the reſt, and from which, *Epiphanius* tells us (36), they defended ſome of their tenets. And where is the wonder that records of ſuch important nature ſhould be corrupted and altered, by deſigning men, ſo long after? Is it not rather a greater one, that thoſe of the two apologiſts above-mentioned, who wrote as if they had had the authentic copies of the true ones before their eyes, ſhould have been preſerved to us? We ſhall now give our readers the ſubſtance of them in as few words as we can.

Pilate to *Tiberius*, &c.

"I have been forced to conſent at length to the crucifixion of "*Jeſus Chriſt*, to prevent a tumult from the *Jews*; though it was "very much againſt my will. For the world never ſaw, nor pro-"bably will, a man of ſuch extraordinary piety and uprightneſs. "But the high prieſt and ſanhedrin fulfilled in it the oracles of "their prophets, and of our ſybils. Whilſt he hung on the croſs, "a horrid darkneſs, which covered the earth, ſeemed to threaten "its final end. His diſciples, who pretend to have ſeen him riſe "from the dead, and aſcend into heaven, and acknowledge him "for their God (37), do ſtill ſubſiſt; and by their excellent lives "ſhew themſelves the worthy diſciples of ſo extraordinary a maſ-"ter. I did what I could to ſave him from the malice of the *Jews*; "but the fear of a total inſurrection made me ſacrifice him to the "intereſt and peace of your empire, *&c.*

There is nothing in all this that can appear inconſiſtent with the character of ſuch a governor as *Pilate* was, if we except his ſaying there, that Chriſt's death had been foretold by the prophets and ſybils; and *Joſephus* of *Arimathea*, when he went to beg his body, might in all likelihood inform him of the one, and the other he might either know, or be told by ſome of his own people. As for

(35) *Ubi ſupra, l. ix c. 4.* (36) *Hæreſ.* 50. (37) *Theſe laſt particulars are only in* Tertullian *and* Euſeb. *ubi ſupra.*

have already ſpoken; and *Tiberius*, vexed at the ſucceſs of the latter, had ſent expreſs orders to *Vitellius* to invade his country, and either to take him priſoner, or ſend his head to *Rome*. *Vitellius*, in his march into *Arabia*, deſigned to have paſſed through *Judæa*, but was happily diverted from it by the *Jewiſh* heads, on account of the *Roman* ſtandards. Upon this condeſcenſion *Herod* and he came to *Jeruſalem*, where they were highly honoured, and offered the uſual ſacrifices, and removed *Jonathan* from the prieſthood to give it to his brother *Theophilus* [l]. Here they received the news of *Tiberius*'s death, and of the inſtallation of the emperor *Caius*, of which a fuller account ſhall be given in its proper place; and *Vitellius* ſtayed to receive the oath of fidelity from the people to the new emperor. *Jeruſalem* was the firſt eaſtern city, it ſeems, that heard the news of his ſucceſſion, and offered up ſacrifices for him [m]. By this time *Artabanes* having ſucceeded *Aretas* in *Arabia*, *Vitellius* went and made an alliance with him near the *Euphrates*, where *Herod* gave them a magnificent entertainment under a ſtately pavilion, which he had reared for that purpoſe near the banks of that river. The *Roman* general ſent immediately an account of this tranſaction to the emperor, and was ſurpriſed to find by his anſwer, that *Herod* had been beforehand with him, and had acquaint-

[l] Antiq. ibid. c. 8. Vid. & Dio, l. lix. [m] Vid. Philo. legat. ad Caium.

the reſt, the fear he was in of being called to an account for his unjuſt ſentence, might make him the more diligent in ſending ſuch a favourable relation of the tranſaction, as might beſt prejudice that tickliſh emperor in his favour Some apocryphal writings tell us, that he was forced to do it in his juſtification; and that *Tiberius*, who had long lingered under a decay, which eluded the ſkill of his phyſicians, had been adviſed to ſend for *Jeſus* from *Judæa*, to cure him by his miraculous power. They add, that when he received this account from *Pilate*, he not only highly reſented it from him, but much more from the *Jewiſh* ſanhedrin, whoſe court he ordered the former to demoliſh, that, being the only place where they were allowed to ſit in council, they might never more pronounce another ſentence from it. But this ſtory we would be far from putting on the level with the acts of *Pilate* in point of evidence. As for that prætor, there is no record what became of him after his being ſent to *Rome*. Only an antient tradition, ſupported by ſome ſeeming authentic monuments, ſays, that he was baniſhed to *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, where his miſery forced him to kill himſelf with his own ſword.

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ed him with all the particulars of it; for which he bore him a mortal grudge ever after [n].

ALL this while the christian church increased to a surprising degree, not only in *Judæa*, but in all other parts of the world; to which the apostles themselves, after having left *James the Less* bishop of that of *Jerusalem* (N), dispersed themselves,

[n] JOSEPH. & DIO, ubi supra.

(N) When this choice or installation was made, whether immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost, or after the death of the protomartyr, or in any intermediate space between, is not easy to guess; and that he was made bishop of *Jerusalem*, and that this metropolis was made the first christian see, we have not from any sacred writers, but from the fathers (38) and antient tradition; and both add, that he wore a golden plate on his forehead, probably in imitation of the *Jewish* high priest †. It is supposed, that both St. *Peter* and the two sons of *Zebedee* gave him the preference of being the first bishop, on account of his being so nearly related to Christ. For he was the son of *Cleophas* or *Alpheus*, the brother of the blessed virgin, from whom he was therefore his first cousin, and hence called his brother, according to the *Hebrew* custom (39).

This his preference is further confirmed by his being mentioned by the apostle before *Peter* and *John*, who are there called the two other pillars of the church (40), and especially by his sitting as president at the first council at *Jerusalem*, when the question about the circumcision of the heathen converts was condemned (41). For there *Peter* having opened the point to the assembly, and *Paul* and *Barnabas* related the main particular of their conversion, *James* stood up and summed up the whole debate; and having delivered his own opinion, and backed it with scripture authority, he gave the definitive sentence, which was assented to by the rest (42)

The fathers above-mentioned speak very much of his great sanctity, mortified life, miracles, &c. for which he was surnamed by *Jews* as well as christians, *The Just*. They add, that he had also that of *Obliah* or *Ophliah* given him, which signifies *the fortress of God*; and that he was even allowed to enter into that part of the temple which was only permitted to the priests, though he was not of that order, and that the people crouded about him to kiss the hem of his garment (43).

Baronius quotes a story out the *Talmud* (44), that a *Jew* named *Eleazar*, having been bit by a venemous serpent, *James* was sent for to cure him in the name of *Jesus* the son of the carpenter, which was strenuously opposed by a *Jewish* rabbi there present;

(38) *Clem Alexand Hegesip. ap Euseb. Eccl hist l.* ii *c* 1. *Epiphan hæres* 29. & 78 † *De quo vid Vol III p* 238. &c. (39) *Vide Galat* i 19. *Joseph antiq l* xx. *c* 8 (40) *Galat.* ii. 9. (41) *Acts* xv 4, & *seq* (42) *Ibid. ver.* 13. & *seq. Vid.* & *Lesley's case stated.* (43) *Vid. Hieron. in Galat.* i. (44) *Annal. an.* 63.

themſelves, either about, or ſoon after, this time. It is out of our province, not only to follow them out of *Judæa*, but even to enter into many tranſactions of theirs within it, which have no concern with the *Jewiſh* hiſtory we are upon. Such as their councils held at *Jeruſalem*, their converts, miracles, ordination of biſhops, and many more of that kind; which regarding only the firſt propagation and planting of the chriſtian church, we ſhall refer our readers for them to thoſe chriſtian annaliſts, hiſtorians, and other authors, who have wrote on the ſubject, and which are too numerous and too well known to need being mentioned in the margin.

THAT we may therefore reſume and finiſh our hiſtory without any further digreſſion, we ſhall conclude what relates to the chriſtian church with the miraculous converſion of *Cornelius* the *Roman* centurion, the firſt-fruits of that of the *Gentile* world; becauſe it is there, that we formerly fixed the final departure of the poor remains of the *Jewiſh* ſceptre or

and that whilſt they were debating about the lawfulneſs of the cure, the venom grew to ſuch a head, that the patient died; upon which the ſtiff necked rabbi congratulated him for dying without breaking the rules of the *Jewiſh* doctors.

Some apocryphal writings were attributed to St. *James*, but were condemned by the church, which receives none but the epiſtle that bears his name, and which he is ſuppoſed to have written a little before his death, which happened about the year of Chriſt 62; when his great ſanctity having rendered him obnoxious to *Ananus*, the ſon of *Annas* the high prieſt mentioned in the goſpel, he drew him into the following ſnare. He ſent for him to declare unto the miſtaken people what they ought to think of *Jeſus* concerning whom they had, he pretended, conceived ſome wrong notion. For the better conveniency of his being heard, he was placed in ſome gallery, or high balcony, of the temple, where the people from below inquired of him concerning the crucified *Jeſus*, to which the good old biſhop anſwered, *That Jeſus, whom you crucified, ſits now at the right hand of God.*

As the populace below were of the *Jewiſh* leaven, the prieſts and *Phariſees* that headed them expected them to have broke out into invectives and blaſphemies, inſtead of which they all broke out into *Hozannahs* to him; upon which the chiefs cried out, *The Juſt*, alluding to his ſurname, is alſo in the deluſion, and ordered him to be thrown headlong down. His fall not having made an end of him, they fell a covering him with ſtones, whilſt he prayed to God for them, for which one of them came and knocked his brains out with a club (45).

(45) *Euſeb. ubi ſupra, l.* ii. *c.* 23.

power.

power †. We there obſerved, after the learned Mr. *Mede*, that the words of *Jacob* might, and by the event ought to be read, *The ſceptre ſhall not depart*, &c. *till* Shiloh *come*, *and to him the nations be gathered*; which could not therefore be totally removed, till this promiſed converſion of the *Gentiles* was in ſome meaſure accompliſhed. It had indeed began to dwindle long before, but there were ſtill ſome remains left; they were ſtill governed by their own laws, their ſanhedrin had ſtill a great power, even of life and death, as we obſerved in the caſe of St. *Stephen*. The reader may ſee ſome further tokens of it in the margin (O). But from this time it was ſo

† See Vol. II. p. 441, note (G)

(O) We have a pregnant inſtance of this in the aſſault which was made on St. *Paul* in the temple (36), where he was ſeized, and was going to be carried before the high-prieſt, but was reſcued by *Claudius Lyſias*, the commanding officer of that place. This is the firſt inſtance we meet with of the *Romans* interfering in a caſe of this nature; and accordingly, when the priſoner was brought before the governor, *Tertullus*, the *Jewiſh* orator, complained of the violence done to them in theſe words (37): We found this peſtilent fellow, meaning *Paul*, raiſing ſedition through the world, a ring leader of the *Nazarite* ſect, who went alſo to profane our temple; whom we therefore laid ho'd on, and would have judged according to our law. But the chief captain *Lyſias* came, and by main violence reſcued him from our hands, &c.

What judgment they deſigned to have paſſed upon him, is eaſy to know, both by what the people cried out when he made his defence (38), and by the accuſation they brought againſt him, ſedition and ſacrilege; for ſuch they deemed the profanation of the temple, which was made capital by their law. Accordingly, we have taken notice in a former ſection of certain inſcriptions faſtened to certain pillars of the building, forbidding all ſtrangers, and polluted *Iſraelites*, to enter beyond the court of the *Gentiles*, under pain of death †. It may be likewiſe gathered from the judgment which *Feſtus*, *Agrippa*, and others made of him, that *he had done nothing worthy of death* (39); by the reaſon which *Feſtus* gave for not delivering him into their hands; *It is not the cuſtom*, ſaid he, *for the* Romans *to deliver a man to die*, *before*, &c. (40); and by the *Jews* laying in wait to kill him by ſtratagem, ſince they could not get it done in a judicial way.

All this ſeems further confirmed to us by his appeal to *Cæſar*. He knew the crime alledged againſt him to be capital, and chiefly

(36) *Acts xxi.* 27, & *ſeq.* (37) *Ibid xxiv* 5, & *ſeq.*
(38) *Ibid. xxii.* 22, 23. † *Vid. ſup. p.* 183, *ſub not.* (B).
(39) *xxvi.* 31. (40) *Ibid. xxv* 16.

of

so curtailed and reduced, that no footstep was to be seen of it, even before the last siege of *Jerusalem*, which was to give the finishing stroke to that and several noble prophecies. As this conversion of the *Roman* centurion was to usher in a new and singular epoch, it is no wonder, it was accompanied with such remarkable and miraculous circumstances. Of this sort were the extraordinary piety and charity in that new proselyte, and the vision that appeared to him, and directed him where to send for *Peter*, who was to preach Christ to him; the surprizing vision, which that apostle had about the same time; the explanation and the command which he received from the Spirit; the great readiness with which *Cornelius* and his company received the word preached; and their

of a religious nature; and yet refuses to be tried by the sanhedrin, and affirms that he ought not to be judged by any other tribunal than that of *Cæsar*. Doth not this imply that the power of life and death, even in religious cases, was by this time taken away? Doth not the defence he made there before *Festus* (41) seem to amount to this? Though the new governor, out of a desire to ingratiate himself to the *Jews*, offers to make them judges of my cause; and if they should condemn me, has still the power to put a negative upon their sentence; yet, for as much as all capital cases are now to be tried only before *Cæsar*'s tribunal, I appeal to that, and protest against his complaisance to them as contrary to the present law.

Upon the whole we have an instance of the sanhedrin's trying, condemning, and executing *Stephen* by their own authority about a year after Christ. Twenty six years after they endeavoured to do the same by St. *Paul*, and were prevented by the *Roman* captain. Being hindered from doing it by their own authority, they endeavoured to prevail first upon the old, next upon the new governor, to consent to his being put to death, and are refused by both, unless after a fair trial and conviction at the *Roman* tribunal. At length they found means to persuade the new one to recede in some measure from his prerogative, and let them try the pretended criminal themselves; and this last protests against it, and appeals to *Cæsar* as the only tribunal where he can be lawfully tried What can this argue, but that, between the death of St. *Stephen* and the tryal of St *Paul*, the *Jews* had lost all their power of trying criminal causes; and since this instance of the latter is the first we meet with, of their being divested of that power, about twenty years after the conversion of *Cornelius*; seems it not to follow, that the *Jewish* sceptre was not totally departed till after the *Gentiles* had been gathered to that of the Shiloh there prophesied?

(41) *Acts xxv.* 9, *& seq.*

being

being endowed with the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, even before their baptiſm. All which are ſo well known, that we ſhall not dwell longer upon them; but only obſerve, that there was a further neceſſity of ſome ſuch extraordinary and miraculous circumſtances, to determine *Peter* and ſatisfy the reſt of the apoſtles and *Jewiſh* converts; ſince it plainly appears, that notwithſtanding Chriſt's repeated commiſſion to them to convert all nations, yet they ſo little dreamed of the heathen being to be brought into his fold, that the former would never have gone to proſelyte this or any other heathen, nor the reſt have been pacified for his ſo doing, if theſe remarkable occurrences had not reminded them, that a happy entrance was to be thereby opened to the reſt of the *Gentile* world [o].

WE return now to the *Jews*, who, ſoon after the death of *Tiberius*, received a new governor from *Rome*, named *Marullus*, inſtead of *Pontius Pilate*, or rather of *Marcellus*, to whom the care of *Judæa* had been committed after his depoſition. At the ſame time *Caius Caligula* gave his old friend *Agrippa*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* and grandſon of *Herod the Great*, of whom we have formerly ſpoken *, the tetrarchy of his late uncle *Philip*, and added to it that of *Abylene* in *Syria*, which had formerly belonged to *Lyſanias*. *Agrippa*, whom St. *Luke* calls by the common name of *Herod* [p], had been brought up at *Rome* with *Druſus* the ſon of *Tiberius*, and by his extreme generoſity, or rather profuſeneſs, had gained himſelf many friends at court; but they were of the courtly mould. For after *Druſus*'s death, the emperor having removed all the friends of that young prince from him, leſt they ſhould revive the memory of his ſon, *Agrippa* found himſelf reduced to the greateſt extremities, indebted over head and ears, pennyleſs, and almoſt friendleſs. In this condition he came into *Judæa*, and ſhut himſelf up in a caſtle in *Idumæa*, reſolved through ſhame, vexation, and miſery, to ſtarve himſelf to death. His wife *Cyprus*, the daughter of *Phaſael*, did what ſhe could to aſſiſt him, writ to his ſiſter in his behalf; and theſe two furniſhed him with ſome preſent ſubſiſtence, but all too little for a prince of his extravagant temper. To this *Herod*, *Herodias*'s huſband, added ſome further favours to him, made him a magiſtrate of *Tiberias*, and aſſiſted him with ſome ſmall ſums. But this kindneſs was ſoon at an end, and *Herod* having one day upbraided him with it at ſome banquet,

[o] De. hoc vid. Act. x. & xi. paſſ & alib

* See before, ſect. v. p. 197, in fin. not.

[p] Act. xii. 1, & ſeq.

Agrippa,

Agrippa, who could not brook the affront, retired to *Flaccus*, governor of *Syria*, where he had not ſtayed long before he diſobliged him, and was forced to retire again into *Italy*. After many other rubs and misfortunes, which the reader may ſee in *Joſephus* [q], he was at length, through the ill offices of one of his freedmen, thrown into priſon, and loaded with chains, by *Tiberius*. He continued in this miſerable condition till that prince's death, when *Caius*, with whom he had formerly contracted an intimate friendſhip, ſent for him from his priſon to his own palace, arrayed him in purple, exchanged his iron chain for one of gold of the ſame weight, put a diadem on his head, and gave him the two tetrarchies above-mentioned, with the title of king. *Agrippa* did not, however, come immediately into his new dominions, but continued about a year longer at *Rome* with the new emperor. He obtained at length leave of him to come and viſit his *Jewiſh* territories, and to ſet things in the beſt order, and took *Egypt* in his way. He embarked at *Puteoli* at the end of *July*, and came a few days after in ſight of *Alexandria*. The magnificence of his entry into that city, though he choſe to make it in the night to avoid its being too much obſerved, drew the envy of the *Alexandrians*, who could not behold this new upſtart *Jewiſh* king in ſuch ſplendor, without offering ſeveral indignities to him, though at a diſtance (P); and *Flaccus* their governor, who was no lover of the *Jews*, not only winked at it, but beheld it with a ſecret pleaſure. He was likewiſe there informed of the indirect means which *Flaccus* had taken to render the *Jewiſh* nation odious to the emperor. All which made him willing to leave the place as ſoon as poſſible. The great oppreſſions, perſecutions, and horrid butcheries, which the *Alexandrian Jews* ſuffered from this baſe governor, for refuſing to worſhip the new made emperor, and his behaviour to the embaſſadors, ſent to him to repreſent their loyalty in all other caſes that were conſiſtent with their law, are out of

Agrippa *raiſed by* Caius.

Year of the flood, 3037. Of Chriſt, 41.

Jews *perſecuted at* Alexandria.

[q] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.

(P) One of them was the ſetting up a poor fooliſh fellow that uſed to go naked about the ſtreets, dreſſing him in a kind of mock royalty, and making him ride through the great places of the city, with a tattered life-guard like himſelf, and huzzaing of him with the word *Maris*, which means the ſame as, *God bleſs the king*; whilſt others came to preſent their petitions, demanded juſtice &c. and expoſed his royalty to the moſt audacious ridicule (42).

(42) *Philo in Flaccum. Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii c.* 8.

our province; the reader may see a full account of it in *Philo* above-mentioned [r]; and we shall see by-and-by, that those of *Judæa* were like to have suffered as much from him, though they had such a powerful advocate as king *Agrippa* to intercede for them, had not *Caius*'s death put a happy period to his impious project of being acknowledged as a deity.

WHILST these horrid cruelties were acting at *Alexandria*, Flaccus's *Agrippa*, who had left that city to get into his new kingdom, took care to acquaint the emperor with them, who dispatched *Bassus* immediately to seize that bloody governor, and bring him to *Rome*, where he was stripped of all his riches, banished into an island of the *Archipelago*, and at length put to death there. *Cruelties punished.*

IN the mean time *Herod Antipas*, who had formerly treated *Agrippa* with such contempt, could not now behold his glory and his being in such favour with *Caligula* without the deepest envy. His wife, a haughty woman, could not brook that he should be contented with the bare title of tetrarch, whilst her brother was now raised to that of a king; and did not cease teazing him, till she made him take a journey to *Rome* to obtain the same title from the emperor. She even accompanied him thither, in hopes that her presence would greatly influence that monarch; but *Agrippa*, who was timely acquainted with their ambitious designs, had taken care to send thither one of his freedmen, named *Fortunatus*, to accuse *Herod* with having had a hand in *Sejanus*'s late conspiracy, and, as a proof of it, to mention the arsenals which he had filled with arms, sufficient to furnish seventy thousand men. As soon therefore as *Herod* was entered into the presence, and had paid his respects to the emperor, *Fortunatus* presented him with *Agrippa*'s letter. *Caius* having read it, asked *Herod* whether he had really such a great reserve of arms? He was forced to confess it; upon which he was stripped of his tetrarchy, and sent into banishment to *Lyons* in *France*. *Caius* understanding, however, that *Herodias* was *Agrippa*'s sister, he offered to pardon her, and to procure her the payment of all the sums she had lent her brother; but she refused his generosity; and since she had been the cause of her husband's disgrace, she chose to accompany him, and to share the same fate with him (Q); upon which

Herod Antipas's *ambition.*

Accused to Caius.

Banished

[r] In Flaccum.

(Q) *Josephus* tells us elsewhere, that he was banished into *Spain* (43), and that he died there; so that he must either have

(43) *Bell. Jud l. ii c.* 16.

which *Caius* gave both his tetrarchy and all his treasure to *Agrippa*, after *Herod* had enjoyed the former forty three years [f].

A new storm raised against the Jews. Year of the Flood, 3038. Of Christ, 43. 40.

In the mean time, *Caius*, having taken it into his head to cause his statue to be set up in the very sanctuary of the temple, sent orders to *Petronius*, then governor of *Syria*, to see it executed, and to have a number of troops ready to prevent any obstruction from the *Jews*. *Petronius*, who knew the zeal of these, as well as the impetuosity of his master, could not set about such a command without some dread; and to gain time, sent for the best statuaries and materials from distant parts, whilst he gathered his army into the neighbourhood of *Ptolemais*. This last action having alarmed the nation, he was forced to tell them the orders he had received; upon which he was addressed by all the heads of the *Jews*, who in the humblest manner assured him, that they would sooner hazard the loss of all that was dear to them, even their lives, than suffer their temple to be thus profaned. The governor strove to bring them into a compliance, by reminding them of the danger of their opposing, or of his not obeying the emperor's command, and that their resistance would be interpreted as a downright rebellion. They answered him, that the prayers and sacrifices they offered daily for the emperor were a sufficient token of their loyalty. However, added they, we are so far from designing to rise up in arms upon this occasion, that we will suffer ourselves to be butchered in the most cruel manner; and this will be all the resistance you will meet with from us, if you go on with your design.

Agrippa intercedes for them.

Soon after this, *Aristobulus* the brother of *Agrippa*, accompanied with some of the royal family, came to *Petronius*, and begged, that they might have leave to try to mollify the emperor by an embassy, and that he would second it with a letter to that monarch in their behalf. *Petronius* at length consented to write to the emperor, but forbad them to send any embassy, or let their reluctance be so much as suspected at the *Roman* court. He wrote accordingly to the emperor, that he had met with difficulties in the execution

[f] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 9. Vid. & Dio, lib. lix. Philo. ubi supra.

fled thither afterwards, or, which is more likely, he was sent thither from *Lyons*, when *Caius* and *Agrippa* came to this last place, and made some stay in it. This was the *Herod* before whom Christ was brought before his death.

of

of his orders, through want of proper hands; and that the ſtatue, which he deſigned ſhould be a maſter-piece of its kind, was not yet reared, becauſe he feared leſt the taking ſo many men from their other labours, ſhould bring a ſcarcity in the land, lower the tribute, and ſuch other reaſons, which, inſtead of appeaſing, greatly exaſperated the emperor. He was juſt reading the letter, and in the height of his reſentment, when king *Agrippa*, who was then at *Rome*, came into his preſence. He was greatly ſurprized to ſee ſuch a mixture of paſſions in his looks and geſtures, and began to fear he had either offended, or been in ſome way miſrepreſented to him; when *Caius*, who eaſily obſerved his diſorder, broke the ſecret to him in words to this effect: Your *Jewiſh* ſubjects are ſtrange creatures to refuſe to acknowledge me for a god, and to provoke my reſentment againſt them; I had commanded the ſtatue of *Jupiter* to be ſet up in their temple, and they have, it ſeems, oppoſed it, and raiſed a kind of univerſal inſurrection.

Obtains his ſuit.

AT theſe words *Agrippa*, like one thunder-ſtruck, after having in vain tried to keep himſelf up, fell into a ſwoon, and was carried off into his own palace, where he continued in that condition till the third day, when having taken a little ſuſtenance, he ſet himſelf about writing to the emperor the letter which the reader may ſee at full length in *Joſephus* [c], and the ſubſtance of it in the margin (R). *Caius*, inſtead of being

[c] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 11. Vid. & legat. ad Caium.

(R) He began with juſtifying the love he had expreſſed for his own country in their laſt interview, and to which he was bound, not only by the law of nature, but even by thoſe of his own religion, he being deſcended from a race of ſuch noble anceſtors, as had during a long ſeries of ſucceſſions enjoyed the regal and pontifical dignity; for ſo he really was by his grand-mother *Mariamne*, the beloved wife of *Herod the Great*, who was of the race of the *Aſhmonean* princes, as we have often hinted in ſome former ſections.

He went on with acquainting him, that he choſe to intercede for his own nation in writing, rather than by word of mouth, as he thought it the moſt reſpectful way of the two; and that the many ſignal favours he had received from him, gave him grounds to hope, that he ſhould now obtain a favour, which would coſt him nothing, but would be eſteemed by the *Jews* as the greateſt he could beſtow on them: That *Jeruſalem* could not but be thought worthy of his regard, ſince it was the firſt city of the eaſt, which had proclaimed him emperor, and offered up ſacrifices for him: That as to the temple of that metropolis, it had been highly reverenced by

being moved at the king's concern, was rather the more exasperated against the *Jews*, and against him, for his concern for such an ungrateful race, as he called them, whom all his favours could not work into a compliance to his will. However, he began to relent when he read the letter, and *Agrippa*, who drew a good omen even from his not answering it, took the liberty to invite him to a sumptuous entertainment, which *Caius*, who really loved him, easily accepted. Here the *Jewish* king, having well warmed his guest with wine, began to extol the great and signal favours he had heaped upon him; and, by his large encomiums and expressions of gratitude, found means to get a fresh promise of whatever he should ask. To this *Agrippa* answered, Since it is your pleasure to add this new favour to all the rest, I will beg for such a one as will at once be an irrefragable proof of your goodness to me, and draw a plenty of heavenly blessings upon your head; and that is, that you will set aside your resolution of setting up the statue in the temple of *Jerusalem*. This petition, which shewed not only the greatest disinterestedness, but also the most unfeigned love for his country and religion, even at the hazard of his life, had such an effect on that emperor, that he wrote immediately to his governor, that if his statue was not already set up, he should forbear doing it; adding, that he had altered his design out of friendship to *Agrippa*. However, the lightness of his temper soon made him repent of his complaisance to him; so that he designed to have made a second attempt, unknown to him. At the same time his resentment against *Petronius* being kindled afresh, he sent him an order to dispatch himself; but *Caius* was *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and many others of his ancestors, for whose memory he professed a singular honour, and whose pious conduct, he hoped, he would imitate upon this occasion: That as to himself, the greatest favours he had heaped upon him would only increase his unhappiness, if he did not think fit to grant him this last: That it was impossible for him to outlive the profanation of that sacred place, and the disgrace and ruin of his nation.

He concluded with reminding him, that he should be justly esteemed a traitor to both, if he should be wanting in using his utmost interest at this juncture, and that the world would not fail to think him discarded of his imperial favour, if he did not succeed in a petition of this nature. This long and pathetic letter was immediately sealed, and sent to the emperor; and *Agrippa* waited with the utmost impatience for an answer, but in vain; *Caius*, though mollified by it, not vouchsafing to take the least notice of it to him.

assassinated

assassinated time enough to prevent either mischief taking effect [u] (S).

Agrippa, who was still at *Rome*, did not a little contribute to the succession of *Claudius* (T); in consideration of which, this last confirmed to him all *Caligula*'s grants, gave him *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and the southern parts of *Idumea*, entered into a solemn alliance with him, and made several edicts in favour of the *Jews*. At his request he gave likewise the kingdom of *Chalcis* to his brother *Herod*, who was also his son-in-law; *Agrippa* had the honours of the consulship, and *Herod* those of the prætorship, conferred upon them; both were intitled to enter into the senate, and to pay their compliments to the emperor in *Greek*, which was usually done in *Latin* [w]. All these grants were engraven on copper, and set up in the capitol; thus was *Agrippa* raised to the height of glory, his territories extended to the furthest limits of his grandfather *Herod the Great*, and his power and credit with the senate even much greater than his, when at the highest pitch.

Agrippa's *policy at* Rome.

Claudius's *friendship to him.*

[u] Antiq. ubi supra. SUETON. in Caligul. [w] Antiq. l. xix. c. 3, & 4. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 18. DIO, lib. lx.

(S) During this interval, besides the raging persecution in *Alexandria*, there happened some others in other places, and upon other accounts, particularly in *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*. But we chuse to refer our readers for them to *Josephus* (44), rather than swell this history with things that happened out of *Palestine*.

It will be sufficient to observe here, that as the *Jews* in other parts withstood the preaching of the gospel, where-ever the apostles and primitive converts brought it, and with the same vehemence as those of *Palestine*, they seldom, if ever, fail'd sharing in their punishment.

(T) It must be owned, that the part which *Agrippa* acted in this election between the new emperor and the senate, is not much to his honour, and was more becoming a consummate courtier than a king (45), as we shall see in the *Roman* history. But the wonder will cease, when we remember, that he had been brought up at that court, had spent most of his life there, and that the various vicissitudes his fortune had formerly led him through, would not suffer him to be over-nice at such a juncture, when his kingdom and all depended upon his securing the friendship of the next successor. In other things he really acted in a quite different character, as the sequel will shew.

(44) *Antiq. ubi supra, c. 12. per tot.* (45) *Vid. Joseph. et Dio, loc. sup. citat.*

Agrippa *comes to* Judæa.

He returned ſoon after into his kingdom, where he ſhewed a more extraordinary attachment to the *Jewiſh* religion than any of his predeceſſors, and began with the ſolemn performance of the vow of *Nazareat* †; after which he cauſed the golden chain, which *Caius* had given him, to be hanged up in one of the moſt conſpicuous parts of the temple, to be a monument to poſterity of the inſtability of human affairs. He depoſed *Theophilus* from the high-prieſthood, and gave it to *Simon Cantharas* the ſon of *Boethus*. He diveſted him of it ſoon after, to beſtow it on *Jonathan* the ſon of *Annas*, who had already enjoyed it after *Caiaphas*; but he modeſtly refuſed it, telling the king, that he thought himſelf ſufficiently honoured to have once enjoyed that dignity; upon which it was given to his brother *Matthias* [x].

His character.

Agrippa was not only a zealous obſerver of the *Jewiſh* religion, but he was likewiſe an excellent prince, delighting in acts of generoſity and clemency (U). He had been at an immenſe

† De hoc vid. Vol. III. p. 229, & ſeq. [x] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 5, 6, & 7.

(U) We have a ſignal inſtance of it in the caſe of one *Simon*, a ſurly fanatic lawyer, who had ventured to exclaim againſt him in a public aſſembly, as unfit to enter into the court of the *Iſraelites*, becauſe he was an *Idumean* by the father's ſide. The king, who was then at *Cæſarea*, only ſent for him to the theatre, made him ſit down by him, and, inſtead of reproving his boldneſs, mildly aſked him, whether there was any thing in him, or his actions, which he thought contrary to the *Jewiſh* law. This behaviour ſo mollified the man, that he anſwered him in the negative, approved of all he did, (for *Agrippa* was very fond of thoſe public ſhews) and, in a ſubmiſſive manner, begged pardon for his former ſpeech, which was readily granted to him (46).

His treatment of *Silas*, whoſe great obligations he had already rewarded with the command of all his forces, has indeed been cenſured as ſavouring of ingratitude; but the abuſe which that general had made of his power, his contemptuous behaviour towards him, and his public proteſting that he would never ceaſe upbraiding him with his former condition, and his own paſt ſervices to him, might well deſerve his reſentment; which yet he carried no further than impriſoning him: for it was *Herod* that put him to death immediately after that of *Agrippa* (47).

Joſephus, in the place laſt quoted, inſtances, as a monument of his magnificence, the ſtately theatre which he built at *Berytus* in *Phœnice*; in which, among other ſpectacles he gave the people

(46) *Antiq. l. xix. c. 7.* (47) *Id. ibid.*

there,

immenſe charge in building, beautifying, and fortifying a new quarter on the north ſide of the city, which he called *Bezetha*, or *the new city*, and in procuring the emperor's leave to ſurround it with a ſtrong wall, which, if he had obtained, would have rendered that metropolis impregnable. But *Vivius Marſus*, who had this year ſucceeded *Petronius* in the government of *Syria*, repreſented the danger of ſuch a deſign, which had already been carried on to ſome forwardneſs, in ſuch lively colours, that *Claudius* immediately ſent him an order to deſiſt. So conſiderable was he, and eſteemed by all his neighbours, that, in one of his progreſſes to *Tiberias*, he had no leſs than five kings, who came to compliment him there. Theſe were *Antiochus*, king of *Comagene*, *Samſigeran*, king of *Emeſa*, *Cotis*, king of *Leſſer Armenia*, *Polemon*, king of *Pontus*, and *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*. This meeting, however, gave *Marſus* ſuch jealouſy, that he came thither himſelf; and though *Agrippa* complimented him ſo far as to go ſeven ſtades to meet him, yet that governor commanded them all to depart, and return to their reſpective kingdoms. This action did ſo affront the *Jewiſh* king, that he ſent to deſire the emperor to recal him from his government, and eaſily obtained it; but *Claudius* died juſt before the orders had reached *Syria* [y].

Year of the Flood, 3040. Of Chriſt, 42 or 45.

Viſited by five kings.

UPON his return to *Jeruſalem* he depoſed *Matthias* the ſon of *Annas* from the high-prieſthood, and gave that dignity to *Elionæus* the ſon of *Cithæus*; and as he was very fond of pleaſing the *Jewiſh* nation, he began to perſecute the chriſtians, who till then ſeem to have been very quiet at *Jeruſalem* ever ſince St. *Paul*'s converſion. The firſt who fell a victim to his popular zeal was, *James the Leſs*, ſurnamed *Boanerges*., whom he cauſed to be beheaded (W). The pleaſure

[y] Antiq. ibid. c ult. ad fin.

there, he cauſed fourteen thouſand condemned criminals to repreſent a fight, which they did in ſuch good earneſt, that there was not one left alive of all that number.

(W) This was not the *James*, whom we mentioned a little higher to have been a near relation of Chriſt, and on that account choſen biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and was not martyred till many years after; but one of the ſons of *Zebedee*, and brother of *John*.

Euſebius adds (48), upon the teſtimony of *Clement* biſhop of *Alexandria*, that the ſoldier or captain that was to lead him to exe-

(48) *Eccl. Hiſt. l. ii. c.* 9.

cution,

Beheads James, and imprisons Peter.

pleasure which this action gave to the *Jews*, encouraged him to imprison *Peter* also, with a design to cut him off also immediately after the feast, which was that of the passover, and fell on that year on the first of *April*, in the forty fourth year after Christ. *Peter* was therefore strongly guarded, having four quaternions of soldiers at his prison door, and being fastened hands and feet with chains to his dungeon; whilst prayers were put up for him by all the christians in and about *Jerusalem*, and obtained him a miraculous deliverance. For on the very night before his designed martyrdom, an angel came and awaked him out of a sound sleep, knocked off his fetters, opened the prison door, and led him safe through some of the streets of the city, and left him to go and seek for some safe asylum; which he accordingly did, after he had gone and acquainted some of the brethren with his miraculous deliverance[z].

Soon after this disappointment, *Agrippa* returned to *Cæsarea*, where he designed to have exhibited some public games in honour of *Claudius Cæsar*, and was attended thither with a numerous train of the most considerable persons, both of his own, and of the neighbouring nations. He appeared early on the second morning of the festival at the public theatre, in a costly suit artfully wrought, so that the sun-beams, darting upon the silver-ground of it, were reflected with such an uncommon lustre, that the people beheld him with a kind of divine respect. He addressed himself in an elegant speech to the deputies of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, who had been some time in disgrace with him, and were now come to beg his pardon, and the continuance of his favour to their respective nations. Here the embassadors, prompted perhaps by some of his court sycophants, as is usual in such cases, gave a great shout, crying out, that it was the voice of a god, and not of a man, and added some gestures of a kind of adoration. The king, too sensible of the people's praise, approved, instead of checking their impious flattery; upon which the angel of the Lord smote him with a dreadful disease[a], under which hav-

[z] Act. xii. per tot. [a] Ibid. ver. 20, ad fin. Antiq ubi supra.

cution, was converted to christianity, by the noble defence which that apostle made at his trial, and that they were both martyred together. Some other particularities concerning his austere life, great piety, &c. are added, which, though they may be true enough, we dare not vouch for upon the bare testimony of antient tradition (49).

(49) *Vid. Epiph. hæres.* 58. *c.* 4, & *seq* & *al.*

in;

ing lingered five days, he expired in all the misery that can be expressed or imagined (X). He left a son of the same name, who was then but seventeen years old, and had been brought up at *Rome*, and three daughters, *Berenice* married to *Herod*, and then sixteen years of age, and *Mariamne* and *Drusilla*, both young and unmarried, though contracted, the former to *Julius Archelaus*, the son of *Chalcias*, and the latter to *Epiphanes*, the son of *Antiochus*, king of *Comagene*. He died in the fifty fourth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. *Claudius* was going to bestow the kingdom on his son, according to a former promise; but was dissuaded from it by his courtiers, on pretence that he was too young to be trusted with the care of such a nation; upon which *Judæa* became again a province of the empire, and *Cuspius Fadus* was sent governor of it, with this particular order, that he should act nothing in concert with *Marsus*; that he should severely punish the inhabitants of *Cæsarea* and *Sebaste*, or *Samaria*, for the indignities they had offered to the memory of the late king (Y); and that he should send his troops that were kept in *Judæa* away into *Pontus*. But he was soon after persuaded to let them abide still in the

His dreadful death.

Judæa *made a province by* Claudius.

(X) The sacred historian says, that he was eaten of worms (50), and *Josephus*, that he was seized with such violent pains in his heart and bowels, that he could not but reflect on the baseness of his flatterers, who had but lately complimented him with a kind of divine immortality, who was now going to expire in all the torments and agonies of a miserable mortal.

The latter adds, that whilst he was as yet in his prison, an owl happened to pearch over his head; upon which a *German*, who was there, foretold him his future rise and happiness; but bid him take notice, that the next time that he saw that bird, it would prove ominous to him, and that he would live but five days after it; which happened accordingly. For whilst he was applauding himself with the shouts and compliments, which the assembly were paying to him, on occasion of his oration, the same bird appeared over his head, pearching upon a rope, from which he concluded, that his life and glory was at an end (1).

(Y) These ungrateful wretches, not contented with making the greatest rejoycings at *Agrippa*'s death, and blackening his memory with the vilest outrages, had pulled down the statues of his three daughters from the theatres, and other public places, and carried them into their public stews; where they prostituted them in such a manner, as is unfit to be mentioned (2).

(50) *Acts* xii. 23. (1) *Conf. antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 8. & *l.* xix. *c. ult.* (2) *Antiq. l* xx. *c.* 1.

former, which proved a ſource of new troubles and miſeries [b]. It was about this time that the famine foretold by *Agabus*, a chriſtian prophet [c], began to rage; againſt which the new churches, planted at *Antioch* and other places, ſent the believers at *Jeruſalem* a liberal relief, by the hands of *Paul* and *Barnabas*; whilſt *Helen*, queen of *Adiabene*, is ſaid to have relieved the *Jews*, and afterwards the chriſtians, in the pious and plentiful manner we have ſpoken of in a former volume †.

Fadus *ſent into* Judæa.

Fadus, upon his arrival in *Judæa*, was forced to ſuppreſs the banditti, which were by that time grown very numerous and powerful; and to quell an inſurrection which the *Jews* had raiſed againſt the inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, which was the ſame city with *Rabbah*, the capital of the *Ammonites* [d]. In the mean time, *Claudius*, having recalled *Marſus* out of reſpect to the late king, had ſent *Caſſius Longinus* into that government, who came immediately to *Jeruſalem*, and inſiſted upon the pontifical veſtments being put into his poſſeſſion, in order to be kept, as formerly, in the fortreſs of *Antonia*. The *Jews* ſurpriſed at this new demand, begged leave that they might ſend a deputation to the emperor againſt it, and did not obtain it from that governor, till ſome of the heads of the nation had put their ſons as hoſtages into his hands. But upon the embaſſadors applying to *Claudius*, in which they were backed by the young *Agrippa*, they obtained a grant, that thoſe ſacred robes ſhould be kept in the poſſeſſion of the high-prieſt, in the manner *Vitellius* had granted it, ſix years before. At the ſame time *Herod* king of *Chalcis* obtained of that emperor the ſuperintendency of both the temple and ſacred treaſury; together with the authority of naming whom he would to the pontifical dignity; in purſuance to which, he depoſed *Cantharas*, and raiſed *Joſeph* the ſon of *Cami* to it. After *Herod*'s death, young *Agrippa* obtained the ſame grant for himſelf, and enjoyed it till the time of the *Jewiſh* war [e].

Year of the Flood, 3043. Of Chriſt, 47 or 48.

Theudas *an impoſtor beheaded.*

DURING *Fadus*'s government there aroſe a notable impoſtor, named *Theudas* (Z), who drew great numbers of the

[b] Antiq. ubi ſupra. IX. p. 488, & ſeq.
[c] Act xi. 27. ad fin.
[d] Antiq. l. xx. c. 1, & 2.
† Vol. [e] ibid.

(Z) We muſt take care not to confound this *Theudas* of *Joſephus* with another mentioned by St. *Luke*, and ſaid to have appeared juſt after the death of *Herod the Great*, and has been taken notice of in a former ſection †; and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the ſon of *Ezechias* mentioned by *Joſephus* under the name of *Judas*.

† *See before*, p. 276, & (S).

deluded

deluded *Jews* after him, bidding them follow him beyond *Jordan*, and promiſing them that he would divide the waters of that river, as *Joſhua* had done, by his ſingle word. *Cuſpius* ſent ſome troops of horſe and foot againſt him and his followers, killed ſome of them, took others priſoners, and amongſt them *Theudas* himſelf, whom he cauſed to be beheaded, and his head to be brought to *Jeruſalem*. This, according to *Joſephus*, is the moſt remarkable thing that happened during *Fadus*'s government [f]; he was ſoon after ſucceeded by *Tiberius Alexander*, an apoſtate *Jew*, of ſacerdotal race, and nephew to the famous *Philo*, often quoted in this chapter [g]. One of his firſt exploits was the crucifying *James* and *Simon*, the ſons of *Judas*, ſurnamed *Galileus*, head of the *Gaulonitiſh* ſect, ſpoken of in a former ſection; and about the ſame time *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*, having depoſed *Joſeph* the ſon of *Cami*, gave the high-prieſthood to *Ananias* the ſon of *Nebedeus*, and died ſoon after, in the eighth year of *Claudius*. That emperor gave his kingdom to young *Agrippa*, in prejudice of *Ariſtobulus*, the eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed.

Ventidius Cumanus ſucceeded *Alexander* in the government of *Judæa*, and it was in his time that thoſe troubles began, which ended in the ruin of the *Jewiſh* nation. The great concourſe of people, which their feſtival brought to *Jeruſalem*, obliged the *Romans* at ſuch times to keep a guard before the gates of the temple, to prevent tumults. It was now the paſſover, when one of the *Roman* ſoldiers upon duty, had the impudence to expoſe his nudity to open ſight; this indignity raiſed the reſentment of the *Jews* to ſuch a height, that they went and complained of it to *Cumanus*, and in an inſolent manner told him, that the affront was offered by his order, not only to the nation, but to God. He tried at firſt to appeaſe them by fair means, but finding them to grow more tumultuous, he ordered all his troops to come to the place; the ſight of which alarmed them ſo, that they fled in the greateſt fright and confuſion, inſomuch, that upwards of ten thouſand were ſtifled to death in their flight, by running over one another in the narrow paſſages that led to and from the temple. The copies of *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* ſay thirty thouſand. Soon after this diſaſter another happened in *Samaria*, where ſome *Galilean Jews*, going to one of the feaſts, were inſulted, and one of them killed. This brought on a terrible ſkirmiſh, in which a great number of the *Jews* were killed, and the reſt went to complain to *Cumanus* againſt the

Year of the Flood, 3050. Of Chriſt, 55 or 52.

[f] Id. ibid.

[g] Ibid c. iii. & bell. Jud. l ii. c. 11.

Samaritans; but he, being bribed by these, refused to do them justice; upon which the matter was brought before *Quadratus* governor of *Syria*, who sent both parties to *Rome*, and *Cumanus* with them, to answer for themselves there (A). The *Samaritans* were cast, and condemned to die, *Cumanus* sent into banishment, and *Celer* one of his tribunes, who had been involved in the same guilt, condemned to be dragged through the streets of *Jerusalem*, and then put to death [h].

Felix *made procurator of* Judæa.

In the year following *Claudius Felix*, the brother of *Pallas*, the emperor's chief favourite, being then in *Judæa*, succeeded *Cumanus* in the government of it, under whom the *Jewish* affairs went still from bad to worse (B). The

[h] Antiq. ubi supra. c. 4, & 5.

(A) They were all sent in chains thither, though they were the heads of each of the contending nations. Those among the *Jews* were *Annas* and *Jonathan*, who had been both high-priests, *Ananias* the present pontiff, and his son the captain of the temple, or rather chief of the *Levites*, who were the keepers of it, with some others. Those of the *Samaritans* were likewise considerable persons, and these joined interest with *Cumanus*; but the credit of young *Agrippa* at the *Roman* court easily turned the scales in favour of the *Jews*.

Those in *Judæa* had not met with so favourable a judge, and *Quadratus*, who had the power to try and condemn even the governors themselves, if he found them guilty, though he remitted the grand trial to *Cæsar*'s court, had caused a great number of the most stirring among them to be, some crucified, and others beheaded, besides those that had been killed in the several engagements, especially in the canton of *Atrabatene* (3).

(B) *Josephus* says, that the *Jewish* nation, especially *Jonathan* the late high-priest, had desired him for their governor. He had been the year before chosen one of the judges by *Quadratus*, in the dispute between them and the *Samaritans*, and had perhaps ingratiated himself to them by his mild behaviour towards them; but after he became their governor, he behaved like a tyrant. *Tacitus* says rightly of him (4), that he governed them with the arbitrariness of a monarch, and with the genius of a slave. He was the brother of *Pallas*, and therefore made no difficulty of committing the greatest oppressions and cruelties, till the flame broke out into an open rebellion, and ended in the most dreadful ruin and misery that ever nation felt.

(3) *Antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 5. *ubi supra*, c. 11.

(4) *Hist. l.* v. *c.* 9. *Conf. cum. antiq.*

land

land ſwarmed without with robbers and banditti, and within with falſe prophets, and pretended miracle-mongers, who were ſtill blowing the coals of diſcontent and ſedition; ſo that there paſſed ſcarcely a day, in which there was not ſome dreadful execution made upon ſome of thoſe miſcreants [i]. To theſe we may join the *Sicarii* or *aſſaſſins* (C), which crouded themſelves into all the cities and towns of the kingdom, and committed the moſt horrid murders and butcheries, under covert and pretence of zeal for their religion and liberties. Among the falſe prophets, and pretended ſaviours, by whom that infatuated nation was ſeduced, there was a ſignal one that came from *Egypt*, and had drawn above thirty thouſand men after him, by the large promiſes he made to them of a ſpeedy deliverance. His followers were, however, ſoon diſperſed by the *Roman* troops but one was no ſooner gone, but there ſtarted up another, ſo that the moſt violent remedies did rather inflame, than aſſuage, their ſeditious diſeaſe. But *Felix* did not exert his cruelties on the rebellious rout alone, but on all others indiſcriminately, whom his avarice or reſentment marked out for deſtruction. This obliged the good old prieſt *Jonathan*, who had been moſt inſtrumental in procuring him the government, to expoſtulate often with him, and to complain of his ill conduct. *Felix* at length, unable to bear his juſt cenſures, hired one *Ischa-Doras*, a perſon in whom *Jonathan* put great confidence, to *aſſaſſinate*

[i] Ibid. c. 6. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 12.

(C) Theſe were another kind of robbers, who came and mixed themſelves among the crouds and aſſemblies, with ſhort daggers under their cloaks, and ſtabbed all that came near them in open day, and then were the firſt to cry out murder! They not only, by this vile method, rid themſelves of their enemies, but would hire themſelves to murder any others for a ſmall ſum. So that it became extremely dangerous to go into any places of public reſort.

They are ſuppoſed to have been the ſpawn of the *Gaulonitiſh* faction, which began near fifty years before, as we have ſeen in a former ſection * ; and in ſpight of all the ſeverities which the *Romans* made them feel, ſtill kept up their ſeditious ſpirit, and daily increaſed in number. They were afterwards better known by the name of *zealots*, and under that ſpecious title committed ſuch unheard of crimes as haſtened the total ruin of their city and nation. We have ſeen in a former volume †, whence they pretended to derive their origin; though by their actions one would rather think it came from hell, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

* *See before, p.* 235, *&c.*

† *See Vol. III. p.* 316 *&c.*

assassinate him, which was accordingly done (D). This murder going unpunished, because the person who should have revenged it was the chief actor in it, proved the source of an infinite number of others, which were committed every-where, the temple not excepted; and the *Jewish* chiefs and even the pontiffs made no scruple to hire the assassins above-mentioned, to rid them of any persons that were obnoxious to them [k].

Marries Drusilla.

WE have already taken notice, that *Drusilla*, *Agrippa's* daughter, had been contracted to *Epiphanes*; but he refusing the circumcision, her brother gave her to *Azizus* king of *Emessa*, who consented to that ceremony out of love to her, she being one of the finestwomen of that age. But as her virtue was far enough below her beauty, *Felix*, who was become enamoured with her, did easily persuade her to forsake her husband, and to be married to him, though a *Pagan*, and one of the worst of that kind [l] (E). He was himself made perhaps more sensible of it than ever he had been when the apostle St. *Paul* was brought before him, and made that noble discourse on *justice*, *temperance*, or *chastity*, and a *judgment to come*; which threw him into such a fit of remorse and trembling, as made him cry out to him, *It is enough, go thy ways for this time; and when I am more at leisure, I will send for thee* [m]. It proved however but of short du-

[k] Id. ibid. [l] Id. ibid. & seq. [m] Act. xxiv. pass. & antiq. ubi supra, c. 7.

(D) It is impossible to guess from *Josephus*, in what year this murder was committed; only by his expressions it seems to have been done about the beginning of *Felix*'s government (5).

(E) Her two sisters did not prove much more virtuous than she. *Berenice* the eldest, and formerly married to her uncle *Herod* king of *Chalcis*, being become a widow, was shrewdly suspected of holding an incestuous intercourse with her brother *Agrippa*. To suppress that suspicion, she married *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, and of part of *Cilicia*; but, she soon after broke off with him, and by her loose behaviour confirmed the reports that had been spread concerning her unlawful intrigues. Her husband on the other hand, who had embraced judaism on her account, was no sooner forsaken by her, than he cast off her religion, and returned to his paganism,

Mariamne the youngest had been married betimes to *Archelaus* the son of *Chelcias* or *Elchias*, probably of the *Herodian* family; but she likewise forsook him to marry one *Demetrius*, an *Alexandrian Jew*, and one of the richest and most considerable of that city, and was then their Alabarca or chief (6).

(5) *Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 6. (6) *Ibid.* c. 5.

ration

ration. *Felix* did afterwards ſend for him indeed more than once, but it was rather in hopes of a bribe from him, than a deſire of being made better acquainted with thoſe important truths, which he had heard of him; ſo that after near two years, finding himſelf diſappointed, and ready to be recalled from his government, he choſe to leave his priſoner in bonds, to ingratiate himſelf to the exaſperated *Jews* [n].

Festus *ſucceeds* Felix. Year of the Flood 3056. Of Chriſt 62 or 59.

HE was accordingly ſucceeded by *Portius Feſtus*, who upon his coming found the nation in that diſtreſſed condition we have been ſpeaking of; and, which was ſtill worſe, the very prieſthood had begun a civil war among themſelves, ever ſince the laſt year of *Felix*'s government, the occaſion of which ſeems to have been the frequent depoſitions of the pontiffs, and their pretenſions after it to a greater ſhare of the tythes than the inferior prieſts could afford them (F). *Agrippa* had the year before depoſed *Ananias*, and put *Iſhmael* in his room; there were ſtill ſeveral more ſuch diſcarded pontiffs alive, who all pretended to the ſame income of the tythes, which they enjoyed with that dignity, which muſt of courſe

A civil war among the prieſts.

[n] *Act.* ubi ſupra, ad fin.

(F) We have obſerved in a former volume *, that the *Levites* were to gather in the tythes from the people, and to allot a tenth part of them to the prieſts. Theſe allowed the high-prieſt a proportion of it ſuitable to his dignity, and divided the reſt among themſelves. When therefore the number of depoſed pontiffs began to increaſe to ſuch a degree, as to leave the inferior ones too ſmall a quantity for their ſuſtenance, it bred a mutiny among them. The latter refuſing them their competency, they ſent their armed men to force it from them, to plunder their houſes and barns, and to kill all that oppoſed them. This obliged them to hire the ſicarii to repel force by force, and thoſe that could not ſtand thus in their own defence, were ſtripped of all they had, and left to ſtarve.

Joſephus ſays, that *Felix* had ſent a good number of them in chains to *Rome* to anſwer for their crimes, which yet he adds were of a light nature; and might therefore be ſome of this oppreſſed ſort who had armed themſelves againſt the cruelty of thoſe tyrants. He adds, that they were kept priſoners, ſome years, till he came himſelf thither on purpoſe to procure their freedom which he did by the intereſt of *Poppea*, who was a lover of their nation, and was ſoon after married to the emperor *Nero*. He highly applauds the piety of thoſe prieſts, who, ſays he, were content to live upon nuts, and dry figs, rather than pollute themſelves with the uſual food of the *Gentiles* (7).

* *Vol. III. p.* 220, *& ſeq.* (7) *In vita ſua.*

impoveriſh

impoveriſh the inferior ſort, who therefore refuſed it to them. The rancour aroſe at length to ſuch a height, that each party uſed to go along accompanied with a troop of the ſicarii, and upon every rencounter fell foul on each other, killing all that oppoſed them, and filled both city and country, and even the very temple ſometimes with blood. *Feſtus* was therefore forced to begin his government with the greateſt ſeverity, in order to ſuppreſs this treble butchery; namely, that of the prieſthood againſt each other; that of the ſeditious laity againſt the *Romans* and thoſe that contentedly ſubmitted to them; and that of the banditti abroad, who infeſted the whole country, and robbed, plundered, and maſſacred everywhere without mercy [o]. The ſuppreſſion of all theſe different parties, and the ſevere examples he made of their leaders, impoſtors, and of the moſt ſtirring and mutinous of the rebels, was what took up the greateſt part of his time and labour during his ſhort government.

Paul *brought before* Feſtus

THREE days after his arrival in *Judæa*, he went to *Jeruſalem*, where *Ananias* the late high-prieſt, and the reſt of the *Jewiſh* chiefs, came to demand juſtice againſt *Paul*, who was ſtill kept priſoner at *Cæſarea*. As ſoon therefore as he was returned thither, he cauſed him to be brought before him, and after a full hearing of both ſides, eſpecially of the priſoners defence, pronounced him innocent of any capital crime. But his enemies ſtill inſiſting that he was worthy of death, and *Feſtus* being willing to oblige them with a ſecond trial at *Jeruſalem*, *Paul* took hold on the privileges which the law then gave him, to appeal to *Cæſar*, and prevent thereby the effects of their further malice. *Agrippa* and his ſiſter *Bernice* being come to *Cæſarea* to compliment the new governor, and having expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing this celebrated priſoner, *Feſtus*, who knew that prince to be thoroughly verſed in the *Jewiſh* laws and cuſtoms, readily agreed to have him brought once more to the bar. Here *Paul* being permitted to ſpeak for himſelf, made ſuch a noble defence, that *Feſtus* acquitted him of every fault, except that of having turned his brain with too much learning; whilſt *Agrippa*, conſcious of the truth and force of his reaſoning, owned himſelf almoſt convinced by him, and after ſome private conference with the governor, it was declared that he might have been releaſed, if he had not appealed to *Cæſar* [p].

And Agrippa.

Agrippa *diſpleaſes the* Jews.

IN the mean time *Agrippa*, who came often to *Jeruſalem*, and had a lodging near the temple, of which he had the ſu-

[o] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 6.

[p] Act. xxv, & xxvi. paſſ.

perintendency

perintendency given him after his uncle *Herod*, took it into his head to build him a palace there, of such a height, that he could oversee all that was done in the innermost court of it. The *Jews* were the more displeased at it, because *Festus* and the *Romans* would likewise come and take a view of it from thence; for which reason they built a partition wall high enough to cover that sacred place, which the king and governor taking as an affront, ordered it to be pulled down. The *Jews*, after much opposition, obtained leave at length to send deputies to *Rome*; and these by the intercession of *Poppea* (G), got a grant from the emperor for the keeping up of the wall. *Ishmael* the then high-priest being at the head of this embassy, was for his laudable zeal deposed by *Agrippa*, who bestowed that dignity on *Joseph*, surnamed *Cabbis*, the son of the late pontiff *Cantharas*. *Josephus*, adds, that *Poppea* detained *Ishmael* and *Chelcias* as hostages at *Rome*[q].

Festus dying towards the latter end of this year, *Nero* nominated *Albinus* to succeed him; in the mean time *Agrippa*, having given the high-priesthood from *Cabbis* to *Ananus*, a proud *Sadducee*, this last took that interval before the arrival of the new prætor to call a council, and to have *James* the apostle and bishop of *Jerusalem*, and some other christians, condemned and stoned to death (H). Upon the governor's arrival at *Alexandria*, complaint was made to him of this presumptuous and unlawful step. *Albinus* resented it, and sent the new pontiff a very threatening letter; and *Agrippa*, who feared the consequence of his anger, took care to depose him, and to

[q] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 7. ad fin.

(G) *Josephus* highly commends that empress's piety, though, setting aside her love to the *Jewish* nation, she had not one virtue that could intitle her to this compliment. On the contrary, she was known to be a lewd princess, the promoter of a great number of murders, which she made her husband commit on the greatest persons of the empire, and prevailed at length on that mad monarch to repudiate, banish, and at length put to death, his virtuous wife *Octavia*, to marry her, as we shall see more at large in the *Roman* history.

(H) So says *Josephus*; but we have related the manner of his death according to the testimony of some antient fathers in a late note, to which we refer the reader.

This *Ananus* was the fifth son of that *Ananus* or *Annas*, mentioned by the evangelists, that had enjoyed the high-priesthood after their father, an honour and happiness that never happened to any but him, says that *Jewish* historian (8).

(8) *Antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 8.

put another in his room, *viz. Jesus* the son of *Damneus*, before the governor was got to *Jerusalem*. *Judæa* gained nothing by the change of either governor or pontiff. As for the former, he was such a cruel rapacious monster, that *Felix* and *Festus*, bad as they were, were honest men to him; and yet he was still in one respect better than his successor, in that he endeavoured at least, either to hide or to colour his ill actions by some pretext or other.

His first care was to suppress the sicarii, robbers, and banditti, which were now grown more numerous, and bolder than ever. He punished with the utmost severity as many as came into his hands, and they only became the more impudent by it; insomuch that they ventured one night, during one of their feasts, to enter into the city, and to carry off *Eleazar* the son of *Ananias*, the late high-priest, who was secretary of the temple, and to send his father word that they would not release him, till he had procured the enlargement of ten of their associates, whom *Albinus* kept in prison. *Ananias*, who was a very opulent person, easily bribed with a round sum the rapacious governor to consent to it, but his compliance was attended with very bad consequences; being forced still to redeem some near relation at the same price, as often as any of the banditti were got into the governor's hands [r]. On the other hand *Agrippa*, having given the high-priesthood from *Jesus* the son of *Damneus* to *Jesus* the son of *Gamaliel*, those two pontiffs got each of them a strong escort of armed men, and committed the vilest outrages, not only against each other, but against the inferior sort, who were often plundered of all they had, and reduced to the lowest misery. About this time the *Levites* and singers, who, as we have formerly observed *, had no particular dress to distinguish them from the laity, obtained leave of *Agrippa* to wear white robes like the priests, and some other privileges, which were contrary to the *Jewish* law, and did not a little displease the better sort of the *Jews*, as well as the whole priesthood. *Agrippa* was likewise become odious to his subjects, on account of his high taxes on them, to support his extravagance, sumptuous buildings, public spectacles, games, and such-like profusions [s].

About this time all the work of the temple being quite finished, and eighteen thousand hands at once discharged, as we observed in a former section †, a proposal was made to

[r] Ibid. c. 8. * Vol III. p. 253. [s] Antiq. ubi supra, Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 1, 3. † Pag. 182, & (Z).

that

that prince to employ them in the taking down an old ſtately galery of the temple, four hundred cubits high, which was in danger of falling, and rebuilding it anew; but *Agrippa* conſidering the expenſiveneſs and length of the work, abſolutely refuſed it, and told the *Jewiſh* chiefs that they might employ thoſe hands in paving the city with white ſtones; but that not being agreed to, the greateſt part joined themſelves with the banditti for fear of ſtarving. *Albinus* after a two years government was recalled by *Nero*, and ſucceeded by *Geſſius Florus*, the laſt and worſt governor that ever *Judæa* had. *Joſephus* ſeems at a loſs for words bad enough to deſcribe him by, or a monſter to compare him to[t]; his rapines, cruelties, conniving for large ſums with the banditti, and in a word, his whole behaviour, was ſo open and bare-faced that he was looked upon by the *Jews*, more like a bloody executioner ſent to butcher, than as a magiſtrate to govern them. His deſign was to provoke them to ſuch an open rebellion, as might either give him the brutiſh pleaſure of ſeeing them deſtroy each other, or prevent his oppreſſions, murders, and other helliſh works being inquired into. He ſucceeded but too well in it; and a war was kindled accordingly through his means, which ended not but with the total ruin of the *Jewiſh* nation. This great event, ſo plainly foretold by Chriſt, ſo punctually fulfilled, and ſo lively deſcribed and related by a *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, and an eye-witneſs, might well deſerve a larger place in this chapter; but as it is ſo very well known, and abounds with ſuch dreadful murders, cruelties, and other circumſtances, fit only to fill a reader with horror, we ſhall content ourſelves with giving ſome of the moſt remarkable ſtrokes of it, to avoid drawing this chapter to too great a length.

Geſſius Florus's *bloody government.* Year of the Flood, 3065. Of Chriſt, 64.

ABOUT four years before this dreadful war broke out, and about ſeven before the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, whilſt the *Jews* did ſtill enjoy ſome kind of peace, a country fellow, named *Jeſus*, came to the feaſt of tabernacles, and was on a ſudden ſeized with a kind of phrenſy, as the *Jews* thought it, which made him cry out without ceaſing: *Wo to the city, Wo to the temple: A voice from the four corners, a voice againſt* Jeruſalem, *a voice againſt the nation*, &c. and in this lamentable tone he ran through all the ſtreets of the city night and day, and on the ſabbaths and other feſtivals, was heard to ſpeak thoſe words louder, and in a more diſmal tone, without ever loſing his voice, or even being hoarſe with crying; and, what was ſtill more ſurpriſing, neither threats nor the moſt

A prodigious warning to the Jews.

[t] Antiq. ibid. c. 9. Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

ſevere puniſhments that could be inflicted on him (I), could make him deſiſt or utter a groan or complaint, or any other words than thoſe dreadful woes, till he ſaw his predictions begin to be fulfilled by the ſiege of the city, when he cried out in a more diſmal tone, *Wo alſo to myſelf*; and was in that inſtant killed by a ſtone thrown in by the beſiegers [u]. There were ſeveral more ſuch prodigious warnings ſent to that unhappy nation in the ſequel, which though all too little to bring them to a better mind, are ſufficient to convince us, that God did not doom them to this dreadful deſtruction, till their impiety and hardneſs of heart had forced that ſevere puniſhment from him.

Complaints made to Ceſtius Gallus. Year of the Flood, 3064. Of Chriſt, 69.

Judæa being thus diſtracted within and without; and groaning now more than ever under a tyrant, who openly promoted thoſe miſchiefs he ſhould have remedied; vaſt numbers of *Jews* forſook it to ſeek an aſylum among foreign nations, whilſt thoſe that ſtayed behind applied themſelves to *Ceſtius Gallus*, the then governor of *Syria*, who was then at *Jeruſalem* at the paſſover, and beſought him to pity their wretched ſtate; and free them from the tyranny of a man who had totally ruined their country. *Florus*, who was preſent when theſe complaints were preferred againſt him, made a mere jeſt of them; and *Ceſtius*, inſtead of making a ſtrict inquiry into his conduct, diſmiſſed them with a bare promiſe, that *Florus* ſhould behave better for the future, and ſet himſelf about computing the number of *Jews* that were then at *Jeruſalem*, by that of the lambs that were offered at that feſtival (K), in order

[u] Bell. Judaic. l. vii. c. 12.

(I) *Joſephus* adds, that ſome of the *Jewiſh* heads, being highly diſpleaſed at this poor fellow, cauſed him to be ſeverely whipped; and that this not proving ſufficient either to ſilence him, or to make him anſwer to other queſtions; they had him brought before *Albinus*, who ordered him afreſh to the whipping poſt; where they gave him ſo many and ſevere laſhes, that his ribs were quite uncovered, without forcing a word or groan from him. And laſtly, that being diſmiſſed as a madman, he continued his dreadful outcries, without taking the leaſt notice by word or geſture, either of thoſe that hurted him or gave him food.

(K) This computation could not be very certain, becauſe, tho' none but *Jews* offered theſe lambs at the feaſt, yet thoſe who had contracted any legal pollution were excluded from it. Beſides, one lamb might ſerve for twenty perſons, tho' never for leſs than ten. However, they took this laſt number for each lamb; and found that of the lambs to amount in the whole to two hundred and

order to send an account of it to *Nero*; and by that computation the whole was found to amount to two millions five hundred and fifty six thousand. *Josephus* thinks they rather amounted to three millions [w].

SOON after this, the contest between the *Jews* and *Syrians* about the city of *Cæsarea*, which had been kept in suspence ever since the time of *Felix* (L), being at length decided in favour of the *Syrians*, the decree was no sooner brought to *Judæa*, but, as if it had been agreed, that this should be the signal for a revolt, the *Jews* every-where, resolved to take up arms, and thus began the fatal war in the second year of *Florus*'s government, in the twelfth of *Nero*'s reign, the seventeenth of that of *Agrippa*, and in the sixty-ninth year of Christ [x]. *Agrippa*, who was at this time at *Jerusalem* at the beginning of this revolt, strove in vain to assuage them by a long and elaborate speech, as well as by other proper means; they only listened to him, till he came to insist on their submitting to *Florus*, till a new governor could be obtained from *Rome*; this single proposal exasperated them to such a degree, that they began to pelt him with stones, and forced him to leave the city, which was immediately in a flame. *Florus* beheld all this with an inhuman pleasure, and without putting the least help to quell the sedition, though earnestly intreated to it by the *Jewish* heads. *Agrippa* sent them indeed three thousand men; but what could they do now against such an inraged multitude as were then up in arms? The evil soon spread all over the kingdom, and though the *Jews* were every-where the sufferers, yet did not their despe-

[w] Ibid l. ii. c. 13, & alib.

[x] Const. antiq. l. xx. c. ult. & Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 14.

and fifty five thousand. But as among the poor, one of them might serve for more than ten, and as far as twenty, *Josephus* rightly guesses that there must have been a much greater number, tho' considering the bigness of the place, one would wonder how it was possible for it to contain even that.

(L) This contest, in which the *Jews* maintained that that city belonged to them, because it had been built by *Herod*, and the *Syrians* pretended that it had been always esteemed a *Greek* city, since even that monarch had reared temples and statues in it; grew to such a height, that both parties came at last to blows, and took up arms against each other. *Felix* at length put an end to it for a time, by sending some of the chiefs of each nation to *Rome* to plead their cause before the emperor, where it hung in suspence till this time, when *Nero* decided it in such a manner as caused this insurrection.

rate

rate rage abate in the leaſt. Nothing was now to be ſeen but robberies, murders, and all manner of cruelties; cities and villages filled with dead bodies of all ages, ſexes and qualities, even down to the ſucking babes. The *Jews* on their part neither ſpared *Syrians* nor *Romans*, but retaliated their cruelties where-ever they got the better of them, for which vaſt numbers of their peaceful brethren were butchered in their places of abode. The *Cæſareans* fell ſuddenly on thoſe of their city, and maſſacred twenty thouſand of them, two thouſand were murdered at *Ptolemais*, and fifty thouſand at *Alexandria*. In a word, there was neither town nor city, where the *Pagans* proved either ſtronger or quicker than they, where they did not commit the ſame horrid butcheries. At *Jeruſalem Florus* cauſed one day his troops to go and plunder the high market, and to kill all they met; and they murdered accordingly three thouſand five hundred perſons, men, women, and children. Among thoſe that were brought priſoners to him, there were ſome men of quality, and who had been even honoured with the *Roman* knighthood; yet this did not ſave them from his cruelty; on the contrary, he cauſed them to be whipped before his tribunal, and then crucified [y].

Jews terribly perſecuted.

Berenice being bound there by a vow of *Nazareat* thirty days, ſpared neither prayers, meſſages, nor viſits to mollify the brutiſh prætor, till at length ſhe was likely to have loſt her life by it, and with great difficulty recovered her palace before his helliſh inſtruments could reach her. Yet not diſcouraged by it, ſhe went barefoot to him on the very next day, threw herſelf at the foot of his tribunal, and in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms intreated him to put a ſtop to the ſhedding of ſo much blood. The brute did not ſo much as vouchſafe her the leaſt token of common reſpect, ſo that ſhe ran a ſecond riſk of being torn in pieces before ſhe could get home [z]. This may ſerve to give a ſketch of that governor's character, who, becauſe he was depending on that of *Syria*, failed not to write to *Ceſtius*, and throw all the fault on the *Jews*; inſomuch, that this laſt knew not well which to believe, *Florus*, or *Agrippa*, *Berenice*, and other conſiderable *Jewiſh* heads, who gave him a quite different account [a].

Berenice intercedes in vain. *Berenice*, who had ſtayed at *Jeruſalem* after her brother,

In the mean time, a great number of aſſaſſins having joined themſelves to the ſeditious, beat the *Romans* out of the fortreſſes of *Maſſada*, *Antonia*, and the towers of *Phaſael*,

The zealots beat the Romans.

[y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. c. 15. [a] cap. 16.

Marianne,

Mariamne, and others; killing all that oppoſed them. They began next to ſet fire to the palaces of *Agrippa*, and *Berenice*, of the high-prieſt *Ananias*, and of his brother *Ezechias*; and theſe two laſt, who had hid themſelves from their fury, being diſcovered, were murdered without mercy. *Menahem*, one of the ſons of the late *Judas*, chief of the *Gaulonites*, had now put himſelf at the head of the ſicarii, who now called themſelves *zealots*; and being come to *Jeruſalem*, was choſen chief of the ſeditious there, but was ſoon after maſſacred by them, with a great number of his men. His nephew *Eleazar* ſucceeded him as chief of the *zealots*, and beſieged the *Romans* ſo cloſe in their caſtle, that they capitulated at length to retire only with their lives; which being promiſed to them, he cauſed them all to be maſſacred on the ſpot, though it was on the ſabbath [b]. This treachery was cruelly retaliated on the generous *Jews* of *Scythopolis*, or *Bethſhean*, who had offered the *Greeks* of that city to ſtand by them againſt their brethren, who were beſieging them. But their ſincerity being unhappily ſuſpected by their townſmen, theſe obliged them to retire into ſome neighbouring wood, where on the third night they came upon them, when they were aſleep, and killed thirteen thouſand of them, and ſeized upon all their wealth [c] (M).

Scythopolitan Jews *maſſacred.*

BY this time the revolted *Jews* had carried their conqueſts beyond *Jordan*, and had taken the fortreſſes of *Macheron* and *Cyprus*; this laſt they razed to the ground, after having put all the *Romans* to the ſword; ſo that *Ceſtius Gallus*, who had hitherto kept himſelf an idle ſpectator of all theſe mutual devaſtations, began to think it high time to beſtir himſelf. He marched into *Judæa* with a powerful army, burned all the towns and villages in his way, maſſacred all the *Jews* he

[b] Ibid. c. 17, 18. [c] cap. 19.

(M) It was on this dreadful occaſion, that a conſiderable *Jew*, named *Simon*, who had ſignalized himſelf in the defence of *Scythopolis* againſt thoſe of his own nation, obſerving what bloody returns the *Greeks* made them for their friendſhip, in a fit of rage and deſpair, inſtead of ſtanding in his own defence, fell on his father, mother, wife, and children, who clung round about him, and killed every one of them; after which, getting on the heap of their dead bodies, he run himſelf through with his own ſword (9).

(9) *Bell. Jud. l. ii. c.* 19.

could

could come at, and came and encamped before *Gibeon* (N), about the feaſt of tabernacles. The people at *Jeruſalem* no ſooner heard of his approach, than they forſook the ſolemnity, and, though on the ſabbath, armed themſelves, and came out againſt him with ſuch fury, that they had in all likelihood, defeated him, had not his foot been timely ſuccoured by his cavalry. He loſt above five hundred men, and the *Jews* but twenty-two. The latter having ſeized on all the paſſes round about, *Ceſtius* was forced to ſtay three days near *Bethoron*, where *Agrippa* joined him, and aſſiſted him with his troops, his perſon, counſel, and good offices. He tried once more to bring the *Jews* to ſome temper, by ſending two of his chief captains to offer them a pardon, and ſome terms of peace; but the revolters, inſtead of hearkening to their propoſals, killed one of them, and wounded the other, who narrowly eſcaped with his life. This baſe action, which was highly condemned by the more moderate *Jews*, cauſed a diſſenſion between them, which *Ceſtius* failed not to improve, by ſallying ſuddenly againſt them, and purſuing them almoſt up to *Jeruſalem*. He ſtayed three days at *Scopas*, a ſmall mile from it, to try whether their fright would make them relent, and then advanced towards them in order of battle on the thirtieth of *October*, and put them into ſuch conſternation, that they abandoned all the outer quarters of the city, and retired into the inner cincture near the temple. *Ceſtius* ſet fire to the former, and began himſelf to beſiege the latter, and took up his head quarters in the royal palace [d].

Year of the Flood 3064. Of Chriſt 59.

Ceſtius defeated.

Had the governor vigorouſly puſhed on the ſiege, it is likely he might have put an effectual end to the ſedition; but

[d] Ibid. c. 20, 21, & ſeq.

(N) This city, the capital of the antient *Gibeonites* †, was diſtant about fifty ſtades or ſeven little miles north of *Jeruſalem*, and ſituate on an eminence, as its name properly imports (10). *Joſephus* ſays elſewhere, it was but ſorty ſtades from that metropolis (11).

Ceſtius's army conſiſted of the whole twelfth legion, two thouſand men picked out of the other legions, ſix cohorts of foot, four of horſe, beſides three thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot ſent him by *Agrippa* and *Antiochus*, and four thouſand from *Sohemus*; in the whole about twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe.

† *Vid. Vol II. p.* 176. (10) *Joſeph. ubi ſupra. Euſeb. loc. Hebr.* (11) *Antiq. l. vii c.* 10.

that

that ſinful nation was now reſerved for greater evils, and the ſiege was on the ſudden ſhamefully raiſed, at the inſtigation of ſome of *Ceſtius*'s generals, whom *Florus* had corrupted; which gave a new life to the ſeditious. They purſued him to his camp at *Gibeon*, haraſſing him in the rear, whilſt thoſe that kept the paſſes attacked him in flank. His army in deſpair, not being able to move forward or backward, made the mountains echo with their hideous cries, and after a loſs of four thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, and of a great part of their baggage, being aſſiſted by the intervening night on the eighth of *November*, happily got down through the narrow ſtreights of *Bethoron*, and eſcaped [c]. The *Jews*, after this ſucceſs againſt the *Syrian* governor, ſet themſelves about the propereſt means to carry on the war againſt the *Romans*, and chuſing ſome of their braveſt chiefs to command in the ſeveral cantons and fortreſſes of *Judæa*. *Joſephus* the writer of theſe wars, a brave *Jewiſh* prieſt, of conſiderable rank, was appointed governor of the two *Galilees*; *Joſeph* the ſon of *Gorion* and the high-prieſt *Ananus* had the government of *Jeruſalem*; and *Eleazar*, the chief of the revolters, that of *Idumea*; ſoon after which they departed to take care each of their particular commands. All this while there reigned ſuch a diſſenſion among the *Jews*, that great numbers of the better ſort, foreſeeing the ſad effects of the *Romans* reſentment, forſook the city, as men do a ſinking veſſel, and the chriſtians, mindful of their Saviour's warning (O), retired into *Pella*, a ſmall city on the other ſide *Jordan*, in the tetrarchy of *Herod*, whither the war did not reach [f].

Eſcapes with loſs.

Jews and Chriſtians leave Jeruſalem.

WHILST the new choſen governors were putting their reſpective cantons in the beſt poſture of defence, the ſon of *Gorion* in repairing the fortifications of *Jeruſalem*, *Joſephus* in fortifying a vaſt number of places in the upper and lower *Galilee*, and raiſing of forces to the number of a hundred thouſand, preparing arms and ammunition, and *Eleazar* was doing the ſame in *Idumea*; the news came to *Nero* of all

[c] cap. 23, 24. [f] cap. 25, & ſeq.

(O) *Euſebius* aſſures us (12), upon the teſtimony of ſome antient fathers, that God was pleaſed to direct them to this flight even before the beginning of the war; and *Epiphanius* adds (13), by the miniſtry of an angel ſent on purpoſe to the church of *Jeruſalem*.

(12) *Hiſt. Eccl. l. iii. c.* 5. (13) *Hæreſ.* 29, *& ſeq.*

Veſpaſian *ſent into* Judæa.

theſe preparations, as well as of the ill ſucceſs of *Ceſtius* againſt the *Jews*. *Veſpaſian*, who had already ſignalized himſelf in *Germany*, and *England*, being then with the emperor in *Achaia*, was nominated to march with all ſpeed againſt *Judæa* with a powerful army [g]. He came accordingly into *Syria*, gathered all his forces and thoſe of his auxiliaries, among whom *Agrippa* did not fail to meet him at the head of a conſiderable reinforcement of his own, whilſt *Titus* was ſent by his father to fetch the fifth and tenth legions from *Alexandria* into *Judæa* [h]. It is likely, *Ceſtius* did not long outlive his diſgrace, for we hear no more of him; and the *Jews*, elated at his defeat, if not alſo at his death, took it into their heads to go and beſiege *Aſcalon*. *Antony*, who commanded there, came out againſt them, and killed ten thouſand of them; they made a ſecond attempt, and were ſurpriſed in the way, and cut off to almoſt the ſame number. *Niger*, who headed the *Jews*, fled into a tower, to which *Antony* ſet fire; and not doubting but he was burnt in it, left the place; but upon the *Jews* coming three days after to bury their dead, they found him in a cave under-ground, where he had ſaved himſelf from the flames [i].

Year of the Flood 3065. Of Chriſt, 70 6/7.

Veſpaſian *enters* Judæa.

Veſpaſian, on the very beginning of the next year, having ſent *Placidus* to ſuccour the inhabitants of *Sephoris* (P) againſt the *Jews*, advanced towards *Ptolemais* with *Agrippa*, and was there joined by *Titus* at the head of another body of troops, with whom he had marched thither even in the very depth of winter, and came much ſooner than was expected. Their whole forces of horſe and foot conſiſted now of upwards of ſixty thouſand men, beſides ſervants, all excellently diſciplined, with which they entered *Galilee*, and having burnt *Gadara*, were marching to beſiege *Jotapa*. *Joſephus*, now governor of that province, having timely notice of it, went into that place, and defended it with great bravery and vigour forty ſeven days, in ſpite of all the *Roman* efforts and bravery. It was at length taken by aſſault about the beginning of *July* (Q), and

Jotapa *taken by* Veſpaſian.

[g] Lib. iii. c. 1. [h] Cap. 2, & 3. [i] Ibid. c. 1, & ſeq.

(P) We have already obſerved, that this city was the metropolis of *Galilee*, and was very conſiderable for its ſtrength, ſituation, bigneſs, and opulence. It was now become obnoxious to the revolted *Jews*, by reaſon of its adherence to the *Romans*, ſo that it would have undergone a dreadful fate, had not *Veſpaſian* ſent timely ſuccours to it (14).

(Q) The reader may ſee the ſtrength of this place in *Joſephus*

(14) *Bell Jud. l. iii. c.* 3.

(15)

and put to fire and ſword; not one *Jew* eſcaped to carry the dreadful news, but they were all either murdered, or made priſoners. There were reckoned forty thouſand of the former, and but twelve hundred of the latter, among whom was *Joſephus*, who had hid himſelf in a deep cavern, but was at length diſcovered, and by *Veſpaſian*'s generous offers and intreaties, though much againſt the conſent of thoſe *Jews* that were with him (R), went and ſurrendered himſelf priſoner to him. When he was brought before *Veſpaſian*, the whole army crouding about to ſee him, he was put under a guard, with a deſign to be ſent to *Nero*; which when the *Jewiſh* general underſtood, he deſired to have the liberty to ſpeak to him; which being granted, he addreſſed himſelf to him in words to this effect: My meſſage to you being from the God of heaven, is of much greater concern to you, than the diſpoſal of me as your priſoner, or ſending me to the emperor; and, as a *Jew*- Joſephus *ſurrenders himſelf.* *His ſpeech to* Veſpaſian.

(15), with the many other remarkable particulars of this obſtinate ſiege (16), wherein the *Romans* were terribly peſtered by the valour and conduct of the beſieged, and the general himſelf wounded in the heel (17). This ſtout reſiſtance occaſioned the great ſlaughter he made of them, and the vaſt diſproportion between the number of the ſlain and of the priſoners, the latter being in all probability only women and children.

(R) This cavern was cut into the rock by the ſide of a well, and well ſtored with proviſion; and there *Joſephus* found forty of his own men. He went out the firſt night to ſee whether there was any poſſibility of eſcaping; but finding none, he reſolved to abide there as long as he could. He was diſcovered on the third day by a woman, and *Veſpaſian*, who had a great deſire to ſee him, ſent him two of his tribunes to promiſe him his life and friendſhip. Upon his refuſal to ſurrender himſelf, he ſent a third, named *Nicanor*, and an old acquaintance of his; but he returning likewiſe without him, the *Romans* were for burning him and his men out of it, but were hindered by their brave general.

At length finding it dangerous to reſiſt any longer, he propoſed to the reſt to accept of *Veſpaſian*'s generous offer; for which they upbraided him with treachery and baſeneſs, and threatened to kill him, if he preſumed to ſtir out. He tried once more to remonſtrate to them the unlawfulneſs of ſelf-murder, which he ſaw them now fully bent upon; he was forced at laſt to propoſe to them to draw lots, who ſhould kill the next, and ſo on, till the laſt man; which being agreed to by the reſt, providence ſo ordered it, that there were but two left, *viz. Joſephus* and one more; ſo that being loth either to kill him, or be killed by him, he at length perſuaded him to a ſurrender, which was accordingly done (18).

(15) *Ubi ſupra*, c 7. (16) *Ibid* c. 8. *ad* 13. (17) *Ibid.* c. 14. (18) *Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra*, c 14.

iſh commander, I ſhould have preferred death to this ſurrender, had it not been to deliver his divine commiſſion to you. The interval between *Nero*'s end and your ſucceeding him is ſo ſmall, that I already look upon you as emperor, and your ſon *Titus* as your happy ſucceſſor. Keep me only as your priſoner, and if you find I have abuſed God's name in promiſing you from him the empire of the world, then puniſh me with the ſevereſt death. *Veſpaſian* took him at his word, uſed him with great reſpect and generoſity, but cauſed him to be kept cloſe priſoner, having a deſign to make ſome further uſe of him in his war againſt the *Jews* [k]. This prediction of the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian to the *Roman* general, is likewiſe confirmed by *Suetonius* [l] and *Dion Caſſius* [m]. Something like this, but with a more dreadful proſpect to the *Jews*, *Lactantius* tells us [n], had been foretold at *Rome* about the ſame time, by the two great apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*; the ſubſtance of which the reader will find in the margin (S). As ſoon as the news of

Kept cloſe priſoner.

A prophecy of St. Peter *and* Paul.

[k] Id. ibid. cap. 12, 13, & 14. [l] In vit. Veſpaſ. [m] Lib. lx. [n] Lib. iv. c. 21. Vid. Usser. ſub an. Chr. 67.

(S) That God ſhould in a little time ſend a prince againſt the *Jews* that ſhould overcome them, and level their metropolis with the ground: that during the ſiege of it, they ſhould pine with hunger and thirſt, even to the eating of one another: that after it was taken, they ſhould ſee their women grievouſly tormented before their eyes, their virgins deflowered, their young men torn aſunder, and their babes daſhed in pieces, themſelves reduced to the loweſt miſery, their country waſted with fire and ſword, and the whole nation baniſhed out of their own land, becauſe they had exalted themſelves above the moſt gracious and approved Son of God.

Theſe two apoſtles, according to the records of both eaſtern and weſtern churches, ſuffered martyrdom on the twenty ninth of *June*, the laſt day of which month falls within the reign of *Nero* (19); and an antient father affirms, that the day of St. *Paul*'s death was more certainly known than that of *Alexander the great* (20); and *Dionyſius* biſhop of *Corinth* tells us, that St. *Peter* ſuffered death on the ſame day (21). St. *Paul* was beheaded; but St. *Peter* was, according to our Saviour's prediction (22), crucified, but with his head downward at his own deſire, and out of reſpect to his divine maſter (23).

(19) *Uſſe. annal. ſub an. Chr.* 67. (20) *Homil.* 26. *in* 2 *Corinth. ap. eund.* (21) *Ap. Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. l. ii. c.* 24. (22) *John xxi.* 18, & *ſeq.* (23) *Origin. com. in Gen. tom.* 3. *Vid. Euſeb. ubi ſupra, l. iii. c.* 1.

Jotapa's

Jotapa's being taken had reached *Jeruſalem*, the *Jews*, who heard alſo that *Joſephus* had been killed in it, made the greateſt mourning and lamentations for him for a whole month; but when they came to hear that he had ſurrendered himſelf priſoner to the *Romans*, they, who had till then retained a ſingular eſteem and regard for him, began now to look upon him as a baſe betrayer of his country; and to perſecute him with the moſt irreconcileable hatred and diſdain, of which they gave him many ſingular proofs, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

Jotapa *and other cities taken.*

WHILST *Veſpaſian* was beſieging *Jotapa*, *Trajan* (T) had been ſent to form that of *Japha*, in the neigbourhood, and took it on the twentieth of *June*, but complimented young *Titus* with the honour of it, who came accordingly upon the laſt aſſault. Upon their entering the place, the *Japhians* held out a bloody and obſtinate ſtreet fight during ſix whole hours; but being at length overpowered, all the men were put to the ſword, and the women and children carried away priſoners [o]. A week after, the *Samaritans*, who had aſſembled upon mount *Garizzim*, with a deſign of defending themſelves, having been cloſely ſurrounded by *Cerealis* at the head of a *Roman* detachment, were ready to periſh for want of water. Many of them ſuffered themſelves to die with thirſt, and thoſe who refuſed to ſurrender, were all butchered to one man [p]. *Joppa*, which had been lately laid waſte by *Ceſtius*, being again repeopled by a great number of ſeditious *Jews*, who infeſted the countries about, *Veſpaſian* ſent ſome troops to take it, which they ſoon atchieved. Above four thouſand *Jews* endeavouring to eſcape the maſſacre, by betaking themſelves to their ſhips, a ſudden tempeſt drove them back, ſo that they were all either drowned, or put to the ſword. *Tarichea* and *Tiberias* were taken next (U): the former of theſe, being ſituate on an eminence and by the lake

[o] Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 11. [p] Ibid. c. 12.

(T) Probably the ſame, who was afterwards emperor; but at preſent he was only a colonel of one of the legions.

(U) Theſe two cities belonged to *Agrippa*, but had revolted; the latter was divided; ſome of the citizens, being for peace, were oppoſed by the ſeditious party. *Veſpaſian* ſent ſome officers to perſuade them to ſubmit, but they were repulſed, and forced to flee for their lives; for which he would have burnt the city, but the peaceable citizens having repreſented their caſe to *Agrippa*, he interceded for them, and obtained their pardon (24).

(24) *Bell. Jud. l. iii. c.* 16.

of

of *Genezareth*, was beſieged by land and by water, and made a deſperate defence, till a diſſenſion happened within; which being overheard by *Titus*, who commanded at the ſiege, the town was taken by ſtorm, and all the ſeditious condemned to die [q].

Galilee *reduced.*

After the reduction of thoſe two places, all the other cities of *Galilee* ſubmitted themſelves to the *Romans*, except thoſe of *Giſchala* and *Gamala*, and the mountain of *Itabyr* (W.) Againſt *Gamala*, which was ſituate over-againſt *Tarichea*, on the ſame lake, as *Agrippa*, had in vain carried on a ſiege of near ſeven months, the *Romans* were forced to come and aſſiſt him. He tried, however, by a ſet ſpeech to perſuade them to ſurrender, before they were reduced to greater ſtreights. The only anſwer they made him was with ſtones from their engines, one of which wounded him in the arm. The *Romans*, provoked to behold the little regard which thoſe wretches paid to their monarch, made ſuch a deſperate aſſault againſt them, that they had got poſſeſſion of the town; but being inferior in number, they were ſoon driven out of it with conſiderable loſs. It was renewed afreſh with greater fury, and as obſtinately oppoſed by the beſieged, who put the *Roman* courage and ſtrength to the ſevereſt proof they had as yet felt. At length three ſtout *Romans* having beaten down one of the towers, the army entered in at the breach, and put all they met to the ſword, to the number of four thouſand. But a much greater number periſhed by their own hands, flinging themſelves down from the rocks, walls, and by other violent means. During this ſiege, *Placidus* was ſent to take *Itabyr* mentioned in the laſt note. He went and ſlily drew the *Jews* down into the plain by a pretended flight, faced about, and defeated them, and got poſſeſſion of the mountain [p].

[q] Ibid. c. 15, & ſeq. Ibid. l. iv. c. 1, & ſeq.

(W) The ſame with *Thabor*, ſpoken of in a former volume (25), with a ſpacious plain near twenty ſtades in ſquare on the top, with a city of the ſame name upon it. The area was incompaſſed with a large wall, built by *Joſephus* in about forty days (26).

As for the town of *Sephoris*, which was extremely rich and ſtrong, it never once rebel ed during all this war, but kept conſtant to their ſubjection to the *Romans*, ſo that *Gamala* and *Giſchala* were the two laſt towns in *Galilee* to be reduced.

(25) *Vol. III. p.* 101. (26) *Bell. Jud. l. iv. c.* 2.

After

AFTER this ſtout ſiege was over, *Veſpaſian* ſent his ſon Giſchala *Titus* to form that of *Giſchala*; and this laſt, who was now *taken*. beginning to relent at the great ſlaughter made at *Gamala*, earneſtly exhorted them to prevent, by a timely ſurrender, involving themſelves in the ſame fate. The citizens were inclinable enough to take his advice; but a ſeditious *Jew* of that town, named *John*, the ſon of *Levi*, head of the faction and a vile fellow, oppoſed it, and, having the mob at his beck, overawed the whole city. That day being the ſabbath, this wretch begged but of *Titus* to forbear hoſtilities till the morrow, and then he would accept of his offer; but inſtead of that fled to *Jeruſalem*, where he committed an infinite deal of miſchief. On the morrow the citizens came and ſurrendered themſelves, and told the *Roman* general of *John*'s flight, begging of him that he would ſpare the guiltleſs, and only puniſh the factious, which he readily conſented to, and only ſent ſome of his horſe after the fugitives. But *John* had reached *Jeruſalem*, before they could overtake him; they killed, however, near ſix thouſand of his followers on the road, and brought back three thouſand women and children priſoners. The taking and gariſoning of this laſt place completed the conqueſt of *Galilee*, and *Titus* rejoined his father at *Cæſarea*, where they gave their troops ſome reſpite before they went to beſiege *Jeruſalem*[f].

THE *Jewiſh* nation by this time was divided into two very oppoſite parties: The one, foreſeeing, that this war, if continued, muſt end in the total ruin of their country, were for putting an effectual end to it, by a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion to the *Romans*: The other, which was the ſpawn of the *Gaulonitiſh* incendiary, and breathed nothing but war, confuſion, and cruelty, oppoſed all peaceable meaſures with an invincible obſtinacy. This party, which was by far the more numerous and powerful, conſiſted of men of the vileſt and moſt abandoned profligate character that ever hiſtory could parallel. They were proud, ambitious, cruel, rapacious, and committed the moſt horrid and unnatural crimes, under pretence of religion. In a word, if *Joſephus*'s character of them may be credited, they acted more like incarnate devils, than like men, who had any ſenſe left of goodneſs and humanity. They covered, however, their helliſh brutality with the ſpecious title of zeal for the glory of God, affirming every-where, that it was offering the greateſt diſhonour to him to ſubmit to any earthly potentate, much more to *Ro-*

Two parties in Judæa.

A character of the zealots.

[f] Ibid. c. 4.

mans and heathens; and that this was the only motive that induced them to take up arms, and to bind themſelves, under the ſtricteſt obligations, not to lay them down, till they had either totally extirpated all foreign authority, or periſhed in the attempt [c] (X). This obliged the contrary party to riſe up likewiſe in arms in their own defence againſt thoſe hell-hounds, from whom, however, they ſuffered unſpeakably more, than they did even from the exaſperated *Romans*, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

Their horrid butcheries. Year of the Flood 3065, Of Chriſt 20 67.

The zealots began to exerciſe their cruelty in robbing, plundering, and maſſacring all that oppoſed them in the countries round about; after which they eaſily entered *Jeruſalem*, with *Zechariah* and *Eleazar* at their head. Here they were, at firſt, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the late high-prieſt *Ananus* (Y), whoſe zeal upon this occaſion *Joſephus* highly commends. That pontiff made a pathetic ſpeech to the people, exhorting them to take up arms againſt thoſe factious villains, who had by this time ſeized upon the temple and made it

[c] Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 6. ad fin. l. v. c. 1, & ſeq.

(X) This dreadful diſſenſion was not confined to *Jeruſalem*, but had infected all the cities, towns, and villages of *Paleſtine*. Even houſes and families were ſo divided againſt each other, that, as our Saviour had, expreſsly foretold in the dreadful picture he made of this final war (26), a man's greateſt enemies were often thoſe of his own family and houſehold (27).

(Y) He had been depoſed about ſix years before, as we have already ſeen, and ſucceeded by ſeveral others. *Matthias* the ſon of *Theophilus* was now in that dignity, to which he had been raiſed a year or two before by king *Agrippa* (28); but the ſeditious in the temple took it into their heads to chuſe another in his ſtead, which they did by caſting lots firſt for the twenty four claſſes, in which the twelfth was taken, and in that, upon one *Phannias*, a man wholly unfit for it, and whom they were forced to teach the manner of performing his office.

This unprecedented boldneſs, joined to their maſſacres and other pollutions of the temple, and even of the very ſanctuary, gave ſuch offence, not to the prieſts only, but to all the religious *Jews*, that they ſought from that time for ſome means of ridding themſelves of their tyranny, whilſt the zealots crew made a jeſt of them, and of every thing that was ſacred, ſerious, or humane.

(26) *Matth.* xxiv *paſſ Mark* xiii. *Luke* xxi. 5, & *ſeq.* (27) *Matth.* x. 36. *Luke* xii. 52, & *ſeq* (28) *Bell. Jud. l.* iv. *ult.*

their garison, from which they sallied out to commit the vilest outrages and butcheries. He easily persuaded them to follow his advice, upon which they went and armed themselves, and returned in a strong body, and made a vigorous attack against them. The engagement was fierce and obstinate on both sides, and lasted a considerable time. At length, *Ananus* forced them out of the outer cincture of the temple, whence they retired into the inner, where he held them closely besieged. We have already taken notice of a vile demagogue, *John* of *Giscbala*, who had fled lately from this last place to *Jerusalem*, and was at the head of the seditious; this wretch, under pretence of taking the interest of the peaceable party, was actually betraying them to the zealots. *Ananus*, not suspecting his treachery (Z), sent him to offer the besieged some fair terms of accommodation; instead of which, when he came to them, he persuaded them to hold out, and call the *Idumeans* to their assistance. They did so, and procured twenty thousand of them to come to their relief; but when these approached the metropolis, *Ananus* refused them entrance, and exhorted them in a civil and friendly manner to retire into their own country; at which they were so exasperated, that they accused him of being in the *Roman* interest, and just going to betray the city to them. They set down before the walls for that day, threatening *Ananus* and *Jesus* the son of *Gamaliel*, another deposed high-priest, in the severest terms, if they did not open their gates to them [u].

Seize the temple.

Invite the Idumeans.

ON that very night there happened such a dreadful storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and a violent earthquake, that the zealots, from within the inner court, sawed the bolts and hinges of the temple gates, without being heard, forced the guards of the besiegers, and sallied into the city, and let in the *Idumeans* [w]. These two parties, thus joined and strengthened, began to commit the most horrid and unheard-of murders and butcheries on the opposite side.

Horrid butcheries committed.

[u] Ibid. l. iv. c. 5, 6. [w] Cap. 7.

(Z) Such was their infatuation, that this wretch, who had screwed himself into all their councils, and betrayed them to the zealots, had behaved with such an affected integrity, that few of them suspected him; and when some of the council began to question his counterfeited zeal, they were over-ruled by the rest, who contented themselves with making him swear, that he would be true to them; which gave him all the opportunity of ruining them that he could desire.

Barely to put them to any ſpeedy death, was what they thought too mild a puniſhment; they muſt have the pleaſure to murder them by inches; ſo that they made it now their diverſion to put them to the moſt exquiſite tortures that could be invented, neither could they be prevailed upon to diſpatch them, till the violence of their torments had rendered them quite incapable of feeling them. Twelve thouſand perſons of noble extraction, and in the flower of their age, were butchered in that horrid manner, and among them the brave *Ananus* (A) and *Jeſus* the ſon of *Gamaliel*, who had ſo nobly oppoſed them. In a word, the zealots fury and cruelty was grown to ſuch a height, that the whole nation trembled at their very name; none dared be ſeen or heard to weep or cry for the murder of their neareſt relations, nor even to give them burial [x].

The *Idumeans* crying out ſhame at length at the maſſacring of ſuch numbers of worthy perſons indiſcriminately, the zealots began to ſet up a kind of court of judicature, to judge thoſe they ſhould think guilty with ſome ſhew of juſtice. *Zechariah* the ſon of *Baruch* (B) was one of the firſt who

[x] Lib. v. c. 1.

(A) We have obſerved elſewhere, that he was the ſon of *Annas* mentioned in the goſpel: It was he that cauſed St. *James* to be caſt down from the battlements of the temple, and to be put to death. In other caſes, he was a brave man, and the only perſon almoſt that had courage and conduct enough left to ſtem the tide, and to reſtore peace to the nation; and it was for this reaſon that the zealots cut him off.

(B) This brave and worthy perſon is by many chriſtian commentators ſuppoſed the ſame with the *Zechariah* the ſon of *Barachiah*, ſaid by our Saviour to have been murdered between the temple and the altar (29). It is indeed objected, that he ſpeaks there of him, as of a perſon long ſince put to death; but it is replied, that he ſpake prophetically, and, according to the prophetic ſtyle, made uſe of the preſent for the future. And it muſt be owned, that unleſs theſe two hiſtorians ſpeak of the ſame perſon, it will be difficult to find out the *Zechariah* mentioned in the goſpel; the laſt of thoſe juſt perſons, the ſhedding of whoſe blood was to fill up the meaſure of the *Jews* iniquities.

We ſhall not enter into the merit of the controverſy, but refer our readers to thoſe who have writ upon it, and which the reader will find in the margin (30).

(29) *Matth* xxiii. 35. (30) *Vid. Grot. Hamm. Le Clerc, Beza, Tremel. L. de Dieu, & Fabric. Apocr. N. T. not. in Protevang. Jacob.*

W.

was brought before this mock court, which consisted of seventy two persons. They brought a black catalogue of accusations against him, which he not only refelled with great ease and plainness, but reminded them of their own black and hellish crimes, with such noble courage and in such lively colours, that the consciousness of their guilt made them pronounce him innocent; at which the zealots were so exasperated, that they murdered him on the spot, bidding him at the same time to take that absolution at their hands, which would prove surer to him than that of his judges; after which they drove these out of their seats as persons unfit for their purpose. They threw the body of *Zechariah* out of the temple down into the deep valley that was by the side of it; and the *Idumeans*, ashamed to act any longer in concert with such bloody assassins, retired into their own country, after having set at liberty two thousand of their prisoners; and left the zealots to reign in their cruelties without any further restraint. From this time these bloody hell-hounds, who were glad at heart to see their backs turned upon them, gave themselves a loose to all manner of barbarities; and as nothing rendered a man more dreadful to them than the bare suspicion of his being honest or virtuous, so they made the greatest havock among all that had the least pretence to that character [y].

Zechariah murdered in the temple.

THEIR rage did not stop there; but after having butchered all the persons of any distinction or character, they began to wreak it on the common people. It was a capital crime to have once seemed to oppose them: to be unactive, was to be a spy on them; and not to applaud their vilest actions, was to be disaffected; and to be either rich, or suspected to be so, or even having the misfortune of being disliked by them, was crime enough to deserve death [z]. This obliged many of the *Jews* to forsake *Jerusalem* and take shelter under the *Romans*, though the gates and avenues of the city were so closely guarded, that it was extremely hazardous to retire to them, and as many as were caught doing so were put to immediate death. All this while *Vespasian*, who was at *Cæsarea*, remained a kind of idle spectator afar off of the dismal condition of the *Jewish* nation. His officers amazed, at this so unusual inaction, took the liberty to remind him, what pity it was he should thus neglect the most favourable opportunity of making himself master of *Jerusalem* and all *Palestine*. *Vespasian*, who had a longer head than they, soon made them sensible, that his continuing thus idle in *Cæsarea* was the most probable means of effecting the conquest they were speaking of, with

Vespasian stays at Cæsarea.

[y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. in fin.

the leaſt difficulty and hazard of his own troops; ſince the *Jewiſh* ſtrength dwindled daily more and more by their inteſtine broils and maſſacres, whilſt his own men, after enjoying ſo long a refreſhment, would be the better able to cruſh them into ſubmiſſion or death [a] (C).

The zealots divided into two factions.

EVERY thing ſucceeded to his wiſh. The zealots, after having maſſacred or driven away the oppoſite party, began to turn their bloody ſwords againſt each other. *John* of *Giſchala*, a wretch of unparalleled ambition, could not brook that any ſhould ſhare the command with him; and, in order to make himſelf abſolute, drew the moſt profligate of the zealots into his party. The other chiefs, who oppoſed him with no ſmall heat, made another faction, ſo that they were ever either ſkirmiſhing with each other, or plundering the poor remains of the people. Whilſt things went thus on from bad to worſe in the city, there aroſe a new gang of ſicarii in the country, who having ſeized the ſtrong fortreſs of *Maſſada*, made it their place of retreat. Theſe plundered, burned, and maſſacred every-where, and carried their plunder into that place. They had at their head one *Simon* the ſon of *Gorias*, a bold ambitious young man, a native of *Gelaſa*, who, to increaſe his party, cauſed a proclamation to

Simon head of the ſicarii.

[a] Ibid. c 2.

(C) The event ſhewed that he reaſoned like a conſummate general; for thoſe cruelties did not only thin the enemy, but forced a vaſt many of the zealots away to the *Romans*, by reaſon of ſome diſſenſions which began to reign among them, and in ſpight of the danger of being caught in the way.

Among their cruel executions on theſe, there was one *Niger* a *Peraite* or native of *Perea*, a perſon of diſtinction, who had ſignalized himſelf in their former wars againſt the *Romans*; who together with the brave *Gorion*, was ſeized, and dragged ſhamefully out of the city; where the former, finding his death inevitable, only begged that his body might be afterwards buried. But the mercileſs wretches refuſing to grant him even that, he addreſſed himſelf to heaven, and prayed, that the *Romans* might at length come, and wreak their direct vengeance on thoſe murderers. His words were looked upon as prophetical; but *Joſephus* mentions ſome other oracles, which had long ago foretold the total ruin of that nation, as well as deſtruction of the city and temple. Whoever reads the eleventh and following chapters of *Zechariah*, will be apt enough to think, that the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian had an eye to them (31), among the many others we could name to the ſame purpoſe.

(31) *Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, in fin cap.* 1.

be

be diſperſed, in which he promiſed free liberty to all the ſlaves, and proportionable encouragements to all the freemen, that ſhould come over to him. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect; and he ſaw his party in a very little time ſwelled into a conſiderable army, and himſelf as reſpected and obeyed, as if he had been a monarch. Many *Jews* of diſtinction, as well as others of a meaner rank, were glad thus to put themſelves under his protection from the cruelties of the other parties [b].

WHILST theſe things were thus tranſacting in *Judæa*, *Nero*, having being declared an enemy to *Rome* by the ſenate, left both it and the world to avoid the more ſhameful puniſhment decreed againſt him [c], as ſhall be further ſhewn in the *Roman* hiſtory. *Veſpaſian*, who was yet ignorant of it, and did not give great heed to *Joſephus*'s prediction of his becoming emperor, was making great preparations againſt the revolted *Jews* and for the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, whilſt *Simon*, at the head of a good army, was making war againſt the zealots. Theſe laſt, having notice what great magazines of arms and ammunition *Simon* had got, in order to come and inveſt them, began to think it high time to try to diſperſe his forces by a vigorous ſally. They did ſo, and were defeated and put to flight; but *Simon*, not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough yet to beſiege *Jeruſalem*, went to invade *Idumea* with an army of twenty thouſand men. The *Idumeans* marched againſt him with twenty five thouſand, which was all they could get in that ſhort time. A fierce battle enſued, which laſted from morning till night, by which time it could ſcarcely be gueſſed which ſide had had the better. But *Simon* found means ſoon after to have that country betrayed to him by a treacherous *Idumean* (D), who having got the command of their forces, delivered them up to him, as had been

Nero's death. Year of the Flood, 3066. Of Chriſt, 71

Idumea invaded by Simon.

Betrayed to him.

[b] Ibid. c. 3, & ſeq. [c] SUETON. in Neron. c. 40. TACIT. hiſt. l. i.

(D) This miſcreant, whoſe name was *James*, was one of the *Idumean* chiefs, and was ſent by the reſt to reconnoitre the enemy, and know the number of their forces. He ſet out from the *Idumean* camp at *Oliura*, and privately agreed with *Simon* to deliver up the army and country to him, on condition he ſhould be treated with honour; which being promiſed, he returned to his camp, and there repreſented the enemy's army as vaſtly more numerous and ſtrong than it really was; by which means he eaſily obtained the command, and compaſſed his treacherous deſign (32).

(32) *Bell. Jud. l.* 7. *c.* 7.

agreed

agreed between them. *Simon* put all to fire and ſword, and, by the conqueſt of that province, became more dreadful than ever to the zealots; who from that time did not dare to come out againſt him, but contented themſelves with laying ambuſhes againſt him in all the paſſes, in one of which they took his wife priſoner. They were on the ſudden ſtrangely elated at their ſucceſs, not doubting but they ſhould now eaſily force him to lay down his arms, in order to get her releaſed to him. But it happened quite otherwiſe; for *Simon* no ſooner heard the news, than he poſted with his army to the very gates of *Jeruſalem*, where he committed ſuch cruelties, and threatened the enemy into ſuch a fright, that they were glad to ſend him his wife again, after which he left them to go and ruin the ſad remains of *Idumea*. Theſe miſerable wretches, ſeeing the devaſtations and butcheries which he committed there, left the country to his mercy, and went to take ſhelter at *Jeruſalem*, and were purſued by his troops to the very walls of that metropolis [d].

Thus *Simon* without, and *John* within, ſeemed to ſtrive which ſhould outdo the other in cruelties and in the moſt unheard-of crimes; whilſt thoſe that fell into either hands were ſure to be butchered without mercy; inſomuch, that there was no ſafe place either in city or country. *John* had hitherto tyranniſed within at the head of his blood-hounds with uncommon ſucceſs, when the *Idumeans*, who were left in the city and were of his party, not being longer able to bear his tyranny, revolted againſt him, killed a great number of his men, plundered his palace (E), and forced him to retire into the temple. In the mean time, the people, having taken a notion that he would ſally out in the night and ſet fire to the city, called a council, in which they pitched upon a remedy far worſe than the diſeaſe, which

[d] Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 7.

(E) This palace had, it ſeems, been built there by the princeſs *Grapta*, couſin to *Izates* king of *Adiabene*, of whom we have had occaſion to ſpeak in the laſt volume *

As for the horrid crimes and beſtialities of the zealots within, as well as of *Simon* without, they are of ſo ſhocking a nature, that we ſhall paſs them by in ſilence. Thoſe that can read them without horror, may ſee them in the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian (33).

* *Vol.* IX. *p.* 484, & *ſeq.*

(33) *Bell. Jud. ibid.* & *ſeq.* *ad c.* 9.

was

was to open the city gates, and let in *Simon* with his troops to oppose those of *John* and his zealots. *Matthias*, the then high-priest, against whom these last had set up an obscure priest into that dignity, promoted the design, without troubling himself about the consequences of it, and was sent to acquaint *Simon* with it. *Simon* was accordingly admitted into the city, where his chief care now was to render his strength as great, and authority as absolute, as he could. To this end he looked indifferently on those that had invited him in, and those against whom he was called, and soon began to exert his cruelty against them equally, though the former had received him, with great honours and universal acclamations, as their future deliverer. But ingratitude and breach of faith were crimes of too light a nature to scare a wretch that had discarded all natural and civil virtues, to abandon himself to the most monstrous vices. He made, however, a bold assault against *John* and his party; but being as stoutly repulsed, he contented himself for the present with keeping them closely besieged in the temple [e].

THE *Romans* on the other hand had not stood idle all this last year; but being invited by the inhabitants of *Gadara*, one of the strongest places on that side *Jordan*, had sent *Placidus* to take possession of it. He was forced to fight his way through several stout bodies of the factious who opposed him. He killed about fifteen thousand of them, as they were endeavouring to pass that river, besides a great number of others, whom he defeated at several encounters, and many more made prisoners. In a word, *Placidus* bestirred himself so well, that he soon reduced all that part of *Judæa* which lies on the east side of the *Jordan*, except the castle of *Macheron*. All this was done in the winter. In the beginning of the spring, *Vespasian* marched out of *Cæsarea*, and penetrated near half of *Idumea*, plundering and burning every place he came through, except such as he thought expedient to leave with a *Roman* garison to keep the country in awe [f].

Gadara surrendered.

Idumea wasted.

SOME months before this time, *Vespasian* received the news of *Nero*'s death, and of *Galba*'s being chosen his successor; upon which he immediately dispatched his son *Titus* to *Rome*, to compliment the new emperor, and to receive his orders concerning the reduction of *Judæa*. *Agrippa* desired to bear him company, but the winter not being quite over, and their ships being of a large bulk, they sailed so slowly,

[e] Ibid. c. 9. [f] Ibid. cap. 3.

that

that they were got no farther than *Achaia*, when they received the news of *Galba's* being murdered, after a seven months reign, and *Otho's* being proclaimed in his room. *Agrippa* resolved to continue his voyage, but *Titus*, as by some divine impulse, was now come back to rejoin his father at *Cæsarea*, whither he was returned after his *Idumean* expedition [g]. They left *Cæsarea* on the fifth of *June*, and led their army towards *Jerusalem*, and took every place in their way thither, except *Herodion*, *Macheron*, and *Massada*, whilst *Cerealis*, one of their chief generals, was laying waste the upper *Idumea* with a considerable number of troops.

Year of the Flood 3066. Of Christ, $\frac{7}{6}\frac{1}{8}$

WHILST *Judæa* was thus miserably torn with a foreign, and with their intestine wars, the *Roman* empire was in as bad a plight with their own. We shall not anticipate on the *Roman* history, so far as to enter into the particulars of the murder of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*. *Suetonius* [h] compares *Rome* to a vessel tossed about by contrary winds, and ready at every moment to sink, when *Vespasian* was happily chosen emperor, and restored a calm to the empire. *Josephus* now reaped the benefit of his former predictions, and that emperor recalling them to mind, thought it high time now not only to give him his liberty, but recompense him for his faithfulness to him with many signal favours [i] (F). As soon as *Vespasian* had received the news that his election had been con-

Vespasian *chosen emperor.*

Josephus *set at liberty.*

[g] TACIT. SUETON. ubi supra. bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 8, & seq.
[h] In vit. Vespas. [i] Ubi supra, cap. 12.

(F) *Vespasian* was then at *Berytus*, where vast numbers of embassadors came crouding to compliment him on his election, and to offer him the usual crowns and letters of submission. Here he held a grand council, wherein having highly extolled the courage of the *Jewish* chief, he related to them how he had foretold his coming to the empire even during *Nero's* life.

Titus, who was there present, and had conceived a great esteem for him, declared, that it would be an action worthy his goodness and justice to grant him his liberty, to knock off his fetters, and to restore him to the rank and condition which he enjoyed before his captivity; it being the custom of the *Romans* to break the bonds of those who had been unjustly detained in them. *Vespasian* approved his proposal, and caused it to be put in execution out of hand; and *Josephus* not only gained his liberty by it, but got the reputation of a prophet, and was in high credit in the *Roman* army ever after (34).

(34) *Bell. Jud. l.* vi. *c.* 2.

Armed

firmed at *Rome*, he left the beſt of his troops with his ſon, with orders to go and beſiege *Jeruſalem* and to deſtroy it utterly; after which he prepared himſelf to return to the capital of his empire.

Three factions in Jeruſalem.

ALL this while the *Jewiſh* diſſenſions increaſed, and *Eleazar*, the ſon of another *Simon*, a perſon of the ſacerdotal order and of great ſenſe and courage, found means to form a new party, and to draw a conſiderable number of *John* of *Giſchala*'s men to him, under pretence, that this laſt was become ſo inhuman and tyrannic, that it was dangerous to let him lord it any longer over them. With this new party he ſeized on the court of the prieſts, and confined *John* into that of the *Iſraelites*. *Eleazar* kept the avenues ſo well guarded, that none were admitted to come into that part of the temple, but thoſe who came thither to offer ſacrifices, and it was by theſe offerings chiefly that he maintained himſelf and his men. *John* by this means found himſelf hemmed by two powerful enemies, *Eleazar* above (G), and *Simon*, who was maſter of the city, below. He defended himſelf againſt the former by his engines (H), out of which he kept ſtill throwing of ſtones into his court; and when he ſallied out againſt the latter, he ſet all on fire where-ever he could reach, by which he deſtroyed

(G) We have formerly obſerved in our deſcription of this ſtately building, that the innermoſt court was raiſed conſiderably above the reſt, having a terrace and nineteen ſteps to aſcend to the area of it *.

(H) *John* had luckily found a great quantity of large cedar trees, which king *Agrippa* had cauſed to be brought from *Lebanus* at a vaſt charge, to raiſe the temple twenty cubits higher than it was, or perhaps that part which we obſerved in the note laſt quoted to have been ſunk that number of cubits through the weakneſs of the foundation; but his project was ſet aſide by reaſon of the war

John, having poſſeſſion of this court, ſoon put this timber to other uſes, and cauſed towers and other engines to be made with it, in order to beſiege his competitor within; and indeed he ceaſed not harraſſing him, but whilſt he was forced to defend himſelf againſt *Simon*, who beſieged him from without. The flight of ſteps and terrace mentioned in the laſt note not permitting him to bring his towers near enough to the wall of the inner cincture, he was projecting to have removed them towards the weſtern ſide, where the ground was all plain; but providence ſo ordered it,

* *See before, pag.* 185 *ſub not.*

ſtroyed great quantities of corn and other proviſions, with which they might otherwiſe have held out a ſiege ſeveral years. Thus were theſe three factions ever watching all advantages againſt each other. *Simon* had the greateſt number of troops and a ſtore of arms and proviſions, his army conſiſting of ten thouſand zealots and five thouſand *Idumeans*; but he was the moſt diſadvantageouſly ſituated of the three. *John* had the advantage over him in this laſt reſpect, but had but ſix thouſand men, and was forced to get proviſions for them by his conſtant ſallies. He was ſuperior to *Eleazar* in number of men; this laſt having but about two thouſand four hundred. But he was more ſtrongly ſituated, and was continually ſupplied with proviſions, by the continual offerings which the people brought to the temple, and which they often abuſed by luxury and drunkenneſs [k].

Their condition and advantages,

This was the ſad diſtracted ſtate of *Jeruſalem*, when *Titus* marched his army againſt it. He had, beſides the three legions which had ſerved under his father, the fifth legion, which had been ſo ſadly handled by the *Jews* in *Ceſtius*'s time, and now burned with a deſire of revenge. Beſides theſe, *Agrippa*, *Soemus*, and *Antiochus*, the two former of whom accompanied him in perſon, and ſome allied cities, had furniſhed him with twenty regiments of foot and eight of horſe, beſides vaſt multitudes of *Arabs*, and a choice number of perſons of diſtinction from *Italy* and other places, who came to ſignalize themſelves under his ſtandards. *Titus* ordered the fifth legion to take the road of *Emmaus*, the tenth that of *Jericho*, the other two legions marched after him in the order, which the reader will find in the margin [l] (I). It was

[k] Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 1. [l] Ibid. in fin. & cap. 2.

that *Titus* began the ſiege of the city before he could compaſs it, which made him ſet his project aſide.

(I) *Joſephus*, who was an eye-witneſs of it, becauſe he was ſtill ordered to follow the emperor, gives it to us as follows *:

'The auxiliaries marched firſt, and were followed by the pioneers, whoſe buſineſs was to level the ground as they went. After them came the general quarter maſters, who marked out their incampments, and were followed by the baggage of the chiefs of the army under a ſufficient eſcort.

* *Ibid. c.* 1 *in fin.*

Titus

was now the beginning of *April*, and near the feaſt of the paſſover, to which there was a greater reſort of *Jews* this year than had ever been known, even from beyond the *Euphrates* (K).

Titus

'*Titus* came next, attended with his guard, and a ſelect body of troops, followed by a body of horſe, who marched juſt before the warlike engines; and after theſe came the tribunes and chiefs of the cohorts, attended with a choſen number of troops. Then appeared the *Roman* eagle, ſurrounded with the enſigns of the ſeveral legions, and preceded by a number of trumpets ſounding, and followed by the main body, which marched in rank and file ſix in a front. Laſtly, came the ſutlers, handicrafts, &c. attended with a ſtrong guard of ſoldiers, which cloſed the whole march. In this order they came to *Gophna*, which had a *Roman* gariſon, and on the next day to *Gibbeath-Saul*, about thirty ſtades, or three miles and a half from *Jeruſalem*.

(K) The chiefs of the *Jews* in *Paleſtine* had written, it ſeems, to invite all their brethren every-where, not doubting but their preſence and great concourſe would contribute to quell the factions within, as well as oppoſe the *Romans* without; ſo that they came flocking to this ſolemnity from all parts of the world.

But it ſeems as if they were directed thither by the hand of providence, to ſuffer the puniſhment of their ſins, the bulk of the nation being there, as it were, ſhut up in a priſon, to add to that of the deſtroying ſword, the dreadful plagues of famine and peſtilence, which ſhortly after devoured them. *Joſephus* reckons eleven hundred thouſand that died during the ſiege.

They neither wanted arms, warlike engines, men, or courage, or any thing but experience to make a brave defence; but this they made up by their invincible obſtinacy and deſpair. Their city was ſtrongly ſituate by nature, ſurrounded with three ſtout walls, and many a ſtately and ſtrong tower The firſt, or old wall, which, by reaſon of its vaſt thickneſs, was looked upon as impregnable, had ſixty of theſe towers, very lofty, firm, and ſtrong. The ſecond had fourteen, and the third eighty. The former of theſe, beſides its extraordinary height and thickneſs, was raiſed on a high and ſteep mountain, and had a valley beneath it of a prodigious depth. The other two were high and ſtrong in proportion. The circuit of the city was thirty three ſtades, or four thouſand one hundred and twenty five geometric paces, or near four of our miles.

Beſides theſe vaſt fortifications, there were ſeveral other caſtles of extraordinary ſtrength, ſuch as thoſe of *Hippicos*, *Phaſael*, *Mariamne*, and *Antonia*; to ſay nothing of the royal, and ſome other ſtately and well-fortified palaces. The temple ſtill exceeded all the reſt in ſtrength, both for ſituation, its walls, towers, and other buildings, and was at leaſt equal to the beſt citadels then in being

Titus's *army.* Year of the flood, 3066. Of Christ, 71 *or* 68.

Titus being advanced so near the city, went himself to reconnoitre its strength and avenues, attended only with six hundred horse; he seemed even to flatter himself, that, upon his first appearance the peaceable part of the *Jews* would open the gates to him; but, to his surprize, the factious made so sudden and vigorous a sally against him, that he found himself quite surrounded with enemies, in a narrow defile, his cavalry severed from him, so that he had no other way left to escape their fury, but to make a desperate push, and break his way through them; which he at length, almost by a miracle, happily accomplished, even without receiving any wound, or losing more than two of his men [m]. After this narrow escape he caused his army to draw nearer to *Scopas*, within seven stades of the city, in order to besiege it in form, whilst the factious within were applauding themselves for their late advantage, which they vainly interpreted as a good omen of their future success. His legion, which had come by the way of *Jericho*, being arrived, he ordered it to incamp on the mount of *Olives*, which was parted from the town on the east by the brook *Cedron*, and where they were on the sudden so furiously assaulted by the besieged, that they were in danger of being cut all in pieces, had not *Titus* come timely to their rescue (L).

Jerusalem *besieged.*

It was then that the three factions, seeing themselves besieged by so powerful an army, and so brave a general, began to think of laying aside all private feuds, and join together in a vigorous defence against the common enemy. This union, however, proved but short lived; for on the four-

[m] Ibid. ad fin.

(35). Yet how insufficient did all these, and the vast quantities of arms, ammunition, &c. prove, to save a nation, whom the divine justice had doomed to the most dreadful destruction! Well might *Titus*, after he had taken the city, and came to view the incredible strength of it, cry out, *that God must certainly have fought for him, since no human power or strength was equal to that which they had now overcome.*

(L) *Dio* adds to what we read in *Josephus*, that *Titus* had many such bloody encounters with the besieged under the walls, in which both sides fought so valiantly, that it was not easy to say which had the better; but that the *Jews* were at length repulsed, and gave thereby an opportunity to the enemy to open the siege (36).

(35) *See* Josephus, *ibid. ch.* 6.

(36) *Lib. lxvi. Vid. & Tacit. hist. l. v. c.* 11.

teenth

teenth of *April*, which was ushering in the passover, when *Eleazar* had opened the avenues of his court to the great concourse that came thither to sacrifice, *John* of *Gischala* found means to slide in some of his men with swords hid under their cloaks among them, who immediately drew their weapons, fell on *Eleazar*'s party, and the rest of the people, filled the court of the priests with blood and horrid outcries, and took possession of the place. By this bloody and impious stratagem the three factions were reduced to two, *Eleazar*'s men being all either cut off, or, after their flight, were returned with their chief, and had submitted themselves to *John*, who had now no enemy but *Simon* within the walls. From that time this last renewed his hostilities against him with greater vigour: he held now the whole temple, some of the out-parts of it, and the valley of *Cedron*. *Simon* had the whole city to range in, in some parts of which *John* had made such devastation, that they served them for a field of battle; from which they sallied unanimously against the common enemy, whenever occasion served, after which they returned to their usual hostilities, turning their arms against each other, as if they had sworn to make their ruin more easy to the *Romans*. These in the mean time were drawing still nearer to the walls, having, with great labour and pains, levelled all the ground between *Scopas* and them, by pulling down all the houses and hedges, cutting down the trees, and even cleaving the rocks that stood in their way, from *Scopas* to the tomb of *Herod* and *Bethara*, *alias the pool of serpents*; in which work so many hands were employed, that they finished it in four days[n].

John and Simon join against the enemy, and then fight against each other.

WHILST this work was doing, *Titus* sent the besieged some offers of peace; *Josephus* was pitched upon to be the messenger of them, but they were rejected with indignation. On the morrow they made a shew of accepting them, insomuch that some of the *Romans*, believing them in earnest, ventured, contrary to their general's order, to enter the city, and narrowly escaped with their lives. He sent a second time *Nicanor* and *Josephus* with fresh offers, and the former received a wound in his shoulder; upon which *Titus* resolved to begin the assault in good earnest (M), and ordered

The siege began in form.

Offers of peace rejected.

his

[n] Ibid cap 7.

(M) The place which *Titus*, after having taken a full view round the city, chose to begin his attack, was towards the tomb of the high-priest *John*, both because it stood on the lowest ground, and because

his men to raze the ſuburbs, to cut down all the trees, and uſe the materials to raiſe platforms againſt the wall. Every thing was now carried on with invincible ardour, the *Romans* began to play their engines againſt the city in good earneſt, and it was by one of theſe that *Jeſus* the ſon of *Ananus*, who had ſo long foretold the deſtruction of the *Jewiſh* nation, was killed [o].

The *Jews* had likewiſe their machines upon the walls, which they plyed with uncommon fury: they had taken them lately from *Ceſtius*, when he retired ſo ſhamefully from them, but they were ſo ignorant in their uſe, that they made little execution with them, till they were better inſtructed by ſome *Roman* deſerters. Till then their chief ſucceſs was rather owing to their frequent ſallies; but the *Roman* legions, which had all their towers and machines before them, made terrible havock. The leaſt ſtones they threw were near a hundred weight, and theſe they could throw the length of two ſtades, or two hundred and fifty paces, and with ſuch force, that having overthrown thoſe that ſtood in the firſt rank, they could ſtill do miſchief on thoſe that ſtood at ſome diſtance behind them. *Titus* had reared three towers fifty cubits high on the terraſs above-mentioned; one of which happening to fall in the middle of the night, did greatly alarm the *Roman* camp, which ran immediately to arms at the noiſe of it; but *Titus*, upon knowing the cauſe, diſmiſſed them, and cauſed it to be ſet up again. Theſe towers being plated with iron, the *Jews* tried in vain to ſet fire to them, and were at length forced to retire out of the reach of their ſhot; by which the battering rams were now at full liberty to play againſt the wall. A breach was ſoon made in it, at which the *Romans* entered, and the *Jews*, abandoning this laſt incloſure, retired behind the next. This happened about the twenty eighth of *April*, a fortnight after the beginning of the ſiege [p].

The firſt wall broken and entered.

John defended the temple and the caſtle of *Antonia*, and *Simon* the reſt of the city. *Titus* marched cloſe to the ſecond wall, and plied his battering rams againſt it ſo furiouſly, that one of the towers, which looked towards the north, gave a

[o] Ibid. [p] Ibid. c. 8, & 9.

cauſe the outer wall was low, and not defended on that ſide by the middlemoſt; ſo that when the breach was made on the former, it was eaſy to penetrate to the latter, and ſo come up to, and make themſelves maſters of the upper city, and next of the temple, by means of the fortreſs *Antonia*.

prodigious

prodigious ſhake. The men that were in it made a ſignal to the *Romans*, as if they would ſurrender, and at the ſame time ſent *Simon* word to be ready to give them a warm reception. *Titus* having ſmelt their ſtratagem, plied his work more furiouſly, whilſt the *Jews* that were in the tower ſet it on fire, and flung themſelves into the flames. The tower being fallen gave them an entrance into the ſecond incloſure, five days after the gaining of the firſt; and *Titus* who was bent on ſaving the city, would not ſuffer any part of the wall or ſtreets to be demoliſhed, which left the breach and lanes ſo narrow, that when his men were furiouſly repulſed by *Simon*, they had not room enough to make a quick retreat, ſo that there was a number of them killed in it. This overſight was quickly rectified, and the attack renewed with ſuch vigour, that the place was carried four days after their firſt repulſe [q]. *The ſecond wall taken*

THE famine raging in a terrible manner in the city, was ſoon followed by a peſtilence, and as theſe two dreadful judgments increaſed, ſo did the rage of the factious, who, by their inteſtine feuds, had deſtroyed ſuch quantities of proviſion, that they were forced to prey upon the people with the moſt unheard of cruelty. They forced their houſes, and if they found any victuals in them, they butchered them for not appriſing them of it; and if they found nothing but bare walls, which was almoſt every-where the caſe, they put them to the moſt ſevere tortures, under pretence that they had ſome proviſion concealed [r]. *I ſhould*, ſays *Joſephus*, *undertake an impoſſible task, were I to enter into a detail of all the cruelties of thoſe impious wretches; it will be ſufficient to ſay, that I do not think, that ſince the creation, any city ever ſuffered ſuch dreadful calamities, or abounded with men ſo fertile in all kind of wickedneſs* [s]. *Famine and peſtilence.*

Titus, who knew their miſerable condition, and was ſtill willing to ſpare them, gave them now four days to cool; during which he cauſed his army to be muſtered, and proviſions to be diſtributed to them in ſight of the *Jews*, who flocked upon the walls to ſee it; and it is thought, that even the moſt flagitious among the zealots were ſo frighted at the ſight of it, that they would have agreed to a ſurrender, could they have depended upon that pardon, which their black and horrid deeds made them quite deſpair of. *Joſephus* was ſent to ſpeak to them afreſh, and to exhort them not to run themſelves into an inevitable ruin, by obſtinately perſiſting in the defence of a place which could hold out but a very little while, *Joſephus's ſpeech to the beſieged.*

[q] Ibid. cap. 10. [r] Cap. 11. [s] Ibid. in fin.

and

and which the *Romans* looked upon already as their own. The reader may see his elaborate and pathetic speech in the chapter last quoted, and which, he tells us, drew a flood of tears from him. His stubborn people, after many a bitter invective, fell a darting their arrows at him, at which not at all discouraged, he went on with greater vehemence; but all the effect it wrought on them was only, that it prevailed on great numbers to steal away privately to the *Romans*, whilst the rest became only the more desperate, and resolute to hold out to the last, in spite of *Titus*'s merciful offers.

The city immured.

To hasten therefore to their destined ruin, he caused the city to be surrounded with a strong wall, to prevent their receiving any succours or provision from abroad, or their escaping his resentment by flight (N). There was now nothing to be seen through the streets of *Jerusalem*, but heaps of dead bodies rotting above ground, walking skeletons, and dying wretches. As many as were caught by the *Romans* in their sallies, *Titus* caused to be crucified in sight of the town, to inject a terror on the rest; but the zealots gave it out, that they were those that fled to him for protection, which when *Titus* understood, he sent a prisoner with his hands cut off to undeceive and assure them, that he spared all that voluntarily came over to him; which encouraged great numbers to accept his offers, though the avenues were closely guarded by the factious, who put all to death who were caught going on that errand [t]. A greater mischief than that was, that even those, who escaped safe to the *Roman* camp, were miserably butchered by the soldiers, from a notion which these had taken, that they had swallowed great quantities of gold: insomuch, that two thousand of them were ripped up in one night to come at their supposed treasure [u]. When *Titus* was apprised of this barbarity, he would have condemned all those butchering wretches to death; but they proved so numerous, that he was forced to spare them, and contented himself with sending a proclamation through his camp, that as many as should be suspected thenceforward of that horrid villainy, should be put to immediate death; yet did not this deter many of them:

Horrid Butcheries within and without.

[t] Ibid. c. 12, & seq. [u] Cap. 15.

(N) This wall, which was near forty stades, or five miles in circuit, was yet carried on with such speed and by so many hands, that it was finished in three days; by which one may guess at the ardour of the besiegers to make themselves masters of the city (37).

(37) *Ibid* c. 13.

from

from it, only they did it more privately than before; ſo greedy were they of that bewitching metal. All this while the defection increaſed ſtill more through the inhumanity of the faction within, who made the miſeries and dying groans of their ſtarving brethren the ſubject of their cruel mirth, and carried their barbarity even to the ſheathing of their ſwords in ſport on thoſe poor wretches, under pretence of trying their ſharpneſs.

Falſe prophets ſet up.

WHEN they found therefore, that neither their guards nor ſeverities could prevent the people's flight, they had recourſe to another ſtratagem equally impious and cruel; which was to hire a pack of vile pretenders to prophecy, to go about and encourage the deſpairing remains of the people to expect a ſpeedy and miraculous deliverance; and this impoſture proved a greater expedient with that infatuated nation, than their other precautions. We ſhall not ſo far diſguſt our readers, as to mention what miſerable ſhifts theſe poor wretches made uſe of to prolong the ſad remains of a life, which ought to have been more loathſome under ſuch circumſtances, than the filthy and unnatural aliments they picked up to ſupport it [w]. It was upon this ſad and pinching juncture (O), that an unhappy mother was reduced to the extremity of butchering and eating her own child. This lady, whoſe name was *Miriam* or *Mary*, had taken refuge with a vaſt number of others in this accurſed city from the beginning of the war. As the famine increaſed, the factious zealots, who, as we obſerved before, lived now altogether upon the plunder of the helpleſs, had

A mother eats her own child.

[w] Ibid. l. vii. c. 7.

(O) Nothing could be more dreadful than the famiſhing condition they were now reduced to. The poor, having nothing to truſt to but the *Romans* mercy, or a ſpeedy death, ran all hazards to get out of the city; and if, in their flight and wandering out for herbs, or any other ſuſtenance, they fell into the hands of any of *Titus*'s parties, ſent about to guard the avenues, they were unmercifully ſcourged, and crucified, if they made the leaſt reſiſtance.

The rich within the walls were now forced, though in the privateſt manner, to give half, or all they were worth, for a meaſure of wheat, and the middling ſort for one of barley. This they were forced to convey into ſome private place in their houſes, and to feed upon it as it was, without daring to pound or grind it, much leſs to boil or bake it, leſt the noiſe or ſmell ſhould draw the rapacious zealots to come and tear it from them Not that theſe were reduced to any real want of proviſions, but they had a double end in this barbarous plunder, *viz.* the ſtarving what they cruelly ſtyled all uſeleſs perſons, and the keeping their own ſtores in reſerve

often forced into her houſe, and carried off ſuch proviſions as ſhe had been able to procure. She had often tried either by prayers to prevail on them, or by the bittereſt curſes to provoke them, to put an end to her miſerable life; but thoſe inhuman monſters ſtill thought it too great a mercy to be granted to her. Filled at length with fury and deſpair, ſhe ſnatches her ſucking child from her boſom, cuts his throat, and broils him; and having ſatiated her preſent hunger, ſhe hid the reſt. The ſmell of it ſoon drew thoſe voraciou carrions again to her houſe; they threatened to put her to the moſt excruciating tortures, *if ſhe did not* diſcover her proviſions to them; upon which ſhe goes and fetches them the ſad relicts of her mangled infant, and ſets it before them, bids them eat heartily, and not be ſqueamiſh, ſince ſhe, the once tender mother of it, had made no ſcruple to butcher, dreſs, and make a meal of it. At the ſight of this horrid diſh thoſe bloody hell-hounds, who never had till then felt the leaſt ſpark of remorſe or humanity, were ſeized with ſuch ſudden dread, that they went off trembling out of the houſe, and left the aſtoniſhed mother in full poſſeſſion of her diſmal fare [x].

Titus ſwears the ruin of the city.

When this news was ſpread thro' the city, the horror and conſternation was as univerſal as it was inexpreſſible. It was then, that they began to think themſelves forſaken by the divine providence, and to expect the moſt terrible effects of his anger againſt the poor remains of their nation; inſomuch that they began to envy thoſe that had periſhed before them, and to wiſh their turn might come before the ſad expected cataſtrophe. Their fears were but too juſt; ſince *Titus*, at the very firſt hearing of this inhuman deed, ſwore the total extirpation of the city and people. Since, ſaid he, they have ſo often refuſed my proffers of pardon, and have preferred war to peace, rebellion to obedience, and famine, ſuch a dreadful one eſpecially, to plenty, I am determined to bury that curſed metropolis under its ruins, that the ſun may never ſhoot his beams on a city, where the mothers feed on the fleſh of their children, and the fathers, no leſs guilty than they, choſe to drive them to ſuch extremities, rather than lay down their arms. In the like manner did that good-natured general expoſtulate with the Deity for the other cruelties which he ſaw and heard were committed in that wretched metropolis, eſpecially at the ſight of ſuch vaſt numbers of dead bodies, which, for want of burying-room, they were forced to throw down from their walls into the adjacent vallies; taking heaven to witneſs, that he was innocent of all thoſe horrid calamities which that infatu-

[x] Cap. 8.

ated

ated nation had brought upon themſelves, and might have prevented by a timely ſubmiſſion [y] (P).

THIS dreadful action happened about the end of *July*, by which time the *Romans*, having purſued their attacks with freſh vigour, made themſelves maſters of the fortreſs *Antonia*; which obliged the *Jews* to ſet fire to thoſe ſtately galleries which joined it to the temple, leſt they ſhould afford an eaſy paſſage to the beſiegers into this laſt [z]. About the ſame time *Titus* with much difficulty got materials (Q) for raiſing new mounds and terraces, in order to haſten the ſiege, and ſave, if poſſible, the ſad remains of that once glorious city and nation; but his pity proved ſtill worſe and worſe beſtowed on thoſe obſtinate wretches, who only became the more furious and deſperate by it. *Titus* at length cauſed fire to be ſet to the gates, after having had a very bloody encounter, in which his men were repulſed with loſs. The *Jews* were ſo terrified at it, that they ſuffered themſelves to be devoured by the flames without putting a helping hand, either to extinguiſh them or ſave themſelves [a]. About the ſame time *Matthias* the high-prieſt, who had encouraged the people to introduce *Simon* into the city, met with a requital worthy of that monſter of cru-

Fort Antonia taken.

Gates ſet on fire.

[y] Ibid. in fin. [z] Ibid. cap. 5, & ſeq. [a] cap. 9.

(P) We have thus epitomized at one view what *Joſephus* has ſcattered in ſeveral chapters of this and the foregoing book, of the dreadful effects of this famine, that it might not for the future interrupt the thread of the ſiege, and deſtruction of the city, temple, and nation, which we ſhall now haſten to bring to a concluſion.

All that needs be added to make up the ſad account of this calamity is, that even thoſe, who, at the hazard of their lives, got ſafe to the *Romans* and were well received of them, did for the generality meet with their deaths in the plenty of proviſions which they found there. Many of them expired with the meat in their mouths; others fell into dropſies and other diſtempers, or quite loſt the uſe of their limbs.

(Q) The greateſt part of thoſe that had ſerved hitherto for the ſiege, were either conſumed, or rendered unfit for ſervice. The ſuburbs and adjacent parts of *Jeruſalem*, which abounded with the moſt beautiful gardens, orchards, and greateſt variety of fruit and other trees, had been already ſtripped of all their ornaments to ſerve for the ſiege, and were now reduced into a wilderneſs. *Titus* therefore could not carry on his works with the ſame ſpeed and vigour, becauſe he was forced to ſend his men for freſh timber and other materials, at a great diſtance, even ſo far as ninety ſtades, or between eleven and twelve miles off.

Matthias *put to death.*

elty, being first tortured, and then condemned to death, together with three of his sons, the fourth having happily conveyed himself out of reach. The pretence was, their holding correspondence with the *Romans*, and the reverend old pontiff only begged as the last favour, that he might be put to death before his sons, but was denied both that and common burial. *Ananias* with about seventeen persons more of rank and merit, were put to death after them [b]; besides many more, for having been caught weeping for their deceased friends. All this while *Josephus* did not cease exhorting them to surrender, to represent to them the dreadful consequences of an obstinate resistance, and to assure them, that it was out of his mere compassion to them that he thus hazarded his own life to save theirs: he received one day such a wound in his head by a stone from the battlements, as laid him for dead on the ground. The *Jews* sallied out immediately to have seized on his body, but the *Romans* proved too quick and strong for them, and carried him off [c] (R).

Josephus *wounded.*

The temple plundered.

By this time the two factions within, but especially that of *John*, having plundered rich and poor of all they had, fell foul also on the treasury of the temple, whence *John* took a great quantity of golden utensils he found there, together with those magnificent gifts that had been presented to that sacred place by the *Jewish* kings, by *Augustus*, *Livia*, and many other foreign princes, and melted them all to his own use. The repositories of the sacred oil, which was to maintain the lamps, and of the wine, which was reserved to accompa-

[b] cap. 15. [c] Ibid.

(R) *Josephus*, by his own account, seems to have led but a sad life between the *Romans* and his own countrymen. These looked upon him as a vile apostate, a traytor to his God and country: had imprisoned his (the *Greek* says, father, but the sequel shews it to have been his) mother, and made her suffer many hardships; and would have spared no cruelties against him, if they could have caught him in their hands.

On the other side, the *Roman* officers looked upon him as a faithless wretch, who, under pretence of going to exhort the besieged to surrender, did what he could to encourage them to hold out to the last extremity; insomuch, that several of them did not scruple to accuse him before *Titus* of this double dealing; but happily for him, the general had conceived too good an opinion of him, to harbour any such suspicion, and still vindicated him against his accusers (38).

(38) *In vita sua.*

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ny the uſual ſacrifices, were likewiſe ſeized upon, and turned into common uſe, and the laſt of theſe to ſuch ſucceſs, as to make himſelf and his party drunk with it. All this while not only the zealots, but many of the people were ſtill under ſuch an infatuation, that though the fortreſs *Antonia* was loſt, as we have hinted already, and nothing left but the temple, which the *Romans* were making ready to batter down, yet they could not perſuade themſelves, that God would ſuffer that holy place to be taken by heathens, and were ſtill expecting ſome ſudden and miraculous deliverance. Even that vile monſter *John*, who commanded there, either ſeemed confident of it, or elſe endeavoured to make them think him ſo. For when *Joſephus* was ſent, for the laſt time, to upbraid his obſtinately expoſing that ſacred building, and the miſerable remains of God's people, to ſudden and ſure deſtruction, he only anſwered him with the bittereſt invectives, adding that he was defending the Lord's vineyard, which he was ſure could not be taken by any human force. *Joſephus* did in vain remind him of the many ways by which he had polluted both city and temple, and in particular of the ſeas of blood which he cauſed to be ſhed in both thoſe ſacred places, and which, he aſſured him from the old prophecies, were a certain ſign and fore-runner of their ſpeedy ſurrender and deſtruction (S). *John* remained as inflexible as if all the prophets had aſſured him of a deliverance, which ſhews the ſad effects of a judicial infatuation. However, a great number of the people were ſo moved by *Joſephus*'s diſcourſe, that they fled preſently after to the *Romans*, and amongſt them ſome perſons of rank and figure, particularly *Joſeph* the ſon of *Cabbi* and *Jeſus* the ſon of *Damneus*, who had been both high-prieſts. *Titus* gave them a gracious reception, and ſent them to *Gophna*, a place ſituated between *Samaria* and *Lydda*, till the concluſion of the war; but he was forced to ſend for them

The beſieged ſtill infatuated.

Joſephus's *ſpeech to them.*

(S) He alluded probably to the eleventh and following chapters of *Zechary*, of which we have given ſome hint a little higher; or it may be perhaps that he had an eye to the doom which Chriſt had pronounced againſt that murdering and apoſtate city, of which he ſaw the far greater part already accompliſhed, enough to aſſure him of the reſt. For, as we have elſewhere obſerved, it is ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed, but that ſuch a man as *Joſephus* had more than once converſed with ſome chriſtians, who might have appriſed him of it, or, as an hiſtorian, he might have read it in ſome one of the goſpels.

them

them back, to contradict a report, which the factious had cunningly spread, of their having been put to death[d].

At length *Titus*, foreseeing the inevitable ruin of that stately edifice, which he was still extremely desirous to save, vouchsafed even himself to speak to them, and to persuade them to surrender. But the factious, looking upon this condescension as the effects of his fear rather than generosity, only grew the more furious upon it, and forced him at last to come to those extremities, which he had hitherto endeavoured to avoid. That his army, which was to attack the temple, might have the freer passage towards it through the castle *Antonia*, he caused a considerable part of the wall to be pulled down and levelled, which proved so very strong, that it took him up seven whole days, by which time they were far advanced in the month of *July*.

The daily sacrifice interrupted

IT was on the seventeenth day of that month, as all *Josephus*'s copies have it (T), that the daily sacrifice ceased for the first time, since its restoration by the brave *Maccabitish* chief, mentioned in a former section †, there being no proper person left in the temple to offer it up. *Titus* caused

[d] Cap. 16. † Sect. III. p 11.

(T) A modern critic supposes an error to be in that date, and that it was originally written the seventh or tenth of that month (39). But besides, that it is seventeen in all copies of *Josephus*, the *Jews* have kept their fasts in memory of this cessation on that very day ever since (40).

This daily sacrifice called by the *Jews* תמיד *Thamid*, by the *Greeks* ἐνδελεχισμος, and by the *Latins juge*, consisted of two lambs, the one of which was offered in the morning towards sun-rising, after the burning of the sacred incense, and the other in the evening, or, as the *Hebrew* hath it, between the two evenings, that is, between three in the afternoon and sun-setting It was a burnt-offering, and was therefore set on a slow fire, that it might be the longer a burning. We have spoken of it in a former volume †, to which we refer.

All that we need to add is, that if the *Jews* have appointed their fasts right, the ceasing of it here was on the same day on which *Moses* broke the two tables, the city of *Jerusalem* was destroyed, the book of the law burnt by *Aphsathomos* (*Epistemon*) and the statue of *Jupiter* set up in the temple, as the reader may see in the three authors last quoted.

(39) *Tillemont. not. in ruin. Jud.* 35. (40) *Vid. Mebillath, Tahanith, c* 12 *part. ult. Maimon, Helcath, Tahanith, c.* 5. *Buxt. Synag. Jud c.* 30. † *See Vol. III. p* 212, 225, & (N).

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the factious to be severely upbraided for it, exhorted *John* to set up who he would to perform that office, rather than suffer the service of God to be set aside; and then challenged him and his party to come out of the temple and fight on a more proper ground, and thereby save that sacred edifice from the fury of the *Roman* troops [e]. When nothing could prevail on them, they began to set again on fire the gallery, that yielded a communication between the temple and the castle *Antonia*. The *Jews*, as we have hinted before, had already burnt about twenty cubits of it in length; but this second blaze, which was likewise encouraged by the besieged, consumed about fourteen more; after which they beat down what remained standing. On the twenty seventh of *July*, the *Jews*, having filled part of the western portico with combustible matter, made a kind of a flight, upon which some of the forwardest of the *Romans* having scaled up to the top, those set fire to it, whch flamed with such sudden fury, that many of them were consumed in it, and the rest, venturing to jump down from the battlements, were crushed to death. *Artorius* was the only one that escaped by a stratagem [f] (U).

Romans *outwitted.*

ON the very next day, *Titus* having set fire to the north gallery, which inclosed the outer court of the temple, from fort *Antonia* to the valley of *Cedron*, got an easy admittance into it, and forced the besieged into that of the priests. He tried in vain six days to batter down one of galleries of that precinct with an *Helepolis* (W); he was forced to mount his battering rams on the terrace, which was raised by this time; and yet the strength of this wall was such, that it eluded the force of these also, though others of his troops were busy in sapping it. When they found that neither rams nor sapping could gain ground, they bethought themselves of scaling, but were vigorously repulsed, and with the loss of some colours and a number of men. When *Titus* therefore

Fire set to the temple gates.

[e] Ibid. l. vii. c. 4. [f] Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 6.

(U) This soldier observing one of his companions below, named *Lucius*, promised to make him his heir, if he would catch him in his fall. He did so, and saved *Artorius*, but was himself crushed by his weight (41).

(W) This was a kind of battering engine, its name signifies *a Town-taker*. We have described it in a former volume *.

(41) *Bell. Jud. lib.* vii. *c.* 6.

* *Vol.* VII. *p.* 327, &c.

found

found that his deſire of ſaving that building was like to coſt ſo many lives, he ſet fire to the gates, which being plated with ſilver, burnt all that night, whilſt the metal dro ped down in the melting. The flame ſoon communicated itſelf to the porticoes and galleries, which the beſieged beheld without offering to ſtop it, but contented themſelves with ſending whole vollies of impotent curſes againſt the *Romans*. This was done on the eighth of *Auguſt*, and on the next day, *Titus*, having given orders to extinguiſh the fire, called a council, to determine whether the remainder of the temple (X) ſhould be ſaved or demoliſhed. That general was ſtill for the former, and moſt of the reſt declared for the latter, and alledged, that it was no longer a temple, but a ſcene of war and ſlaughter, and that the *Jews* would never be at reſt, as long as any part of it was left ſtanding; but when they found *Titus* ſtiffly bent on preſerving ſo noble an edifice, againſt which he told them he could have no quarrel, they all came over to his mind. The next day, *Auguſt* the 10th, was therefore determined for a general aſſault, and the night before the *Jews* made two deſperate ſallies on the *Romans*, in the laſt of which, theſe, being timely ſuccoured by *Titus*, beat them back into their incloſure [g].

Titus *calls a council.*

The temple ſet on fire.

But whether this laſt *Jewiſh* effort exaſperated the beſiegers, or which is more likely, as *Joſephus* thinks, puſhed by the hand of providence, one of the *Roman* ſoldiers of his own accord took up a blazing fire-brand, and, getting on his comrade's ſhoulders, threw it into one of the apartments that ſurrounded the ſanctuary, through a window, and immediately ſet the whole north ſide on a flame up to the third ſtory, in the ſecond year of *Veſpaſian*, the twenty firſt of king *Agrippa*, and on the ſame fatal day and month in which it had been formerly burnt by *Nebuchadnezzar* [h]. *Titus*, who was gone to reſt himſelf awhile in his pavilions was awaked at the noiſe, and ran immediately to give order, to have the fire extinguiſhed. He called, prayed, threatened, and even caned his men in vain; the confuſion was ſo

Titus *enters into the ſanctuary.*

[g] Ibid. c. 9. & 10. [h] Conf. 2 Kings xxv. & Joseph. ubi ſupra, c. 9. in fin.

(X) That is, the ſanctuary and moſt holy place, with all the chambers, galleries, &c. thereto belonging, as the reader may ſee them deſcribed in a former ſection. Among thoſe who were for deſtroying it was *Tiberius Alexander*, probably the ſame apoſtate *Jew*, who had been prætor of *Judæa*, and was now commander of the *Roman* legions.

great,

great, and the ſoldiers ſo obſtinately bent upon deſtroying all that was left, that he was neither heard nor minded. Thoſe that flocked thither from the camp, inſtead of obeying his orders, were buſy, either in killing the *Jews*, or increaſing the flames. When *Titus* obſerved, that all his endeavours were vain, he entered into the ſanctuary and the moſt holy place, in which he found ſtill ſuch rich and ſumptuous utenſils and other riches, as even exceeded all that had been told him of it. Out of the former he ſaved the golden candleſtic, the table of ſhew bread, the altar of perfumes, all of pure gold, and the book or volume of the law, wrapped up in a rich gold tiſſue; but in the latter, he found no utenſils, becauſe, in all probability, they had not made a freſh ark, ſince that of *Solomon* had been loſt. Upon his coming out of that ſacred place, ſome other ſoldiers ſet fire to it, and obliged thoſe who had ſtayed behind to come out; they all fell foul on the plunder of it, tearing even the gold plating off the gates and timber work, and carried off all the coſtly utenſils, robes, *&c.* they found in it, inſomuch, that there was not one of them that did not inrich himſelf by it [1].

A HORRID maſſacre followed ſoon after, in which a great many thouſands periſhed, ſome by the flames, others by the fall from the battlements, and a greater number by the enemy's ſword, which deſtroyed all it met with, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or quality. Among them were upwards of ſix thouſand perſons, who had been ſeduced thither by a falſe prophet, who promiſed them, that they ſhould find a ſpeedy and miraculous relief there on that very day. Some of them remained five whole days on the top of the walls, and afterwards threw themſelves at the general's mercy; but were anſwered, that they had outſtayed the time, and were led to execution (Y). They carried their fury to the burning of all the treaſure-houſes of the place, though they were full of the richeſt furnitures, plate, veſtments, and other things of value, which had been laid up in thoſe places for ſecurity. In a word, they did not ceaſe burning and butchering, till they *A horrid maſſacre.*

[1] Ibid. & ſeq.

(Y) Probably to be crucified; for *Joſephus* tells us there, that in his return from *Tekoah*, he obſerved a number of them faſtened each to a croſs, and ſtill alive; among whom were three of his acquaintance, whoſe lives he obtained of *Titus*, and ordered them immediately to be taken down, and their wounds to be put under the care of able ſurgeons. He adds, that only one of them outlived it, the other two died under their phyſicians hands.

had deſtroyed all, except two of the temple gates, and that part of the court which was deſtined for the women †. In memory of this deſtruction, and of that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, they keep a ſolemn faſt on the ninth of the month *Ab*, anſwering in part to our *Auguſt*, which laſts full twenty four hours, during which time they neither eat, drink, or uſe the leaſt refreſhment; but the ſtricteſt of them keep themſelves barefoot, in prayers and tears, from ſun-ſetting to the next ſun-ſet [k].

The factious ſuit rejected.

In the mean time the ſeditious having made ſuch a vigorous puſh, that they eſcaped the fury of the *Romans*, at leaſt for the preſent; and retired into the city, they found all the avenues of it ſo well guarded every-where, that there was no poſſibility left for them to get out; which obliged them to ſecure themſelves as well as they could on the ſouth-ſide of it, from whence *Simon* and *John* of *Giſchala* ſent to deſire a parley with *Titus*. They were anſwered, that though they had been the cauſe of all this blood-ſhed and ruin, yet they ſhould have their lives ſpared, if they laid down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. To that they replied, that they had engaged themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths never to ſurrender, and therefore only begged leave to retire into the mountains with their wives and children; which inſolence did ſo exaſperate the *Roman* general, that he cauſed a herald to bid them ſtand to their defence; for that not one of them ſhould be ſpared, ſince they had rejected his laſt offers of pardon. Immediately after this, he abandoned the city to the fury of his ſoldiers, who fell forthwith on plundering it, ſetting fire every-where, and murdering all that fell into their hands (Z); whilſt the factious that were left went and

† De hoc vid ſect. v. p. 185, not. [k] Vid. Mehilath, Tahanith, ſub Menſ. Ab. Maimon, Buxtorf, & al. ſup. citat.

(Z) *Joſephus* tells us (42), however, that he ſpared the family of *Izates*, king of *Adiabene*, of whom we have already ſpoke, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, who came and ſurrendered themſelves to his mercy, but he kept them ſtill priſoners.

He likewiſe diſmiſſed above forty thouſand of the inferior ſort, who came and implored his pardon, and gave them leave to go and ſettle where they would. The truth is, that they had already gorged themſelves with ſo much blood, that the ſtreams which ran along the ſtreets did even put the fire out. And as for the priſoners,

(42) *In vita ſua.*

they

and fortified themſelves in the royal palace, where they killed eight thouſand *Jews*, who had taken refuge there [1].

IN the mean time great preparations were making for a vigorous attack on the upper city, eſpecially on the royal palace; and this took them up from the twentieth of *Auguſt* to the ſeventh of *September*, during which time great numbers came and made their ſubmiſſion to *Titus*, among whom were the forty thouſand citizens mentioned in the laſt note, ſome of the *Edomites*, and two prieſts, who, upon promiſe of being ſpared, diſcovered to him a private place in the wall of the temple, where they found two candleſtics, ſome tables, cups, and other veſſels of maſſive gold, with many precious ſtones, rich garments, and other coſtly things. By this time the warlike engines plied ſo furiouſly on the factious, that they were taken with a ſudden panic, and inſtead of fleeing into the towers of *Hippicos*, *Phaſael*, or *Mariamne*, which were yet untaken, and ſo ſtrong, that nothing but famine could have reduced them; they run like madmen towards *Siloah*, with a deſign to have attacked the wall of circumvallation, and to have eſcaped out of the city; but being there repulſed, they were forced to go and hide themſelves in the public ſinks and common ſewers, ſome one way, and ſome another. All the reſt the *Romans* could catch were put to the ſword, and the city was ſet on fire. This was on the eighth of *September*, when the city was taken and entered by *Titus*. He would have put an end to the maſſacre, but his men killed all, except the moſt vigorous, whom they ſhut up in the *porch of the women*, mentioned a little higher. *Fronto*, who had the care of them, reſerved the youngeſt and moſt beautiful for *Titus*'s triumph, and ſent all that were above ſeventeen years of age into *Egypt*, to be employed in ſome public works there;

The high city taken.

Year of the flood, 3068. Of Chriſt 73 or 70.

The number and diſpoſal of the priſoners.

[1] Bell. ubi ſupra, c. 13.

they were ſo very numerous already, that they could not find buyers for them, tho' they offered them at the loweſt prices 43); ſo that one would have thought it high time for a prince of that excellent character to have wreaked his fury only on the factious *zealots*, and to have ſpared the reſt. But in all this he was acting more like a ſcourge ſent from above againſt a rebellious nation, than according to his own natural inclination; and it is what he rightly acknowledged, when his army congratulated him on this arduous and glorious conqueſt *.

(47) *Bell Jud. ubi ſupra, c.* 15. * *Vid. Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. l. vi. c.* 14.

and a great number of others were ſent into ſeveral cities of *Syria* and other provinces, to be expoſed on the public theatres, to exhibit fights, or be devoured by wild beaſts [m]. The number of thoſe priſoners amounted to ninety ſeven thouſand, beſides about eleven thouſand more of others, who were either ſtarved through neglect, or ſtarved themſelves through ſullenneſs and deſpair (A).

We have already had occaſion to mention the number of the ſlain, as well as of the priſoners, according to *Joſephus*. *Suetonius* and *Cornelius Tacitus* do indeed make the former a great deal leſs; they reckon but ſix hundred thouſand of them in all; but conſidering the diſtance of time and place in which they wrote, it will be eaſily granted, that they could not be ſo well acquainted with it as *Joſephus*, who was a *Jew* and an eye-witneſs. Whether this laſt has exaggerated it in compliment to *Titus* and the *Romans*, we will not pretend to ſay. A curious author has ſince taken the pains to make a freſh computation out of him of all that periſhed in the ſeveral places, throughout that kingdom and out of it, from the beginning to the concluſion of the war †; in which we believe our readers will be glad to ſee the whole amount of the ſeveral bloody articles, as it were, at one view. They are as follows:

Jews killed in and out of Judæa.

At *Jeruſalem*, by *Florus*'s order	630
By the inhabitants of *Cæſarea* in hatred to the *Jews*	20,000
At *Scythopolis* in *Syria*	30,000
By the inhabitants of *Aſcalon* in *Paleſtine*	2,500
By thoſe of *Ptolemais*	2,000
At *Alexandria* in *Egypt* under *Tiberius Alexander*, an apoſtate *Jew*	50,000
At *Damaſcus*	10,000
At the taking of *Joppa*	8,400
In the mountain of *Cabulo*	2,000
In a fight at *Aſcalon*	10,000
In an ambuſh	8,000

[m] Ibid. c. 16, & 17. † Justus Lipsius de Conſtantia, lib. ii. c. 21.

(A) *Joſephus* was by this time in ſuch high favour with *Titus*, that he obtained the liberty of ſeveral of his friends and relations, and in particular of his brother *Matthias*, without any ranſom. That emperor had likewiſe given him leave to ſave what he thought fit out of the ruins of the city and temple, but he contented himſelf with the volume of the ſacred writings.

A:

At the taking of *Apheck*	15,000
Upon mount *Garizzim*	11,600
Drowned at *Joppa* by a ſudden ſtorm	4,200
Slain at *Tarichæa*	6,500
Slain or killed themſelves at *Gàmala*, where none were ſaved but two ſiſters	9,000
Killed in their flight from *Giſchala*	2,000
At the ſiege of *Jotapa*, where *Joſephus* commanded	30,000
Of the *Gadarenes*, beſides vaſt numbers that drowned themſelves	13,000
In the villages of *Idumæa*	10,000
At *Geraſium*	1,000
At *Macheron*	1,700
In the deſart of *Jardes*	3,000
Slew themſelves at *Maſſada*	960
In *Cyrene* by the governor *Catulus*, of which we ſhall ſpeak by and by	3,000
Periſhed at *Jeruſalem* by ſword, famine, peſtilence, and during the ſiege	1100,000
According to this account the whole amounts to	1337,490

Beſides a vaſt multitude that died in the caves, woods, wildernеſſes, common-ſewers, in baniſhment, and many other ways, of whom no computation could be made; and ten thouſand that were ſlain at *Jotapa*, more than our author has reckoned. For *Joſephus* mentions expreſly forty thouſand, but he only thirty thouſand.

To theſe if we add the ninety ſeven thouſand priſoners, doomed in all appearance to a captivity infinitely worſe than death, and the eleven thouſand, which, as we hinted above, periſhed either through the neglect of their keepers, or their own ſullen deſpair, the amount will be above one million, four hundred and forty five thouſand. What ſtill more aggravates this deſtruction is, that the far greateſt part of them were ſtrangers, that is, were *Jews*, who, as we obſerved a little higher, were written to, and invited from remote parts of the world, even from beyond the river *Euphrates*, by their brethren at *Jeruſalem*, to come and aſſiſt them in the defence of their religion and liberties; their country, city, and temple; inſtead of which they met with the moſt dreadful deaths there, and ſhared in the common ruin. Thus did the divine providence order it, that they, who, by their ſtrenuous oppoſition of the goſpel in all the parts of their diſperſion, had ſhared in the guilt of the crucifiers of its divine author ſhould be involved in their puniſhment.

Titus,

Titus, as we have ſeen, acknowledged more than once the hand of providence, both in his extraordinary ſucceſs againſt them, and in the invincible obſtinacy with which they, to the laſt, preferred their total deſtruction to his oft repeated proffers of mercy. *Joſephus* hath ſcarce a chapter in which he doth not aſcribe all theſe dreadful calamities, and the final ruin of his nation, city, and temple, to an over-ruling power, to the offended deity, or to the ſins of the people: but nowhere more pathetically than in that chapter, in which, beſides the old prophecies, he ſums up a number of dreadful warnings ſent before-hand, not ſo much to reduce them to obedience, as to let them diſcern the almighty hand, that was now pouring down the moſt dreadful phials of his anger againſt them. We have already taken notice of that extraordinary country-fellow *Jeſus*, who had kept pronouncing woe and deſtruction to them, during ſeven whole years. It will not be amiſs to cloſe this ſad cataſtrophe with ſome other ſignal ones, out of the ſame *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, which were no leſs remarkable than dreadful.

Strange prodigies.

Of this claſs was that ſtrange comet, which hung over *Jeruſalem* one whole year, in the ſhape of a ſword: the extraordinary light that was ſeen round the altar at the ninth hour of the night, upon the celebrating of the paſchal feaſt, and which was looked upon by the ignorant as a good omen, but by the wiſer ſort as a forerunner of a dreadful war: a cow delivered of a lamb, as ſhe was led to the altar to be ſacrificed: the eaſtern gate of the temple made of ſolid braſs, and ſo heavy, that it required twenty pair of ſtout hands to open and ſhut it, and was ſlung open in the middle of the night, though faſtened with ſtrong bolts and bars: the air before ſun-ſet filled with chariots and armed men, which paſſed all over that country, and for the truth of which *Joſephus* appeals to ſeveral living witneſſes, who beheld the dreadful ſight; and laſtly the voice, which, after a kind of rumbling noiſe, was diſtinctly heard by the prieſts, who were going to officiate on the feaſt of pentecoſt, and uttered theſe words articulately, *Let us depart*; *let us depart* *. In ſpight of all which, the *Jews*, as we have ſeen, continued as hardened as ever, and liſtened only to thoſe lying prophets, who flattered them with the hopes of a ſudden and miraculous deliverer. But to return to the ſiege:

Simon and John taken.

Whilst the ſoldiers were ſtill buſy in burning the remains of the city, and viſiting all the ſinks, jakes, and com-

* Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 12.

mon

mon ſewers, where they found and killed numbers of other poor creatures who had hid themſelves, *Simon* and *John*, the two grand rebels, were found and brought to *Titus*, who ordered them to be reſerved for his triumph. *John*, being pinched with hunger, came out firſt, and having begged his life, obtained it, but was condemned to perpetual impriſonment. *Simon*, whoſe retreat was better ſtored, held out till towards the end of *October*, when neceſſity forced him out. He appeared on the ſudden on the ruins of the temple, in a white robe and a purple cloak. The *Romans* were at firſt ſurpriſed at him; but underſtanding ſoon after who he was, *Terentius Rufus*, who was left commander, ſeized on him, and ſent him to *Cæſarea*, whither *Titus* was got by this time, and from whence he was conveyed with his bloody collegues to *Rome*, to adorn the conqueror's triumph [n].

As ſoon as the *Romans* had ended their deſtructive work of burning and maſſacring, *Titus* ſet them on to demoliſh the city, with all its noble ſtructures, palaces, towers, walls, and other ornaments and fortifications, down to the level of the ground, according to Chriſt's expreſs prediction. He left nothing ſtanding but a piece of the weſtern wall, and the three towers of *Hippicos*, *Phaſael*, and *Mariamne*, the former to ſerve as a rampart to his tenth legion, which he left there, and the three latter to give future ages ſome idea of the ſtrength of the whole city, and of the ſkill and valour of its conqueror. His orders were ſo punctually executed, that, except thoſe few buildings above-mentioned, there was not ſo much as any remains left, that could ſerve as an index, that that ground had been once inhabited (B). Inſomuch that when he came to paſs through it, in his way from *Cæſarea* to *Alexandria*, in order to embarque for *Rome*, he could not refrain himſelf from ſhedding plenty of tears at the ſight of ſo dreadful a devaſtation, and curſing the wretches who had forced him to be the author of it [o]. *The city razed to the ground.*

[n] Ibid. & ſeq. [o] Cap. 18, & ſeq.

(B) The *Jewiſh* tradition adds, that *Titus* cauſed the plow to be driven over it; which ceremony, according to the *Roman* law, condemned the ground to perpetual deſolation But that, as well as *Joſephus*'s account, ſeems exaggerated, ſince there is great reaſon to believe, there were ſtill many conſiderable ruins to be ſeen even in the emperor *Adrian*'s time, as we may have occaſion to ſhew in the *Roman* hiſtory.

Titus's *triumph.*

It is not our buſineſs to follow that emperor to his capital, or to deſcribe the magnificence of his triumph, the greateſt which that city ever ſaw: that will be beſt done in the enſuing *Roman* hiſtory. All that is proper to be ſaid on that head here is, that *John* and *Simon*, at the head of ſeven hundred of the handſomeſt *Jewiſh* captives, were made to adorn the triumphal chair; after which *Simon*, having been dragged through the ſtreets, with a rope about his neck, and ſeverely ſcourged, was put to death with ſome other *Jewiſh* leaders, and *John* was ſent into perpetual impriſonment [p] (C).

Simon *and* John's *fate.*

Titus had left three caſtles ſtill untaken, namely thoſe of *Herodion* and *Maſſada* on this, and that of *Macheron* on the other ſide *Jordan*. The firſt of them was ſoon after

[p] Cap. 24.

(C) *Titus*'s triumph was further adorned with a great number of trophies brought from *Judæa*; among the principal of which were thoſe which had been taken out of the ſanctuary, ſuch as the golden table of the ſhew-bread, which weighed ſeveral talents; the ſeven branch candleſtic, a rich and curious piece of art; the roll or volume of the law, covered with a coſtly gold cloth, which was carried the laſt of the three, as the moſt venerable of all the trophies. The two former *Titus* cauſed to be placed in the temple of *Peace*, which his father had built; the latter, together with ſeveral curious and coſtly veils of the temple, and other rich furniture, he conveyed into his own palace (45).

There are ſtill ſome coins extant of that emperor, ſtamped with a trophy and triumphant chariot, and of his father, with the image of a woman ſitting ſorrowful under a palm-tree, with the inſcription of *Judæa capta*; with ſome others coined in the twenty firſt year of king *Agrippa*, with theſe words in *Greek*, Veſpaſian *emperor, and* Cæſar. Judæa *was taken in the twenty firſt of* Agrippa

To theſe medals we may add ſome fragments in baſs-relief, repreſenting *Veſpaſian* and his ſon *Titus*'s triumph, and on which is ſtill to be diſtinguiſhed the ſeven branch candleſtic, with other ſacred utenſils; ſome have pretended alſo to diſcover the ark in it; but we have already ſeen, that there was no ſuch thing in the moſt holy place; and it is moſt likely to be only the table of the ſhew-bread, which was not altogether unlike it; but the misfortune is, that time has ſo defaced this noble monument, that it is not eaſy to diſcover any thing in it with any certainty, except the candleſtic above mentioned.

(45) *Bell. Jud. l. vii. c.* 24.

taken by capitulation by *Lucilius Baſſus*, who had been appointed lieutenant of *Judæa*. He went preſently after at the head of a good number of troops to beſiege that of *Macheron*, which was a very ſtrong place, and likely to have held out a long time. But a lucky accident, which the reader may ſee in the margin (D), obliged the beſieged to ſurrender, upon condition that they ſhould have liberty to retire whither they pleaſed; which being readily granted to them, they went and joined ſome of their revolted brethren, who had ſheltered themſelves in the foreſt of *Jardes*. Hither *Baſſus* came, and attacked them, and, after a deſperate combat on both ſides, totally defeated them, with *Judas* their chief, who had ſaved himſelf out of *Jeruſalem*, through one of the aqueducts of that city [q].

DEATH having prevented *Baſſus* from putting an end to the war, *Flavius Silva*, his ſucceſſor, aſſembled all his forces to attack *Maſſada*, now the only remaining fortreſs in the rebels hands. The place was prodigiouſly ſtrong both by art and nature, well ſtored with all proviſions, and defended with a good number of ſicarii and aſſaſſins; at the head of whom was one *Eleazar*, the grandſon of *Judas* the *Gaulonite*, often mentioned in this and a former ſection. *Silva* having in vain tried his engines and battering rams againſt it, bethought himſelf of ſurrounding it with a high and ſtrong wall, and then ordered fire to be ſet to the gates. The wind favouring him, puſhed the flame ſo fiercely againſt the *Jews*, that *Eleazar*, in a kind of deſpair, perſuaded them firſt to

[q] Cap. 25.

(D) There was in that caſtle a young nobleman highly eſteemed for his valour, who, after having given the beſiegers a ſtout repulſe in a ſally, unfortunately ſtrayed out of the gates to ſpeak to the people on the wall by way of bravado. An *Egyptian* then in the *Roman* army, came ſwiftly behind him unperceived, took him up in his arms, and carried him off

When *Baſſus* had got the noble youth in his power, he cauſed him to be ſtripped naked, and ſeverely ſcourged in the view of the beſieged, who filled immediately the air with their cries. *Baſſus* perceiving them ſo moved at the ſight, cauſed a croſs to be erected, and gave them to underſtand that he would crucify him, unleſs they prevented it by a timely ſurrender. The ſtratagem had the deſired effect; and the *Jews*, not being proof againſt ſo dole ful a ſpectacle, choſe to capitulate, and ſoon after ſurrendered the place, on the conditions above-mentioned [46].

(46) *Cap* 25, *ad fin.*

kill all their wives and children, and next to chuſe ten men by lot, who ſhould kill all the reſt; and, laſtly, one out of the ſurviving ten to diſpatch them and himſelf, which was accordingly executed out of hand; only this laſt man was ordered to ſet fire to the place before he finiſhed this bloody tragedy. On the next morning the *Romans*, who were preparing to ſcale the place, were ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee and hear nothing move; upon which they made ſuch a hideous outcry, that two women, who had concealed themſelves from the maſſacre in ſome aqueduct, came out, and told them the tragical end of the beſieged, which put an end to that dreadful war [r]. *Veſpaſian* ordered the *Jewiſh* lands to be ſold to his own uſe (E), and all the *Jews* within the *Roman* empire to pay the uſual tribute of half a ſhekel, or two drachms, to his treaſury, which they were before obliged to pay to that of the ſanctuary [s].

The temple and holy city thus deſtroyed and levelled with the ground, and the whole nation either miſerably buried under its ruins, or diſperſed into other countries, might, one would think, have opened the eyes of the poor remains of that once favoured people, and cruſhed at once all hopes and expectations of any other deliverer, but him whom they had rejected and crucified. Many of them did indeed do ſo, but the far greater part remained in their infatuated ſtate, and according to Chriſt's own prediction, have been diſperſed ever ſince over all the world, to atteſt his truth, and their own obdurate blindneſs, till the happy time comes, when the veil ſhall be taken off their eyes. When that will be, is one of thoſe ſecrets which God has been pleaſed to leave as yet unrevealed; and which it would be vain and preſumptuous to ſearch too curiouſly after. *Euſebius* adds to their ſad cataſtrophe, that, after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, *Veſpaſian* cauſed all the remaining ſprouts of the houſe of *Judah* to be cut off [t], to deprive them at once of all hopes of a deliverer or future Meſſiah. Notwithſtanding which, the zealots made ſeveral attempts to regain their power, firſt in *Egypt*, where it coſt ſome their heads, and cauſed their tem-

[r] Cap. 28. [s] Ibid. c 26. in fin. [t] Eccleſ. hiſt. l. iii. c. 12.

(E) He only reſerved the town of *Emmaus*, which he beſtowed on eight hundred of his beſt veterans, to plant a new colony there, and from that time that place took the name of *Nicopolis* (47).

(47) *Cap* 26.

ple

ple at *Alexandria*, mentioned in a former ſection †, to be quite ſhut up [u] (F). Next in *Cyrene* of *Libya*, where one of them, named *Jonathan*, ſet up for a prophet, and perſuaded about two thouſand of his brethrēn there to follow him into the deſert, where he promiſed to ſhew them wonders, and where *Catullus*, the then governor, cauſed them to be purſued and defeated [w] (G).

FROM that time the *Jewiſh* nation has been diſperſed through, deſpiſed and hated by, all the world, hath gone

† See before, p. 48, & (T). fin.

[u] Bell. ubi ſupra, c. 30, ad

[w] Ibid. cap. 31. paſſ.

(F) Theſe wretches, which were undoubtedly the relics of the *Gaulonitiſh* faction, ſince even their children ſuffered the ſevereſt torments, rather than acknowledge *Cæſar* for their lord (48), met at firſt with a kind reception from their brethren of *Alexandria*. But they quickly became obnoxious to them by ſowing their leaven of ſedition. To prevent the ill effects of which, they were delivered up to the *Romans*, and ſix hundred of them put to death

Veſpaſian being appriſed of it, and fearing leſt their *Alexandrian* temple ſhould afford them a freſh pretence of aſſembling themſelves, and raiſing ſome new ſedition in *Egypt*, ſent orders to *Lupus*, his governor there, to demoliſh it. But he contented himſelf with ſhutting it up. *Paulinus*, who ſucceeded him ſoon after, ſtripped it of all its ornaments and rich furniture, and cauſed the gates of it to be quite ſhut up, to prevent any further worſhip being offered up in it (49).

(G) *Jonathan* was taken preſently after, and brought to *Catullus*, before whom he accuſed many of the richeſt *Jews* of having inſtigated him into this impoſture, and whom that greedy governor cauſed to be put to death to the number of three thouſand, and confiſcated all their wealth.

He afterwards obliged that wretch to prefer the ſame indictment againſt thoſe that were at *Rome*, among whom was *Joſephus* the hiſtorian; whom he accuſed to have furniſhed him with arms and money. *Veſpaſian* made ſuch a ſtrict inquiry into the matter, that he eaſily found out the cheat, cauſed *Jonathan* to be cruelly whipped, and then burnt alive, and acquitted the perſons accuſed.

Catullus, though deep in the guilt, was yet pardoned by that emperor; but providence did not ſuffer him to go unpuniſhed; for he was ſoon after ſeized with a panic phrenſy, which made him fancy himſelf ſurrounded with the dreadful ſpectres of thoſe whom he had unjuſtly put to death He was at length ſeized with an inward intolerable heat, which conſumed his very entrails, and he died in that miſerable condition unpitied (50).

(48) *Ibid cap.* 29 (49) *Cap.* 30, *ad fin.* (50) *Cap.* 31.

from one age to another through a ſeries of the greateſt miſeries and perſecutions. We have innumerable inſtances of crowned heads, and even commonwealths, who have ſpared neither the ſevereſt edicts, nor the cruelleſt butcheries againſt them. In a word, *Pagans* and *Mahometans*, as well as *Chriſtians*, tho' ſo oppoſite in other things, have yet, as it were, joined their efforts in vain, to exterminate that unhappy people, whom the divine providence hath nevertheleſs upheld under all thoſe diſadvantages by a kind of miraculous power, and no doubt for a more glorious purpoſe; inſomuch, that, according to a late learned hiſtorian, there are ſtill above three millions of them diſperſed through almoſt every nation and kingdom of the world, and ſtill impatiently ſighing after that glorious time, when god ſhall reſtore them to their priſtine ſtate. But this and ſome other particulars relating to their diſperſions, writings, and the like, will be fully ſeen in the appendix.

AFTER the reduction of *Jeruſalem* and *Judæa*, *Agrippa* and his ſiſter retired to *Rome*, probably with *Titus*, who was exceſſive fond of both, but eſpecially of *Berenice*. We have ſeen through the courſe of this laſt war, how ſerviceable the brother had been to that general, accompanying him in perſon, and aſſiſting him with men and ammunition, for which we are told *Titus* got his kingdom inlarged by the emperor, and procured him prætorian honours. But his extraordinary friendſhip for that prince flowed chiefly from his ſpecial fondneſs for his ſiſter, who now lived with him in his palace, and ruled every thing as if ſhe had been his real wife. We have hinted ſome former reports publicly ſpread concerning her inceſtuous intrigues with her brother, and for which ſhe had given but too good a foundation. *Titus* could hardly be ignorant of it; but her beauty had ſo captivated him, that he overlooked every thing elſe; inſomuch, that he had promiſed her marriage, and would in all probability have kept it, had he not found that the *Romans* were wholly averſe to it, partly on account of her being a *Jeweſs*, and partly on that of her royal deſcent. To pave himſelf therefore the way to the empire, he was forced to diſcard her, *invitus invitam* [x], as *Suetonius* expreſſes it. What became of her afterwards, is not worth inquiring. As for *Agrippa*, he was the laſt of the *Herodian* race that bore the royal title, and is ſuppoſed to have died at *Rome* about the ſeventieth year of his age,

[x] Vid. SUETON in vit Tit. & Xiphil. ex Dione. JUSTUS TIBERIUS apud Phot. bibl. cod. 33.

and

and in the ninetieth of *Jesus Christ* [y]. *Josephus* has this remarkable saying on the *Herodian* line, that they all failed within a hundred years [z], though they were at first so numerous, as we have seen them in the genealogy of *Herod the Great*.

THIS was the end of the *Herodian* family, and of the *Jewish* nation and polity, and is so much the more remarkable, considering, that the succinct account we have of it is written by a *Jew* of such extraordinary character, and that the destruction of the city and people, especially of their temple, is found upon the whole so exactly conformable to the prophecies of Christ, denounced against them so long before. One might have expected, that this should have opened their eyes, to acknowledge these as well as the many others we have mentioned in the course of this and the last section, which prove him the Messiah, since they had seen their sacrifices, ceremonial law, their temple, their royal stock of *Judah*, &c. which they till then thought were to last for ever, buried, as it were, under the ruin of their metropolis. Instead of which, their chief aim and study has been to find salvos against these pregnant proofs against them; to depart from the expositions of their antients, give a new sense to the prophets, and to invent new sceptres for their royal tribe in some unknown parts of the world, and in a word, to oppose every thing that we urge against them, as we shall shew in the appendix.

IN the mean time, it will not be amiss to take notice, that the *Jews* are no less at variance with *Josephus*, than the christians have admired him. St. *Jerom*, among other praises he gives him, calls him *the Livy of the Jews* [a]. *Photius* and others have been equally lavish of their incense; and *Eusebius* little to the rest, that he had a statue reared to him in consideration of his writings [b]. We shall not repeat what we have often observed of his partiality to his nation and sacerdotal order, both in this chapter and our first volume. But his countrymen have trumped up another *Josephus*, known by the name of *Bengorion*, whose history is compiled out of the *Russian* version of the true *Josephus*; for he doth not seem to have seen the original, and has stuffed it with the most absurd falshoods and contradictions to him; and yet the *Jews* give him the largest encomiums. In particular *Rabby Than*, who has published his history, is not ashamed to affirm, that all he wrote was just and true, without the least falshood; that his writings come nearer to those of the prophets, than those

[y] Tillemont, Ruin des Juifs, Art 83, & not. 21. [z] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. [a] De vir. illust. c. 13 [b] Hist. eccles. l. iii. c. 9.

of any other *Jewish* author; that the hand of God was upon him, whilſt he compiled his work, with ſome other commendations, which amount almoſt to blaſphemy [c]. That fabulous author is ſo well known to the learned, that we ſhall ſpend no time in expoſing him. The readers may ſee enough of them in that mutilated edition which *Munſter* has given us of it; though he has concealed a great number of them. But thoſe that have ſeen the full editions that have come out ſince, will find them ſo full of them, that they will readily own, nothing but the greateſt degree of infatuation and perveſeneſs could induce the *Jews* to prefer him to the true one, who, ſetting aſide his partiality above-mentioned, hath all the marks of a judicious and exact hiſtorian.

[c] Præf. in Josip. Bengorion, edit. Conſtantinop. 1490.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The History of the Parthians, *from* Arsaces, *to the recovery of the kingdom by the* Persians.

PARTHIA, properly so called, was bounded on the east by *Aria*; on the south by *Carmania Deserta*; on the west by *Media*; and on the north by *Hyrcania*. *Ptolemy* divides it into five districts or provinces, *viz. Caminsine*, or *Camsine*, *Parthyene*, *Choroane*, *Atticene*, and *Tabiene*. The antient geographers enumerate a great many cities in *Parthia*; but those of most note were, *Calliope*, *Issatis*, *Europium*, known also by the names of *Ragæ*, *Europos*, and *Arsace*, *Apamea*, *Heraclea*, *Crenonia*, *Charax*, *Artacana*, *Aspa*, *Marriche*, *Rhagæa*, and *Hecatompylos*. The latter was the metropolis of *Parthia*, and the place where the first kings of that country resided; for after they had made themselves masters of *Assyria*, they abandoned *Hecatompylos*, passing the winter at *Ctesiphon*, and the summer at *Echatan*, or in *Hyrcania*. The city of *Ctesiphon* stood on the *Tigris*, a little below *Seleucia*, and on the opposite bank, in the province of *Chalonitis*, which was the most southerly of all *Assyria*. This city was founded, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus* [a], by one *Vardanes*, and embellished and fortified by *Pacorus*. Who *Vardanes* was, we know not; but *Valesius* takes *Pacorus* here spoke of to have been the son of *Orodes*, whom *Ventidius* defeated. *Polybius* [b], *Tacitus* [c], *Herodianus* [d], and *Strabo* [e] speak of *Ctesiphon* as the metropolis of the whole *Parthian* empire; whereas *Hecatompylos* was only the metropolis of *Parthia* properly so called, but nevertheless a place of great note, and about nine miles in compass. It had a hun-

Parthia described.

[a] Ammian. Marcell. l. xxiii. c. 20. [b] Polyb. l. v. c. 45. [c] Tacit. l. vi. c. 42 [d] Herodian. l. iii. c. 9. [e] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 512.

died

dred gates, whence it borrowed the name of *Hecatompylos*, as *Polybius* informs us[f]. Moſt of our modern travellers are of opinion, that it ſtood on the very ſpot where the preſent city of *Iſpahan* ſtands. *Parthia* is at preſent known by the name of *Arach* or *Erach*, and may be called the royal province of *Perſia*, ſince the king always reſides in it. The chief cities it contains at preſent are, *Caſbin* or *Caſwin*, built on the ruins of the antient *Arſace*; *Sawa* or *Sava*, *Kom*, *Hamadan*, *Kaſhan*, and *Iſpahan*, which *Holſtenius*[g] takes to be the ancient *Aſpa*, contradicting therein moſt of our modern geographers and travellers. The air of *Parthia* was anciently, and is ſtill, very clear and healthy; but the ſoil barren, and not yielding wherewithal to maintain the inhabitants, who were once very numerous, and therefore obliged to tranſplant themſelves into other countries. Upon the death of *Alexander the Great*, it was almoſt intirely neglected, and left as an appendant to *Media*, none of that prince's commanders caring for the government of ſo poor and barren a province. But we ſhall ſee this ſmall and obſcure province make a great figure in hiſtory, eclipſe all the kingdoms of the eaſt, and become formidable to the *Romans* themſelves, while they were at the height of their glory. But we muſt not here confound *Parthia*, or, as others call it, *Parthyæa* and *Parthyene*, with what the ancients underſtand by the *Parthian* empire. The former was comprized within the narrow bounds which we have deſcribed above; whereas the latter was of vaſt extent, being bounded on the eaſt by the *Indus*; on the weſt by the *Tigris*; on the ſouth by the *Red-ſea*; and on the north by mount *Caucaſus*[h]; ſo that it comprehended *Arachoſia*, *Parthia*, *Aſſyria*, *Perſis*, and *Media*. Theſe wide-ſpreading dominions, were, according to *Pliny*[i], divided by the *Parthian* monarchs into eighteen kingdoms, which they diſtinguiſhed by the names of the *upper* and *lower* kingdoms. The former were eleven, extending from the confines of *Armenia* and the *Caſpian* ſea, to the borders of *Scythia*. The other ſeven comprehended the remaining provinces ſubject to the crown of *Parthia*, and were known by the name of the *lower kingdoms*.

Parthians from Phuth.

SOME writers are of opinion, that this country was firſt peopled by the *Phetri* or *Pathri*, often mentioned in ſcripture[k], and will have the *Parthians* to be deſcended from

[f] POLYB. l. x. c. 25. [g] HOLSTEN. in Orth. [h] Vide OROS. l. i. c. 2 [i] PLIN. l. vi. c. 25 [k] ISAIAH. xi. JEREM. c. xliv. EZECH. c. xxix.

Phuthites

Phetruſim the ſon of *Mizraim*. This may perhaps be true with relation to the firſt inhabitants of *Parthia*; but thoſe *Parthians*, who are ſo famous in hiſtory, were, without all doubt, originally *Scythians*, as we are told by all the ancients who ſpeak of them. 'Tis true, there is a great diſagreement among authors as to the particular nation or tribe to which they belonged, ſome taking them to be originally *Daæ*; others to be *Getæ*, *Maſſagetæ*, or *European Scythians*. *Strabo* tells us, that *Arſaces*, the founder of this kingdom, was by birth a *Scythian*, and king of the *Daæ* or *Dahæ*. *Curtius* ſays, that the *Scythians*, known by the name of *Parthians*, came out of *Europe* [l]. *Jornandes* will have them to be originally *Goths* or *Getæ*; for theſe, according to him, are one and the ſame people [m]. They were, according to *Juſtin*, driven out of their own country, and, finding no other place to ſettle in, obliged to take up with this barren and inhoſpitable region. They called themſelves, on their firſt ſettling here, *Parthians*, that is, in the old *Scythian* language, *exiles*; and hence came the name of *Parthia*.

THE *Parthians* were a courageous and warlike people, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory, and not undeſervedly eſteemed the beſt horſemen and archers in the world. They were accuſtomed from their infancy, ſays *Dionyſius* [n], to the warlike and manly exerciſes of managing a horſe and handling a bow; and in both excelled all other nations. They had an art or method peculiar to themſelves, of diſcharging their arrows with incredible addreſs, dexterity and order, while they were retiring full ſpeed, which gained them many victories, and rendered their retreat far more formidable to the enemy than their onſet (A). To their great ſkill in archery alluded the conſul *Craſſus*, *Manners, cuſtoms, &c. of the Parthians.*

[l] CURT. l. vii. [m] JORNAND. de reb. Goth. [n] DIONYS. in poem. de ſitu orb.

(A) This art, peculiar to the *Parthians*, of diſcharging their arrows with great dexterity, while they were retiring full ſpeed, is much ſpoke of by the *Latin* writers, eſpecially the poets.

Fidentemque fuga Parthum, verſiſque ſagittis (1).
Et verſis animoſum equis
Parthum dicere (2).
Ut celer averſis utere Parthus equis (3).
Quid tibi nunc mitti ſolitæ poſt terga ſagittæ,
Quid loca, quid rapidi profuit uſus equi (4)?

(1) *Virgil. georg. l.* iii. (2) *Horat l.* i. *carm. od.* 19. (3) *Ovid l.* iii. *de arte.* (4) *Idem faſt.* v.

Craſſus, when being told by an aſtrologer, that his expedition againſt the *Parthians* would prove unſucceſsful, by reaſon of the ominous aſpect of the conſtellation *Scorpio*, the *Roman* returned anſwer, That he feared not *Scorpio*, but *Sagittarius*. To theſe exerciſes of horſemanſhip and archery the air and nature greatly contributed; for the dry air, as *Dion* obſerves, ſeaſoned their bows; and their large plains afforded them ſufficient room for the training up of their horſes. From the age of twenty to fifty, they were all, without exception, obliged to ſerve in war, to attend the muſters, learn the military exerciſes, and be ready, at a very ſhort warning to take the field [o]. Perſons of any rank or diſtinction among them never appeared in public a-foot, but always on horſeback and armed with ſcymetars [p]; which cuſtom ſeemed ſtrange to the *Romans*, who uſed to lay down their arms when they quitted the *ſagum* or military habit [q]. In war they did not uſe trumpets like other nations, but large hollow veſſels of braſs, covered with ſkins, ſuch as our kettle-drums, which, being beat with hammers, yielded a very warlike ſound [r] (B). They are ſaid to have been very ſpare in their diet,

[o] Strabo, l. xv. [p] Justin. l. xii. [q] Ovid. Triſt. l. v.
[r] Plut. in Craſſo.

Nil opus eſt equis,
Nil armis, & inertibus
Telis, quæ procul ingerit
Parthus, cum ſimulat fugas (5).
Vidit & verſas equitis ſagittas,
Terga fallacis metuenda Parthi (6).
Rupis Achæmeniæ ſcopulis, ubi verſa ſequentum
Pectoribus figit ſpicula pugna fugax (7), &c.

(B) *Lucretius* tells us, that the *Parthians* carried lions about with them in war, which, in the beginning of the engagement, they uſed to let looſe againſt the enemy.

Et validos Parthi præ ſe miſere leones
Cum ductoribus armatis, ſæviſque magiſtris,
Qui moderarier his poſſent, vincliſque tenere:
Nequicquam; quoniam permixta cæde calentes
Turbabant ſævi nullo diſcrimine turmas,
Terrificas capitum quatientes undique criſtas (8).

(5) *Senec. in Thyeſt.* (6) *Idem in Oedip.* (7) *Boet. l. v.*
(8) *Lucret l. v.*

But

dict [r], their country not affording any ſuperfluities; but at the ſame time to have been great lovers of wine, and much addicted to all manner of lewdneſs, not reſpecting even their ſiſters or mothers, whom they were allowed to marry, and as many wives beſides as they pleaſed, nothing being deemed more honourable among them than to have a numerous iſſue [t]. They intirely neglected agriculture, navigation, trade, and all other callings, being wholly taken up in learning the arts of war, which alone were of any repute among them [u].

Religion.

THEIR religion was much the ſame with that of the *Perſians*; they worſhipped the ſun under the name of *Mithras* [w]; believed, that thoſe who fell in battle enjoyed a perpetual and uninterrupted happineſs, a tenet well ſuited to the genius of a warlike nation; and in moſt other points of religion intirely agreed with the *Perſians*, of whoſe religion we have ſpoke at length in the hiſtory of *Perſia*. They were moſt religious obſervers of their word, thinking it highly diſhonourable not to perform their engagements, or to deceive thoſe who had truſted them on their parole [x], whereof we ſhall give a glaring inſtance in the reign of *Artabanus*.

Government.

As to their government, it was, as is well known, monarchical, and abſolute in the higheſt degree, no tyrants having ever required a more ſervile and blind ſubmiſſion from thoſe who had the misfortune to live under them. They treated their ſubjects, ſays *Herodianus* [y], as the meaneſt of ſlaves and ſcarce as men, while they put themſelves on a level with the immortal gods. Their uſual title was, *the king of kings*, *the great monarch*, *the brother of the ſun and moon*, &c. Theſe haughty titles they not only aſſumed in all the laws and edicts they enacted, but in their letters to other princes.

[r] JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 3, & 9. [t] Idem, l. xvi. AGATH. l. ii. PHILO de ſpecial. legib. p. 778. TERTUL. in Apologet. [u] DIONYS ubi ſupra. [w] STRABO, l. xv. SUID. HESYCH. DIONYS. AREOPAGIT. epiſt 7. ad Polycarp. CYRIL. catech. 7. [x] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xviii. c. ult. [y] HERODIAN. l. iv. c. 3.

But herein the poet deſerves no more credit, than ſome too credulous hiſtorians mentioned by *Lucian*, who, miſtaking the dragons which the *Parthians* carried in their colours for real dragons, wrote that the king of *Parthia* was always attended in war with a great number of dragons, which made a dreadful havock among the enemies troops (9).

(9) *Lucian. in lib. de conſcrib. hiſtor.*

Thus *Vologeſes* II. in writing to the emperor *Veſpaſian*, uſed the following ſuperſcription: Arſaces, *king of kings*, *to* Flavius Veſpaſian. The emperor could not help ſmiling when he read it; and, to ſhew how little he valued ſuch pompous and high ſounding titles, he anſwered him in his own ſtrain thus: Flavius Veſpaſian *to* Arſaces *king of kings*, giving the *Parthian* the titles he had aſſumed, but deſpiſing them himſelf. The ſame haughty ſtile *Phrahates* IV. uſed in writing to *Auguſtus*; and *Phrahates* III. ſent embaſſadors to *Pompey*, on purpoſe to expoſtulate with him for omitting in his letter to him the title of *king of kings*, and giving him only that of *king*. Their whole conduct was anſwerable to the ſublime and lofty titles they aſſumed; for, not ſatisfied with the reſpect paid to other crowned heads, they obliged all thoſe whom they vouchſafed to ſee, to kiſs the threſhold on their firſt entering the royal palace, to proſtrate themſelves before them with their faces on the ground, and acknowledge their majeſty with ſome offering, as if they appeared, to uſe the expreſſion of *Dion*, before the great *Jupiter* [z] (C).

We can give no particular account of the ſtate of *Parthia* before *Arſaces* I. the works of *Apollodorus*, *Artemiſius*, *Creperius*, *Calpurnianus*, *Quadratus*, *Rhianus*, and *Seleucus Emiſenus*, who wrote of the *Parthian* affairs and are quoted by *Strabo* [a], *Athenæus* [b] *Lucian* [c], *Stephanus*, and *Suidas*, not having reached our times. All we know of them is, that they were firſt ſubject to the *Medes*, afterwards to the *Perſians*, and laſtly to *Alexander the Great*, upon whoſe death

[z] Dion, l. iv. Justin. l. xvi. [a] Strabo, l. xv. Idem, l. ii, & xv. [b] Athen. l. xv. c. 12. [c] Lucian. de conſcrib hiſtor.

(C) To this *Martial* alludes in the following epigram:

Fruſtra blanditiæ venitis ad me, &c.
Ad Parthos procul ite pileatos,
Et turpes, humileſque, ſuppliceſque,
Pictorum ſola baſiate regum (10).

And *Virgil*:

Præterea regem non ſic Ægyptus, & ingens
Lydia, nec populi Parthorum, aut Medus Hydaſpes
Obſervant, &c. (11).

(10) *Mart. l. x. epig. 71.* (11) *Virgil. georg l. iv.*

Parthia fell to the ſhare of *Seleucus Nicator*, whoſe ſucceſſors held it till the reign of *Antiochus Theus*, when *Arſaces*, ſhaking off the *Macedonian* yoke, ſet up for himſelf, and founded a new kingdom, which, in proceſs of time, became by far the moſt powerful in the eaſt, and was held by his ſucceſſors for the ſpace of four hundred and ſeventy five years; at the end of which the empire was transferred anew from the *Parthians* to the *Perſians*, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Kings of Parthia. Arſaces I. Year of the Flood 2699. Before Chriſt, 300.

Arſaces I. the founder of the *Parthian* monarchy, was, according to ſome writers, of the race of the *Achemenidæ*; acording to others, by birth a *Parthian*. *Strabo* ſays, that he was king of the *Dahæ* before the revolt of *Parthia*; and *Georgius Syncellus*, that he was a nobleman of *Bactria*. We have related elſewhere [d] on what provocation he ſolicited the *Parthians* to revolt from *Antiochus Theus*, and what ſucceſs attended him in his wars with *Seleucus Callinicus*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Antiochus Theus* [e], whom he not only defeated, but took priſoner, and from that time aſſumed the title of king, having founded, and by that victory firmly eſtabliſhed, an empire in the eaſt, which in proceſs of time counterbalanced the over-grown power of the *Romans* in the weſt. He reduced *Hyrcania* and ſome other neighbouring provinces, and was at laſt killed in a battle againſt *Ariarathes* IV. king of *Cappadocia* [f]. From him all thoſe who reigned after of the ſame race, took the name of *Arſaces*, as the kings of *Egypt* did that of *Ptolemy*, and the *Roman* emperors that of *Cæſar*.

Arſaces II.

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Arſaces*, who entering *Media*, made himſelf maſter of that country, while *Antiochus the Great* was engaged in a war with *Ptolemy Euergetes* king of *Egypt*. But *Antiochus* was no ſooner diſengaged from that war, than he marched with all his forces againſt *Arſaces*, drove him quite out of *Media*, and, entering *Parthia*, obliged him to retire into *Hyrcania*, whence he ſoon after returned with an army of an hundred thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe. With theſe he put a ſtop to *Antiochus*'s further progreſs; ſo that the *Syrian*, finding he could not overpower ſo valiant an enemy, began to give ear to the overtures which were made him for putting an end to ſo troubleſome a war; and a treaty being ſet on foot, it was agreed, that *Arſaces* ſhould hold *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, on condition of his aſſiſting *An-*

[d] Vol. VIII. p. 463, & ſeq. [e] Ibid p. 472. [f] JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5, &c.

tiochus

tiochus to recover the other provinces which had revolted [g], as we have related at length in the history of *Syria* [h].

Priapatius. *Priapatius*, the son of *Arsaces* II. succeeded his father; but all we know of him is, that he reigned fifteen years, and left three sons behind him, *viz. Phrahates*, *Mithridates*, and *Artabanus*.

Phrahates. The crown he bequeathed to *Phrahates* his eldest son, who overcame the *Mardi*, one of the most warlike nations of the east, and never conquered before the reign of *Alexander*, who, with much ado, reduced them, as well as the other nations inhabiting *Media* [i]. *Phrahates* left a numerous issue; but having more at heart the welfare of his kingdom than the advantage of his children, he left the crown

Mithridates I. to his brother. *Mithridates*, on account of his extraordinary merit; for he had given many instances of an uncommon wisdom, probity, and courage. He reduced the countries of the *Bactrians*, *Persians*, *Medes*, and *Elymæans*, and overran in a manner all the east, extending his dominions into *India*, beyond the boundaries of *Alexander*'s conquests. *Demetrius Nicator*, who then reigned in *Syria*, endeavoured to recover the provinces of the east, which *Mithridates* had taken; but his army was intirely cut off, and himself taken prisoner, as we have elsewhere related at length [k]. After this victory, *Mithridates* got possession of all *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*; so that he was now master of all the provinces lying between the *Euphrates* on the west, and the *Ganges* on the east [l]. He entertained his royal captive with great humanity, allowed him a maintenance suitable to his rank, and, sending him into *Hyrcania* to reside there, gave him *Rhodagune*, one of his sisters, in marriage [m]. However, he kept him still in captivity, tho' with as much freedom as was consistent with the state of a captive; and at his death, which happened in the thirty seventh year of his reign, left him in this condition to his son *Phrahates*, who succeeded him in the kingdom [n]. The reign of *Mithridates* is looked upon by authors as the epoch of the *Parthian* grandeur; for under him that empire was by far the most powerful and most extensive in the east, all the countries that lie between the *Euphrates* and mount *Caucasus* receiving law from him, and most of the princes of *Asia* being either subdued by him, or obliged to enter into an alliance with him on his own terms. He was

[g] Idem ibid. [h] Vide Vol. VIII. p. 495, & seq. [i] JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5. [k] Vide Vol. IX. p. 10, & seq. [l] JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 6, OROS. l. v. c. 4 [m] JUSTIN. ibid & l. xxxviii. c. 9. [n] Idem, l. xxxviii. c. 9. & l. xlii. c. 1.

a prince

a prince of great courage and reſolution, and at the ſame time had a ſweetneſs of temper, which rendered him amiable to all who approached him. As he conquered many nations, he is ſaid to have carefully examined their various conſtitutions, and, out of the whole collection, to have formed a body of excellent laws for the regulation of his empire; ſo that he was both a great warrior and wiſe lawgiver [o].

Phrahates II. had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the throne, when *Antiochus Sidetes*, king of *Syria*, marched againſt him at the head of a numerous army, under pretence of delivering his brother *Demetrius*, who was ſtill kept in captivity. *Phrahates* marched out againſt him, but was overcome in three ſucceſſive battles, ſtripped of *Meſopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and all the other countries which his father had reduced, and confined within the narrow limits of the firſt *Parthian* kingdom. However, he had the good luck at laſt to retrieve his affairs, and cut off *Antiochus* with his whole army, in the manner we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Syria* [p]. *Phrahates*, flushed with this victory, reſolved to invade *Syria*; but while he was making the neceſſary preparations for this enterprize, he found himſelf engaged in a war at home with the *Scythians* his neighbours. He had called them to his aſſiſtance againſt *Antiochus*; but that prince being overcome, and his army intirely defeated before their arrival, he refuſed to pay them the ſum which had been promiſed them. Hereupon the *Scythians*, falling upon the country which they were come to defend, commited every-where moſt dreadful ravages [q]. *Phrahates*, having thus drawn upon himſelf a war with the *Scythians*, in order to ſtrengthen his army againſt ſo brave and powerful an enemy, took into his ſervice all the *Greek* mercenaries, who, having followed *Antiochus* king of *Syria* in his *Parthian* expedition, had been taken priſoners in the late overthrow of that prince. As theſe *Greeks* had been treated by the *Parthians* with great haughtineſs and cruelty during their captivity, they no ſooner got arms into their hands, but they reſolved to be revenged on them; and accordingly, in the firſt engagement, they went all in a body over to the *Scythians*, and, in conjunction with them, falling upon the *Parthians*, cut their army to pieces, killed their king, and laid waſte their country [r]. After this, both the

Phrahates II.

[o] DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt Valeſii, p. 361. [p] Vol. IX. p. 15, & ſeq. [q] JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 1. [r] Idem ibid.

Greeks

Greeks and *Scythians* returned to their own countries; and, on their departure, *Artabanus*, the third ſon of *Pampatius*, and uncle to the deceaſed king, took poſſeſſion of the crown, which he held a very ſhort time, being killed a few days after in battle by the *Thogarians*, another nation of the *Scythian* race [r].

Artabanus I.

Pacorus I. *Artabanus* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pacorus* I. who, hearing of the great exploits of the *Romans*, ſent embaſſadors to *Sylla*, who was then in *Cappadocia*, to deſire the friendſhip and alliance of ſo powerful a people. The *Parthians*, tho' the moſt warlike and wealthy nation in *Aſia*, were at that time ſcarce known at *Rome*. *Sylla* therefore was overjoyed to hear, that their king had reſolved to ſend embaſſadors to him, and looked upon it as one of the moſt fortunate occurrences of his life, that he ſhould be the firſt *Roman*, to whom ſo great and gallant a nation ſhould apply for an alliance with the people of *Rome*. He was then only prætor, and had been ſent by the ſenate to reſtore *Ariobarzanes*, king of *Cappadocia*, to the throne, whence he had been driven by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*. However, to dazzle the eyes of the embaſſadors with an air of grandeur, he took great ſtate upon him in the audience he gave them; for in the place where he received them, he ordered three ſeats to be put; one in the middle for himſelf, that on the right hand for king *Ariobarzanes*, and the other on the left for *Oromazes*, the chief of the embaſſy. This compliance of the *Parthian* embaſſador coſt him his life, *Pacorus* having cauſed him to be beheaded on his return, for debaſing the majeſty of the *Parthian* monarchy, by giving place to a *Roman* prætor [s]. However, *Pacorus* afterwards ſent embaſſadors to *Lucullus*, to renew the alliance he had concluded with *Sylla*. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Phrahates* III. who taking under his protection *Tigranes*, the ſon of *Tigranes the Great*, king of *Armenia*, gave him his daughter in marriage, and invading *Armenia* laid ſiege to *Artaxata*, with a deſign to drive the father from the throne, and place the ſon on it in his room. But, on the approach of *Pompey*, he thought fit to withdraw, and, by a ſolemn embaſſy, to renew the alliance which his father had concluded, firſt with *Sylla*, and afterwards with *Lucullus* [t]. He was, not long after, murdered by his own children, *Mithridates* and *Orodes*, in the twelfth year of his reign. Upon his death, *Orodes*, who was the elder brother, took poſſeſſion of the throne; but

Phrahates III.

Orodes.

[r] Idem ibid. [s] PLUT. in Syll. VEL. PATERCUL. l. ii. 24.
[t] DION, l. xxxvi. p. 22. LIV. epit. l. 100.

was

was soon driven out by *Mithridates*, who, making himself odious to the *Parthians* by his cruelties, was, in his turn, obliged to abandon the kingdom, and shelter himself with *Gabinius* governor of *Syria*. On his flight *Orodes* was replaced on the throne, by means of one *Surenas*, who, next to the king, held the first place of honour and power in the kingdom, and had always adhered to the interest of *Orodes*. *Gabinius* was easily prevailed upon to undertake the restoring of *Mithridates*; for as his heart was intirely bent upon gain, he wanted only a pretence to invade *Parthia*, knowing that it was at that time a wealthy nation. Accordingly he set out on his march, taking *Mithridates* along with him for his guide; but after he had passed the *Euphrates*, being accosted by *Ptolemy Auletes* king of *Egypt*, who offered him ten thousand talents on condition he restored him to his kingdom, the corrupt governor, dropping his former enterprize, repassed the *Euphrates*, and marched directly into *Egypt*, leaving *Mithridates* to shift for himself. The *Parthian*, seeing himself thus abandoned by *Gabinius*, raised what troops he could, and, returning into *Babylonia*, seized *Seleucia*, where he was closely besieged by *Orodes*, and in a short time reduced to such straits, that he was obliged to surrender at discretion. *Orodes* no sooner got him into his power, but, considering him as an enemy, and not as a brother, he caused him to be put to death, and was himself an eye-witness of that cruel execution [w]. We must not confound, as *Justin* has done, this *Mithridates* with *Mithridates* II. of whom we have spoke above, it being plain from *Plutarch*, *Dion*, *Florus*, *Xiphilinus*, and from the very prologue of the forty second book of *Trogus Pompeius*, whom *Justin* has epitomized, that *Mithridates* II. and *Mithridates* the brother of *Orodes*, were two different princes. The former, by his many conquests and noble exploits, acquired the surname of *Great*; whereas the latter did nothing worth mentioning.

Mithridates II.

Mithridates *put to death by his brother* Orodes.

Orodes, by the death of his brother, became sole master of the whole *Parthian* empire; but did not long enjoy it in peace, a violent storm breaking out at a time, and from a quarter he least expected it. *M. Licinius Crassus* had been lately created consul at *Rome* the second time with *Pompey*; and in the partition of the provinces, had obtained, in virtue of a law made by *C. Trebonius* tribune of the people, *Syria*, with the neighbouring provinces. To *Pompey* the two *Spains* were assigned, with all the provinces of *Africa*. By the

[w] DION, l. xxxix. APPIAN. in Parthic. p. 134, 140, 141, & in Syriac. p. 120. JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 4.

Treboniau law they were both impowered to hold their provinces for the ſpace of five years, to raiſe what forces they ſhould think proper, and to make peace or war with whom they pleaſed, according to their own judgment, without having recourſe to the ſenate or people of *Rome*, as all other governors had ever before been obliged to do [x]. *Craſſus* was, according to *Plutarch* [y], a man of known valour and great experience in war, and had, on many occaſions, given ſignal proofs of both in the armies of *Sylla*, under whom he had learnt the military art. He was likewiſe an eloquent orator, well verſed in hiſtory, acquainted with *Ariſtotle's* philoſophy, and deemed one of the beſt antiquaries of his time. His obliging behaviour, his wonderful addreſs and affability, prejudiced people at firſt in his favour, and gained upon their affections; but his inſatiable avarice made all his good qualities in a manner overlooked; for though he was born of a rich family, and heir to a great eſtate, yet he let no means of increaſing his revenues eſcape him, and often uſed ſuch as were wholly unworthy his birth and rank, being of opinion, as he himſelf declared, that no citizen was to be accounted a rich man, till he was able to maintain an army at his own expence. As he had therefore uſed all his intereſt to obtain the province of *Syria*, ſo he was overjoyed when it was conferred upon him for ſuch a term of years, and with ſo unbounded a power and authority, being reſolved to carry the war into *Parthia*, in hopes of enriching himſelf with the ſpoils of that nation, which was deemed very rich, as never having been ſubdued by any foreign enemy. He was ſo tranſported with joy at the thoughts of the immenſe treaſures, which, he took for granted, he was to bring back with him from *Parthia*, that he could not forbear talking of his intended expedition in a manner unworthy of his age and character, even with perſons whom he ſcarce knew. He did not confine his view to *Syria* alone, or *Parthia*, but flattered himſelf with atchieving ſuch things, as ſhould eclipſe the great exploits of *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, and *Sylla* himſelf, whoſe names had ſpread terror over all the nations of the eaſt. He fancied himſelf already on the banks of the *Indus* and the *Ganges*, and over-ran in his thoughts *Bactria*, *India*, and the moſt remote provinces of *Aſia*, beyond the boundaries of *Alexander*'s conqueſts. Intoxicated with theſe hopes, he began, towards the end of his conſulſhip, to make his levies, and form the legions, which were to attend him into *Syria*.

M. Licinius Craſſus reſolves to make war on the Parthians.

[x] Liv. l. cv. Plut. in Craſſo, Pomp. & Cat. Min. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. p. 437, 438. Dio, l. xxxix. [y] Plut. in Craſſo.

ria. But ſome of the tribunes of the people, diſapproving his deſign of making war upon the *Parthians*, who had entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and religiouſly obſerved their engagements, did all that lay in their power to reverſe the *plebiſcitum* or decree of the people, paſſed at the inſtigation of *Trebonius*, who was now out of office. *Ateius Capito*, one of the tribunes, having ſtirred up the people, by repreſenting to them how baſe and ſhameful a thing it was to diſturb the tranquillity of a peaceable nation, who had done the *Romans* no injury, would have arreſted *Craſſus*, though conſul, if eight other tribunes had not oppoſed the violence of their collegue, and reſcued *Craſſus* out of the hands of the officer who had ſeized him. When the conſul, after performing, as uſual, his vows in the capitol, was ready to ſet out for his province, *Ateius* aſſembled the people, prepared to obſtruct his departure; which *Craſſus* being alarmed at, deſired *Pompey* to accompany him to the gates of the city; which he did accordingly, keeping in awe by his preſence, as he was greatly revered by the people, thoſe who had moſt zealouſly oppoſed the conſul's expedition. *Ateius*, ſeeing he could not prevent the departure of *Craſſus*, haſtened to the gate of the city, through which he was to paſs; and there having ordered a fire to be kindled, as ſoon as *Craſſus* appeared, he threw ſome perfumes into it, and, invoking the infernal gods, uttered a thouſand imprecations againſt *Craſſus*, which made all thoſe, who heard them, tremble with horror [z]. Tho' *Craſſus* took no notice of theſe curſes, yet the ſuperſtitious *Romans* aſcribed to them all the misfortunes and calamities which befel him, and thoſe who attended him in this fatal expedition (D); whereas they were owing, as we ſhall ſee anon, to a quite different cauſe.

Is oppoſed in vain by Capito, *tribune of the people.*

Craſſus

[z] DIO. & Plut. ibid. Flor l. iii. c. 11. VELL PATERCUL. l. ii c. 46. APPIAN. bell. civil. p. 438.

(D) *Florus* tells us, that *Craſſus*, on his ſetting out from *Rome*, was curſed by *Metellus* tribune of the people (12); and *Velleius Paterculus* (13), *Appian* (14), and *Dion* (15), that he was curſed by all the tribunes, but eſpecially by *Ateius*, who ſignalized himſelf on that occaſion.

(12) *Flor. l iii. c.* 11. (13) *Vell. Paterc. l. ii c.* 46. (14) *Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. p.* 438. (15) *Dio, l xlix.*

Sets out from Rome. Year of the flood, 2944. Before Chriſt 55.

Craſſus having, with the aſſiſtance of *Pompey*, got ſafe out of *Rome*, purſued his march to *Brunduſium*; where he immediately embarked his men on board ſeveral tranſports, and, notwithſtanding the wind blew then very high, ſet ſail for *Aſia*, and, with much ado, reached the ports of *Galatia*, having loſt many ſhips in his paſſage. Soon after his landing he had an interview with *Dejotarus* king of *Galatia*, who, though ſtricken in years, was at that time employed in building a new city. *Craſſus*, thinking this an unſeaſonable undertaking, ſaid pleaſantly, *You begin, O king, full late to build a city at the twelfth hour of the day.* The twelfth hour was, with the *Romans*, the laſt of the day. As *Craſſus* was upwards of ſixty, and looked older than he was, *Dejotarus* replied, *And you, O general, are not too early in your expedition againſt the* Parthians [a].

Plunders the temple of Jeruſalem.

FROM *Galatia Craſſus* purſued his march into *Syria*, the province allotted to him; and being there informed, that immenſe treaſures were lodged in the temple of *Jeruſalem*, which *Pompey* had not ventured to touch, he marched thither with part of his army, in order to ſeize them. *Eleazar*, one of the prieſts and at that time keeper of the ſacred treaſure, had under his charge, beſides many other things of an ineſtimable value, a rafter of maſſy gold, weighing three thouſand *Hebrew* pounds, or ſeven hundred and fifty common pounds. This, for the better ſecuring of it, he had incloſed into a beam made hollow for that purpoſe, and placed the beam over the entrance from the holy place into the holy of holies, hanging from it the veil which parted thoſe two places. *Eleazar*, who was apprized of the motive of *Craſſus*'s march to *Jeruſalem*, to ſave the other ornaments of the temple, and the riches which were depoſited there by private perſons, diſcovered the golden rafter to *Craſſus*, and ſuffered him to take it away, after

[a] PLUT. ibid.

——— *Craſſumque in bella ſecutæ*
Sæva tribunitiæ moverunt prælia diræ,

ſays *Lucan* (16). *Craſſus* the night before he ſet out for his province, ſupped with *Cicero*, in the gardens of his ſon-in-law *Craſſipes* (17). From thence *Cicero* removed to *Tuſculanum*, and *Craſſus* haſtened to *Brunduſium* in his military habit, being reſolved, in ſpite of the tribunes, to make war on the *Parthians* (18).

(16) *Lucan. l. iii.* (17) *Cic. epiſt familiar. l. i. epiſt.* 9. (18) *Idem, l. iv. ad Attic. epiſt.* 12. *& l. ii. de divinat.*

having

having made him ſolemnly promiſe with an oath, that he would meddle with nothing elſe. But *Craſſus* no ſooner received it, than forgetting his oath, he ſeized on the two thouſand talents which *Pompey* had left there untouched; and rummaging the temple, plundered it of every thing elſe which he thought worth taking away, to the value of eight thouſand talents more; ſo that the whole booty, which he ſacrilegiouſly took from thence, amounted to ten thouſand talents [b]; that is, to two millions and upwards of our money. *Joſephus*, who relates this, thinking it would ſcarce be credited by other nations, alledges the authority of *Strabo* and other writers to prove, that immenſe treaſures had been depoſited in the temple, by the *Jews* of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Cyrenaica* [c]; but the hiſtorical writings of *Strabo*, which he quotes, have not reached our times.

Craſſus, thinking himſelf now ſufficiently furniſhed for his intended expedition, marched to the *Euphrates*, and having croſſed that river on a bridge of boats, which he threw over it, entered the *Parthian* territories, and began hoſtilities, without any other motive than his inſatiable avarice, and an eager deſire of inriching himſelf with the plunder of a country, which was generally eſteemed very rich. The *Romans* had, by *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, made peace, and entered into alliances with the nation he thus invaded, and no complaints of any infraction or injuries had ever been heard, which might give juſt reaſon for a war; ſo that the *Parthians*, expecting nothing leſs than ſuch an invaſion, and having made no preparations for their defence, were eaſily driven out of all *Meſopotamia*. The city of *Zenodotia*, which *Stephanus* places near *Nicephorium*, was the only place that made any oppoſition. *Apollonius*, who was governor, or rather tyrant, as *Dio* calls him, of that city, ſent deputies to *Craſſus*, acquainting him, that he was willing to ſurrender up the place to him; but as ſoon as the detachment ſent to take poſſeſſion of it had entered the gate, he ſurrounded them, and cut them in pieces. But both he and the inhabitants paid dear for their treachery; for *Craſſus* having immediately inveſted the city with his whole army, and taken it by aſſault, reduced the inhabitants to ſlavery, confiſcated their goods, and ſold their perſons to the beſt bidder. For this conqueſt and an inconſiderable advantage gained over one *Talymenus Ilaces*, or *Syllaces*, governor of *Meſopotamia*, who, having engaged the *Romans* with a ſmall body of horſe, was

Begins hoſtilities with the Parthians.

And ſeizes great part of Meſopotamia.

[b] JOSEPH. Antiq l. xiv. c. 12.

[c] Idem ibid.

overcome

overcome and wounded, *Craſſus* ſuffered himſelf to be ſaluted by the ſoldiery with the title of *imperator*, which was uſually given after ſome ſignal victory. This turned to his diſgrace, the whole army laughing at his vanity, and expecting little from a general who was thus elated with the leaſt ſucceſs [d]. The other cities made no reſiſtance; ſo that he over-ran all *Meſopotamia*, and might, if he had taken advantage of the conſternation the *Parthians* were in, have penetrated as far as *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*, and made himſelf maſter of *Babylonia* as well as *Meſopotamia*; but, inſtead of purſuing the career he had begun, in the beginning of the autumn he repaſſed the *Euphrates*, and, leaving only ſeven thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe to gariſon the places he had taken, put his army into winter-quarters in the cities of *Syria*. This was undoubtedly the greateſt fault *Craſſus* committed in his *Parthian* expedition, after that of his undertaking it upon moſt unjuſt motives; for his haſty retreat gave the enemy time to recover from the terror which his arms had ſpread all over the eaſt, and to raiſe an army againſt the enſuing year, which the *Romans* could not withſtand. On his return into *Syria*, he was joined by his ſon, at the head of a thouſand choſen horſe. This young *Roman* had ſerved under *Cæſar* in *Gaul*, in quality of his lieutenant, and had been honoured with ſeveral military crowns, which generals uſed to beſtow on ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour. When *Cæſar* underſtood that his father had begun the war with the *Parthians*, he gave him leave to go into the eaſt and ſerve under him; and indeed *Cæſar* had all along preſſed *Craſſus* to break with the *Parthians*, to force his way into *Bactria*, and from thence into *India*, knowing, that the farther that general, of whoſe power he was jealous, penetrated into the eaſtern countries, the more able he himſelf ſhould be to put in execution his deſign of ſubverting the republic; but the unfortunate young *Craſſus* came into *Aſia*, only to be a witneſs of his father's ill conduct, and to partake of his father's misfortunes [e].

His extortions in Syria.

In *Syria Craſſus* ſpent his time more like a publican than a general, being wholly taken up with examining into the revenues of that province, and improving them by the moſt ſhameful methods, in order to amaſs new treaſures. The plunder of the temple of *Jeruſalem* was not the only ſacrilege he was guilty of; he robbed in like manner all the temples of *Syria*, appropriating to his own uſe their rich ornaments and

[d] Dio, l. xl. Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [e] Plutarch. & Dio, ibid.

furniture.

furniture. The temple of the *Syrian* goddeſs, named *Atargetis*, at *Hierapolis*, which ſome writers call *Bambyces*, others *Edeſſa*, and the *Syrians Magog*, was famous all over the eaſt, on account of the immenſe treaſures laid up there, as being the collection of many years. Theſe the avaricious proconſul ſeized; and leſt any of the rich vaſes and ornaments ſhould be embezzled, he ſpent a great deal of his time in ſeeing the money counted, and the gold and ſilver veſſels weighed before him [r]. Having thus ranſacked all the temples and ſacred places within the limits of his province, which *Gabinius* himſelf, his predeceſſor, had ſpared, he began to load the *Syrians* with ſuch taxes as reduced them to beggary. He commanded all the cities of his province to furniſh him each with a certain number of men, and then diſcharged them for a ſum of money. No one could obtain juſtice without a large bribe, nor redeem themſelves from the inſolence of the ſoldiers, without advancing a large ſum to the general. In ſhort, there was not any means of amaſſing money, how unjuſt or oppreſſive ſoever, which he did not uſe, as if he had been ſent, not to govern, but to plunder, the province. In the mean time, the military diſcipline was entirely neglected, the ſoldiers lived in their quarters without any order, and the whole army gave themſelves up to idleneſs, debauchery, and all manner of effeminate pleaſures. We are told, that as *Craſſus* was going out of the temple of *Hierapolis*, which he had plundered, his ſon, who walked before, ſtumbled at the threſhold, and falling pulled down his father with him. This was interpreted by the ſoothſayers as a very bad omen; but the intire neglect of military diſcipline was the ſureſt preſage of the misfortunes, which afterwards befel both his ſon and the whole army.

His interview with the Parthian embaſſadors.

Craſſus having thus ſpent the winter, early in the ſpring drew together his troops out of their ſeveral quarters, in order to purſue the war which he had begun with the *Parthians*. As *Orodes* their king was a very warlike prince, he had, during the winter, aſſembled a numerous army; but, before he entered with it upon action, he ſent embaſſadors to the *Roman* general, to know for what reaſon he made war upon him. The embaſſadors arrived in *Syria* while *Craſſus* was aſſembling his troops, and being introduced to him, firſt put him in mind of the alliance which the *Parthians* had concluded with *Sylla* and *Pompey*, and then told him, that if he was ſent a-

[r] STRABO. l. xvi. p. 748 PLIN. l. v. c. 23 PLUT. & DIO. ibid.

againſt

gainſt the *Parthians* by the people of *Rome*, they did not pretend he ſhould diſobey his orders, ſince in that caſe a war muſt enſue, which could not be terminated but by the final ruin of one of the empires; but if *Craſſus*, as they had been informed, had undertaken this war, contrary to the inclinations of the people of *Rome*, to ſatiate his private intereſt, that the king their maſter, pitying his old age, would ſuffer the *Romans* he had left in *Meſopotamia*, where they were rather beſieged than in gariſon, to retire unmoleſted. *Craſſus*, without alledging any pretence for his invading the *Parthian* dominions, anſwered this ſpeech with a rodomontade, ſaying, *that they ſhould have his anſwer at* Seleucia. Hereupon the chief of the embaſſadors, by name *Vageſes* or *Vabiſes*, ſmiling and ſhewing him the palm of his hand, ſaid, *You ſhall ſooner*, *O* Craſſus, *ſee hair grow here, than be maſter of* Seleucia; and, without adding a word more, retired, and acquainted his maſter, that he muſt prepare for war [g].

Orodes finding, on the return of his embaſſadors, that the proconſul was bent on a war, immediately took the field, and, dividing his troops into two bodies, marched in perſon with one to the frontiers of *Armenia*, to make a diverſion there, the king of that country having raiſed a conſiderable army to reinforce the *Romans*. The other he ſent into *Meſopotamia*, under the command of the brave *Surena*, or *Surenas*. This general, if we may depend on the character *Plutarch* gives us of him [h], had all the qualifications that form a conſummate hero. He was deſcended from one of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious families of *Parthia*, and had derived from his anceſtors the right of putting the crown on the king's head at his coronation: To this illuſtrious birth he is ſaid to have joined an extraordinary wiſdom and diſcretion, though he was but thirty years of age, and to have ſurpaſſed in valour and proweſs all men of his time. His valour kept the princes and nations of *Aſia* in awe, and prevented their entering into a confederacy againſt the formidable power of *Parthia*. *Orodes* was indebted to him, as we have hinted above for his crown. The taking of *Seleucia*, when held by *Mithridates*, was chiefly owing to him; for he was the firſt who mounted the ramparts of that capital, ſtruck terror into the enemy's troops, and made them fly before him. His ſtature was majeſtic, his air graceful, and his behaviour towards all extremely obliging. In wealth, power, and authority, he was, next to the king, the firſt man in the kingdom.

The character of Surenas *the* Parthian *general.*

[g] Flor. l. iii c. 11. Plut. Dio, ibid.

[h] Plut. in Craſſo.

dom. His equipage, when he travelled, consisted of a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for the service of his wives and concubines, a thousand horse men completely armed for his guard, and besides a great number of light-armed troops, which with his domestics, amounted to ten thousand more. He is said to have united the luxury of an *Asiatic* with the intrepidity of a conqueror; for he carried with him whatever could contribute to his pleasures, and at the same time was ready to expose himself to the greatest dangers, being always at the head of the troops he commanded in the most perilous and desperate enterprizes. Though his courage was such as to brave death in a breach or battle, yet he was not ashamed to paint his face and perfume his hair, after the manner of the effeminate *Medes*; whereas the *Parthians* marched against the enemy with their hair in disorder, and making as hideous a figure as they could, to strike the more terror [1].

Surenas retakes most of the cities of Mesopotamia.

BUT, to resume the thread of our history, *Orodes* having divided his army into two bodies, *Surenas* marched with that which was under his command into *Mesopotamia*, where he soon retook most of the cities which *Crassus* had made himself master of the year before. Hereupon several *Roman* soldiers, who garisoned the other places, making their escape out of *Mesopotamia*, fled to *Crassus*, and filled his camp with a terrible report of the number, power, and strength of the enemy. They told their fellow-soldiers, that the *Parthian* troops were very numerous, brave, and well disciplined; that it was impossible to overtake them when they fled, or escape them when they pursued; that their defensive arms were proof against the *Roman* darts, and their offensive weapons so sharp, that no buckler was fence against them, *&c. Crassus* looked upon this account only as the effect of a panic and cowardly fear; but the common soldiers, and many of the chief officers, were so disheartened at it, that the quæstor *Caius Cassius*, the same who afterwards conspired against *Cæsar*, and most of the legionary tribunes, advised *Crassus* to suspend his march, and deliberate with more leisure on the enterprize, before he proceeded farther in it. But *Crassus* obstinately persisted in his former resolution, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, being confirmed therein by the arrival of *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*, who brought with him six thousand horse, which were only his guard, and promised to send to the proconsul ten thousand cuiraſſiers and thirty thousand foot, whenever he should stand in need of them.

[1] PLUT. ibid & APPIAN in Parthic.

At the ſame time he adviſed him by no means to march his army through the plains of *Meſopotamia*, but to take his rout over the mountains of *Armenia*. The reaſons with which he ſupported this advice were, that as *Armenia* was a mountainous country, the *Parthian* horſe, in which the main ſtrength of their army conſiſted, would prove there intirely uſeleſs; and beſides, that if he took this rout, his army ſhould be plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſaries: whereas, if he marched by the way of *Meſopotamia*, he would be perpetually haraſſed by the *Parthian* horſe, and often be obliged to lead his army through ſandy deſerts, where he would be diſtreſſed for want of water and all other proviſions. This was the beſt advice that could be given him, and the reaſons for it were unanſwerable; but *Craſſus*, deſpiſing all that was ſaid to him, told *Artabazes*, that as he had left many valiant *Romans* to garriſon the towns, which he had made himſelf maſter of the laſt year in *Meſopotamia*, he was obliged to take that rout, leſt they ſhould be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy; but as to the auxiliaries the king of *Armenia* had offered him, he willingly accepted them, and deſired *Artabazes* to ſend them to him with all poſſible expedition. Thus *Craſſus*, hearkening to no advice but what tended to his ruin, ſet out on his march for *Meſopotamia*. *Dion Caſſius*, a judicious hiſtorian and at the ſame time an experienced warrior, obſerves here, that the *Romans* under the command of *Craſſus* were on all occaſions, either ignorant of what was neceſſarily to be done, or in no condition to execute it; and adds, that one would have thought they had been blinded and perſecuted by ſome divinity, ſince they could neither make uſe of their minds nor bodies. This divinity was, no doubt, the true God, tho' unknown to *Dion*, who thus revenged the robbing and profaning his holy temple at *Jeruſalem*.

Craſſus deſpiſes the advice of the king of Armenia.

Enters Meſopotamia, contrary to the advice of all his officers.

The proconſul, being greatly encouraged by the proſpect of the reinforcement promiſed him by the king of *Armenia*, began his march, and, contrary to the advice of his chief officers, advanced to the frontiers of *Meſopotamia*. He had under his command ſeven legions, four thouſand horſe, and a great many auxiliaries, the whole army amounting to forty thouſand men and upwards. With theſe he paſſed the *Euphrates*, near the city of *Zeugma*, in the province of *Comagene* (E), and again entered *Meſopotamia*. *Plutarch*, *Dion Caſſius*,

(E) *Strabo* and *Pliny* place the city of *Zeugma* in *Comagene*, a province of *Syria*, and tell us, that it was ſo called from a bridge built here over the *Euphrates*, the word Ζευγμα in the *Greek* tongue ſignifying *a bridge*. This bridge was, according to *Dion Caſſius* and

Caſſius, and *Julius Obſequens* ſpeak of many prodigies, by which the gods declared before-hand, that they did not approve of this expedition, and gave him warning of the ill ſucceſs that would attend it. While the troops were paſſing the *Euphrates*, the ſky was all on a ſudden overcaſt, and ſo dreadful a ſtorm aroſe, that the ſoldiers were filled with fear and conſternation. The inceſſant claps of thunder, the flaſhes of lightning that followed one another, and the violent wind which blew in the ſoldiers faces, ſeemed to have been ſent by the gods, on purpoſe to put a ſtop to their march. Part of the bridge was broke down by the wind and lightning while the army was paſſing. The horſe which *Craſſus* uſed to ride in battle, fell into the river, and was drowned with the groom who led him. The golden eagle, which was the chief ſtandard of the army, is ſaid to have turned about of it ſelf on the ſtaff on which it was fixed. Many other ſtandards were, by the violence of the wind, blown into the river, and loſt. While *Craſſus* was offering the uſual ſacrifices for the purifying of the troops, he let fall the entrails of the victim, which the prieſts had, according to cuſtom, put into his hands. From this event the ſoldiery drew bad preſages; but the general, deriding their ſuperſtition, told them, That they had no occaſion to be afraid, for his arms ſhould not ſlip out of his hands in the ſame manner [k].

THE army having thus croſſed the *Euphrates*, and entered the enemy's country, *Caſſius* adviſed the proconſul to advance to ſome of the towns in which he had left gariſons, and there reſt and refreſh his troops, till he had got certain intelligence of the number, ſtrength, and power of the enemy; but, if he did not approve of this counſel, he thought the beſt thing he could do was to march along the *Euphrates* to *Seleucia*; for, by keeping cloſe to that river, he would avoid being ſurrounded by the *Parthians*, and at the ſame time be plentifully ſupplied, by means of his ſhips, with all neceſſary proviſions. *Craſſus* ſeemed to approve of this advice, and was ready to come into it, when *Abgarus* king of *Edeſſa*, of whom we have ſpoke in a former volume, arrived at the

[k] PLUT. & DION. ibid.

and *Stephanus*, the work of *Alexander the Great*. But it is not at all probable, that *Alexander* ſhould have gone ſo far as *Comagene* to croſs the *Euphrates*; and beſides, *Arrian* tells us, that he led his army over that river at *Thapſacus*, after having repaired a bridge there, which had been deſtroyed by the *Perſians*, in order to prevent him from entering *Meſopotamia*.

Betrayed by Abgarus *king of* Edeſſa.

Roman camp, and prevailed upon the proconſul to follow a quite different plan. *Abgarus*, as he had formerly ſerved under *Pompey*, was well known in the *Roman* army, and looked upon by the ſoldiery as a friend; but in reality was a traitor, and ſent by *Surenas*, with whom he kept a private correſpondence, on purpoſe to bring about the deſtruction of *Craſſus*; and this part he acted ſo well, that the ruin of the *Roman* army was chiefly owing to him. In the firſt interview he had with the *Roman* general, he told him, that he wanted wings and feet more than arms againſt a nation that was ready, on his approach, to withdraw with their moſt valuable effects into *Scythia* and *Hyrcania*; that they had not courage enough to look the *Romans* in the face; that the name of *Craſſus* had already ſpread a general terror among their troops, and that there wanted no more for the obtaining of a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered himſelf for a guide to lead them the ſhorteſt way to the enemy; and *Craſſus*, blinded with his flattering ſpeeches, gave intirely into the ſnare, and followed the traitor, who had ſo ſtrongly inſinuated himſelf into his favour, that he would hearken to no-body but him. Under the conduct of this crafty and treacherous guide, they firſt entered into a vaſt green plain, divided by many rivulets; and their march proved very eaſy croſs this delicious country: but the farther they advanced, the worſe the roads grew, inſomuch that they were obliged at laſt to climb up mountains and rocks, which brought them to a dry and ſandy plain, where they could neither find food to ſatisfy their hunger, nor water to quench their thirſt. Then *Abgarus* began to be ſuſpected by the tribunes, and other officers, who earneſtly preſſed their general to follow him no longer, but to retreat to the mountains. At the ſame time an expreſs arrived from *Artabazes*, acquainting *Craſſus*, that *Orodes* had invaded his kingdom at the head of a mighty army, and that he was obliged to keep his forces at home for the defence of his own dominions. The ſame meſſenger adviſed the proconſul, in his maſter's name, to avoid by all means the barren plains, where his troops would periſh with hunger, and to take to the mountains, and approach *Armenia*, that they might join their forces againſt the common enemy; but all was to no purpoſe, for *Craſſus*, inſtead of giving ear either to the wiſe counſels of his own officers, or of a king, who was a ſincere and hearty friend to the *Romans*, blindly and obſtinately followed the advice of the treacherous *Abgarus*, or rather his own ill fate; nay, he flew into a violent paſſion againſt the meſſenger ſent him by *Artabazes*, for the

The painful march of the Roman *army.*

treacherous

treacherous advice he had given him [1]. *Caſſius* could not hear this mad anſwer without the greateſt indignation; but *Abgarus* endeavoured to ſoften him, by promiſing to lead the army very ſoon into a delicious and fruitful country beyond the deſerts, which would make them amends for the fatigue they had undergone. As to *Craſſus*, he gave no other anſwer to the complaints of his troops, than that they could not expect to meet with the delights of *Campania* in the moſt remote parts of the world.

THUS they continued their march for ſome days croſs a deſert, the very ſight of which was ſufficient to throw them into the utmoſt deſpair; for they could not perceive either near them, or at a diſtance, the leaſt tree, plant, or brook, not ſo much as a hill, or a ſingle blade of graſs; nothing was to be ſeen all around them but huge heaps of burning ſand. The *Romans* had ſcarce got through this deſert, when word was brought them by their ſcouts, that a numerous army of *Parthians* was advancing full march to attack them; for *Abgarus*, under pretence of going out on parties, had often conferred with *Surenas*, and concerted meaſures with him for deſtroying the *Roman* army. Upon this advice, which occaſioned great confuſion in the camp, the *Romans* being quite exhauſted, and tired out with their long and troubleſome march, *Craſſus* drew up his men in battalia, following at firſt the advice of *Caſſius*, who was for extending the infantry as wide as poſſible, that they might take up the more ground, and by that means prevent the enemy from ſurrounding them; but *Abgarus* aſſuring the proconſul, that the *Parthian* forces were not ſo numerous as was repreſented, he changed this diſpoſition, and believing only the man who betrayed him, drew up his troops in a ſquare, which faced every way, and had on each ſide twelve cohorts in front. Near each cohort he placed a troop of horſe to ſupport them, that they might charge with the greater ſecurity and boldneſs. Thus the whole army looked more like one phalanx, than troops drawn up in *manipuli*, with ſpaces between them, after the *Roman* manner. The general himſelf commanded in the centre, his ſon in the left wing, and *Caſſius* in the right. In this order they advanced to the banks of a ſmall river called the *Baliſſus*, the ſight of which was very pleaſing to the ſoldiers, who were much haraſſed with drought and exceſſive heat. Moſt of the officers were for encamping on the banks of this river, or rather rivulet, to give the troops time to refreſh themſelves after the fatigues

The imprudent conduct of Craſſus.

[1] PLUT. DION. ibid. APPIAN. in Parthic.

of

of so long and painful a march, and in the mean time to procure certain intelligence of the number and disposition of the *Parthian* army; but *Crassus*, suffering himself to be hurried on by the inconsiderate ardour of his son, and the horse he commanded, only allowed the legions to take a meal standing; and, before this could be done by all, he ordered them to advance, not slowly, and halting now and then, after the *Roman* manner, but as fast as they could move, till they came in sight of the enemy, who, contrary to their expectation, did not appear either so numerous or so terrible as they had been represented. But this was a stratagem of *Surenas*, who had concealed his men in convenient places, ordering them to cover their arms, lest their brightness should betray them, and, starting up at the first signal, attack the enemy on all sides. The stratagem had the desired effect; for *Surenas* no sooner gave the signal, than the *Parthians*, rising as it were out of the ground, with dreadful cries and a most frightful noise, advanced against the *Romans*, who were greatly surprized and dismayed at that sight, and much more so, when the *Parthians*, throwing off the covering of their arms, appeared in shining cuirasses and helmets of burnished steel, finely mounted on horses, covered all over with armour of the same metal. At their head appeared young *Surenas* in a rich dress, and was the first who charged the enemy, endeavouring with his pike-men to break through the first ranks of the *Roman* army; but finding it too close and impenetrable, the cohorts supporting each other, he fell back, and retired in a seeming confusion; but the *Romans* were much surprized, when they saw themselves suddenly surrounded on all sides, and galled with continual showers of arrows. *Crassus* ordered his light-armed foot and archers to advance and charge the enemy; but they were soon repulsed, and forced to cover themselves behind the heavy-armed foot.

The Roman *army attacked by the* Parthians.

Then the *Parthian* horse advancing near the *Romans*, discharged showers of arrows upon them, every one of which did execution, the legionaries being drawn up in such close order, that it was impossible for the enemy to miss their aim. As their arrrows were of an extraordinary weight, and discharged with incredible force and impetuosity, nothing was proof against them. The two wings advanced in good order to repulse them, but to no effect; for the *Parthians* shot their arrows with as great dexterity when their backs were turned, as when they faced the enemy; so that the *Romans*, whether they kept their ground, or pursued their flying enemy, were equally annoyed with their fatal arrows.

The Romans *galled by the arrows of the* Parthians.

THE

THE *Romans*, as long as they had any hopes that the *Parthians*, after having ſpent their arrows, would either betake themſelves to flight, or engage them hand to hand, ſtood their ground with great reſolution and intrepidity; but when they obſerved that there were a great many camels in their rear loaded with arrows, and that thoſe who emptied their quivers wheeled about to fill them anew, they began to loſe courage, and loudly to complain of their general for ſuffering them thus to ſtand ſtill, and ſerve only as a butt to the enemy's arrows, which, they well ſaw, would not be exhauſted till they were all killed to a man. Hereupon *Craſſus* ordered his ſon to advance at all adventures, and attack the enemy with thirteen hundred horſe, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts. But the *Parthians* no ſooner ſaw this choice body, for it was the flower of the army, marching up againſt them, but they wheeled about, and betook themſelves, according to their cuſtom, to flight. Hereupon young *Craſſus*, crying out as loud as he could, *They fly before us*, puſhed on full ſpeed after them, not doubting but he ſhould gain a complete victory; but when he was at a great diſtance from the main body of the *Roman* army, he perceived his miſtake, for thoſe, who before had fled, facing about, charged him with incredible fury. Young *Craſſus* ordered his troops to halt, hoping that the enemy, upon ſeeing their ſmall number, would not be afraid to come to a cloſe fight; but herein he was likewiſe greatly diſappointed, for the *Parthians*, contenting themſelves to oppoſe his front with their heavy-armed horſe, ſurrounded him on all ſides, and, keeping at a diſtance, diſcharged inceſſant ſhowers of arrows upon the unfortunate *Romans*, thus ſurrounded and pent up. The *Parthian* cavalry, in wheeling about, raiſed ſo thick a duſt, that the *Romans* could ſcarce ſee one another, much leſs the enemy; nevertheleſs they found themſelves wounded with arrows, tho' they could not perceive whence they came. In a ſhort time the place where they ſtood was all ſtrown with dead bodies. Some of the unhappy *Romans* finding their entrails tore, and many overcome by the exquiſite torments they ſuffered, rolled themſelves on the ſand with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner. Others endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, only made their wounds the larger, and increaſed their pain. Moſt of them died in this manner, and thoſe who outlived their companions, were no more in a condition to act; for when young *Craſſus* exhorted them to march up to the enemy, ſome ſhewed him their wounded bodies, others their hands nailed to their bucklers, and ſome their feet pierced through and pinned to the

Young Craſſus advances againſt the enemy.

Is reduced to great ſtraits.

the ground; so that it was equally impossible for them either to attack the enemy, or defend themselves. The young commander therefore, leaving his infantry to the mercy of the enemy, advanced at the head of the cavalry against their heavy-armed horse. The thousand *Gauls*, whom he had brought with him from the west, charged the enemy with incredible boldness and vigour; but their lances did little execution on men armed with cuirasses, and horses covered with tried armour. However, they behaved with great resolution; for some of them taking hold of the enemies spears and closing with them, threw them off their horses on the ground, where they lay without being able to stir, by reason of the great weight of their armour; others dismounting crept under the enemies horses, and thrusting their swords into their bellies, made them throw their riders. Thus the brave *Gauls* fought tho' greatly harassed with heat and thirst, which they were not accustomed to bear, till most of their horses were killed, and their commander dangerously wounded. They then thought it advisable to retire to their infantry, which they no sooner joined, than the *Parthians* invested them anew, making a most dreadful havock of them with their arrows. In this desperate condition, *Crassus* spying a rising ground at a small distance, led the remains of his detachment thither, with a design to defend himself in the best manner he could, till succours should be sent him from his father. The *Parthians* pursued him, and, having surrounded him in his new post, continued showering arrows upon his men, till most of them were either killed or disabled, without being able to make use of their arms, or give the enemy proofs of their valour.

YOUNG *Crassus* had two *Greeks* with him, who had settled in the city of *Carrhæ*. These touched with compassion in seeing so brave a man reduced to such straits, pressed him to retire with them to the neighbouring city of *Ischnes*, which had declared for the *Romans*; but the young *Roman* rejected their proposal with indignation, telling them, that he would rather die a thousand times, than abandon so many valiant men, who sacrificed their lives for his sake. Having returned this answer to his two *Greek* friends, he embraced and dismissed them, giving them leave to retire and shift for themselves in the best manner they could. As for himself, having now lost all hopes of being relieved, and seeing most of his men and friends killed round him, he gave way to his grief, and not being able to make use of his arm, which was shot through with a large barbed arrow, he presented his side to one of his attendants, and ordered him to put an end to his unhappy life.

His

His example was followed by *Cenſorinus* a ſenator, by *Megabacchus* an experienced and brave officer, and by moſt of the nobility who ſerved under him. Five hundred common ſoldiers were taken priſoners, and the reſt cut in pieces. *His death.*

THE *Parthians* having cut off or taken the whole detachment commanded by young *Craſſus*, marched without delay againſt his father, who upon the firſt advice that the enemy fled before his ſon and was cloſely purſued by him, had taken heart, the more becauſe thoſe, who had remained to make head againſt him, ſeemed to abate much of their ardour, the greateſt part of them having marched with the reſt againſt his ſon. Wherefore having encouraged his troops, he had retired to a ſmall hill in his rear, to wait there till his ſon returned from the purſuit. Young *Craſſus*, had diſpatched frequent expreſſes to his father, to acquaint him with the danger he was in; but they had fallen into the enemies hands, and been by them put to the ſword. Only the laſt, who had eſcaped with great difficulty, arrived ſafe, and informed him that his ſon was loſt, if he did not ſend him an immediate and powerful reinforcement. This news threw *Craſſus* into the utmoſt conſternation; a thouſand affecting thoughts roſe in his mind, and diſturbed his reaſon to ſuch a degree, that he ſcarce knew what he was doing. However, the deſire he had of ſaving his ſon and ſo many brave *Romans*, who were under his command, made him immediately decamp and march to their aſſiſtance; but he was not gone far, before he was met by the *Parthians*, who, with loud ſhouts and ſongs of victory, gave, at a great diſtance the unhappy father notice of his misfortune. They had cut off young *Craſſus*'s head, and, having fixed it on the point of a lance, were advancing full ſpeed to fall on the father. As they drew near *Craſſus* was ſtruck with that diſmal and affecting ſight, but on this occaſion behaved like a hero; for tho' he was under the deepeſt concern, he had the preſence of mind to ſtifle his grief, for fear of diſcouraging the army, and to cry out to the diſmayed troops, *This misfortune is entirely mine; the loſs of one man cannot affect the victory: let us charge, let us fight like* Romans; *if you have any compaſſion for a father who has juſt now loſt a ſon, whoſe valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and reſentment againſt theſe inſulting barbarians.* Thus *Craſſus* ſtrove to reanimate his troops; but his efforts were unſucceſsful: their courage was quite ſunk, as appeared from the faint and languiſhing ſhout which they raiſed, according to cuſtom, before the action. When the ſignal was given, the *Parthians* keeping to their old way of *The whole* Parthian *army falls upon* Craſſus.

fighting discharged clouds of arrows on the legionaries, without drawing near them, which did such dreadful execution, that many of the *Romans*, to avoid the arrows, which occasioned a long and painful death, threw themselves like men in despair, on the enemy's heavy-armed horse, seeking from their spears a more quick and easy kind of death. Thus the *Parthians* continued plying them incessantly with their arrows till night, when they left the field of battle, crying out, that they would allow the father one night to lament the death of his son.

Desperate condition of the Romans.

This was a melancholy night for the *Romans*. *Crassus* kept himself concealed from the soldiery, lying not in the general's tent, but in the open air, and on the bare ground, with his head wrapped up in his *paludamentum* or military cloke, and was, in that forlorn condition, says *Plutarch*, a great example to the vulgar of the instability of fortune; to the wise a still greater of the pernicious effects of avarice, temerity, and ambition. *Octavius*, one of his lieutenants, and *Cassius*, approached him, and endeavoured to raise him up and console him; but seeing him quite sunk under the weight of his affliction and deaf to all comfort, they summoned a council of war, composed of all the chief officers, wherein it was unanimously resolved, that they should decamp before break of day, and retire, without sound of trumpet, to the neighbouring city of *Carrhæ*, which was held by a *Roman* garison. Agreeable to this resolution, they began their march as soon as the council broke up; which produced dreadful outcries among the sick and wounded, who, perceiving that they were to be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, filled the camp with their complaints and lamentations; but their cries and tears, though very affecting, did not stop the march of the others, which indeed was very slow, to give the stragglers time to come up. There were only three hundred light horse, under the command of one *Egnatius*, who pursued their march without stopping. These arriving at *Carrhæ* about midnight, *Egnatius*, calling to the centinels on the walls, desired them to acquaint *Coponius* governor of the place, that *Crassus* had fought a great battle with the *Parthians*; and without saying a word more, or letting them know who he was, continued his march with all possible expedition to the bridge of *Zeugma*, which he passed, and by that means saved his troops, but was much blamed for abandoning his general.

Crassus *gets to* Carrhæ.

However, the message he sent to *Coponius* was of great service to *Crassus*; for that commander, wisely conjecturing, from the manner in which the unknown person had given him

that

that intelligence, that ſome misfortune had befallen *Craſſus*, immediately ordered his gariſon to ſtand to their arms, and marching out met *Craſſus*, and conducted him and his army into the city; for the *Parthians*, though informed of his flight, did not offer to purſue him, obſerving therein the ſuperſtitious cuſtom which obtained among them and the *Perſians*, not to fight in the night; but when it was day, they entered the *Roman* camp, and having put all the wounded, to the number of four thouſand, to the ſword, diſperſed their cavalry all over the plain in purſuit of the fugitives. One of *Craſſus*'s lieutenants, named *Vargunteius*, having ſeparated in the night from the main body of the army, with four cohorts, miſſed his way, and was overtaken by the enemy, at whoſe approach he withdrew to a neighbouring hill, where he defended himſelf with great valour, till all his men were killed, except twenty, who made their way through the enemy ſword in hand, and got ſafe to *Carrhæ* [m]; but *Vargunteius* himſelf loſt his life on this occaſion.

IN the mean time *Surenas*, not knowing whether *Craſſus* and *Caſſius* had retired to *Carrhæ*, or taken a different rout, in order to be informed of the truth, and take his meaſures accordingly, diſpatched a meſſenger, who ſpoke the *Roman* language, to the city of *Carrhæ*, injoined him to approach the walls, and acquaint *Craſſus* himſelf or *Caſſius*, that the *Parthian* general was inclined to enter into a treaty with them, and demanded a conference. Both the pro-conſul and his quæſtor *Caſſius* ſpoke from the walls with the meſſenger, and accepting the propoſal with great joy, deſired that the time and place for an interview might be immediately agreed upon. The meſſenger withdrew, promiſing to return quickly with an anſwer from *Surenas*; but that general no ſooner underſtood that *Craſſus* and *Caſſius* were in *Carrhæ*, than he marched thither with his whole army, and, having inveſted the place, acquainted the *Romans*, that, if they expected any favourable terms, they muſt deliver up *Craſſus* and *Caſſius* to him in chains. Hereupon a council of the chief officers being ſummoned, it was thought expedient to retire from *Carrhæ* that very night, and ſeek for another aſylum. It was of the utmoſt importance, that none of the inhabitants of *Carrhæ* ſhould be acquainted with their deſign till the time of its execution; but *Craſſus*, whoſe whole conduct evidently ſhews that he was blinded, as *Dion Caſſius* obſerves, by ſome divinity, imparted the whole matter in confidence to one *Andromachus*, calling

[m] PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid. EUTROP. l. vi. OROS. l. vi. c. 13.

him for his guide, and relying injudiciouſly on the fidelity of a man whom he ſcarce knew. *Andromachus* immediately acquainted *Surenas* with the deſign of the *Romans*, promiſing at the ſame time, as the *Parthians* did not engage in the night, to manage matters ſo, that they ſhould not get out of his reach before day-break. Purſuant to his promiſe, he led them through many windings and turnings, till he brought them into deep marſhy grounds, where the infantry were up to the knees in mire. Then *Caſſius*, ſuſpecting that their guide had led them into thoſe bogs with no good deſign, refuſed to follow him any longer, and returning to *Carrhæ*, took his rout towards *Syria*, which he reached with five hundred horſe. *Octavius*, with five thouſand men under his command, being conducted by truſty guides, gained the mountains, called, by *Plutarch* and *Appian*, *Sinnaci*, and there intrenched himſelf before break of day. As for *Craſſus*, he was ſtill entangled in the marſhes, when *Surenas*, at the riſing of the ſun, overtook him, and inveſted him with his cavalry. The proconſul had with him four cohorts and a ſmall body of horſe; and with theſe he gained, in ſpite of all oppoſition, the ſummit of another hill within twelve furlongs of *Octavius*, who, ſeeing the danger that threatened his general, flew to his aſſiſtance, firſt with a ſmall number of his men, but was ſoon followed by all the reſt, who, being aſhamed of their cowardice, quitted their poſt, tho' very ſafe, and, charging the *Parthians* with great fury, diſengaged *Craſſus*, and obliged the enemy to abandon the hill. Upon the retreat of the enemy, they formed themſelves into a hollow ſquare, and, placing *Craſſus* in the middle, made a kind of rampart round him with their bucklers, reſolutely proteſting, that none of the enemy's arrows ſhould touch their general's body, till they were all killed fighting in his defence. *Surenas*, loth to let ſo fine a prey eſcape, ſurrounded the hill, as if he deſigned to make a new attack; but finding his *Parthians* very backward, and not doubting but the *Romans*, when night came on, would purſue their march and get out of his reach, he had recourſe again to artifice, and declared before ſome priſoners, whom he ſoon after ſet at liberty, that he was inclined to treat with the proconſul of a peace, and that it was better to come to a reconciliation with *Rome*, than to ſow the ſeeds of an eternal war, by ſhedding the blood of one of her generals. Agreeable to this declaration, *Surenas*, as ſoon as the priſoners were releaſed, advanced towards the hill, where the *Romans* were poſted, attended only by ſome of his officers, and, with his bow unbent and open arms, invited *Craſſus* to an interview. So ſudden a change ſeemed very ſuſpicious to the

Caſſius *gets ſafe into* Syria.

Craſſus *betrayed by his guide, is overtaken by the enemy*

Invited by Surenas *to an interview.*

the proconsul, who therefore declined the interview, till he was forced by his own soldiers to intrust his life with an enemy, whose treachery they had all experienced; for the legionaries, flocking round him, not only abused him in an outragious manner, but even menaced him, if he did not accept of the propofals made him by the *Parthian* general. Seeing therefore that the troops were ready to mutiny, he began to advance, without arms or guards, towards the enemy, after having called the gods and his officers to witness the violence his troops offered him, and intreated all who were present, but especially *Octavius* and *Petronius*, two of the chief commanders, for the honour of *Rome* their common mother, not to mention, after his death, the shameful behaviour of the *Roman* legionaries. *Octavius* and *Petronius* could not resolve to let him go alone, but attended him down the hill, as did likewise some legionaries keeping at a distance. *Crassus* was met at the foot of the hill by two *Greeks*, who, dismounting from their horses, saluted him with great respect, and desired him in the *Greek* tongue to send some of his attendants, who might satisfy him, that *Surenas*, and those who were with him, came without arms. Hereupon *Crassus* sent two brothers of the *Roscian* family; but *Surenas* having caused them to be seized, advanced to the foot of the hill mounted on a fine horse, and attended by the chief officers of his army. *Crassus*, who waited for the return of his two messengers, was surprised to see himself prevented by *Surenas* in person, when he least expected it. The *Parthian* general, perceiving as he approached *Crassus*, that he was on foot, cried out in a seeming surprise, *What do I see? a* Roman *general on foot, and we on horseback! Let a horse be brought for him immediately. You need not be surprised*, replied *Crassus*, *we are come only to an interview, each after the custom of his country. Very well*, answered *Surenas*, *there shall be henceforth a lasting peace between king* Orodes *and the people of* Rome; *but we must sign the articles of it on the banks of the* Euphrates; *for you* Romans *do not always remember your conventions.* *Crassus* would have sent for a horse; but a very stately one, with a golden bit and richly caparisoned, was brought to him by a *Parthian*; which *Surenas* presenting to him, *Accept this horse from my hands*, said he, *which I give you in the name of my master king* Orodes. He had scarce uttered these words, when some of the king's officers, taking *Crassus* by the middle, set him up upon the horse, which they began to whip with great violence before them, in order to make him quicken his pace. *Octavius*, offended at this insult, took the horse by the bridle; *Petronius*, and the few *Romans* who were present, seconded

Insulted by the Parthians.

ſeconded him, and flocking all around *Craſſus*, ſtopped his horſe. The *Parthians* endeavoured to repulſe them and cleared the way for the proconſul; whereupon they began to juſtle and puſh one another with great tumult and diſorder. At laſt *Octavius*, drawing his ſword, killed one of the king's grooms; but at the ſame time another coming behind *Octavius*, with one blow laid him dead at his feet. Both parties fought with great reſolution, the *Parthians* ſtriving to carry off *Craſſus*, and the *Romans* to reſcue him out of their hands. In this ſcufle moſt of the *Romans*, who came to the confer-

And killed.

ence, were killed, and among the reſt *Craſſus* himſelf; but whether by a *Roman* or a *Parthian* is uncertain. Some writers tell us, that he fell by the hand of one *Promonæthros* or *Manarthes*, the *Parthians*; but others, with *Livy* [n], *Florus* [o], and *Sextus Rufus* [p], leave it in doubt, whether he was killed by his own men, to prevent his falling alive into the enemy's hands, or by a *Parthian*. However that be, his head and right hand were immediately cut off, in order to be ſent to *Orodes* in *Armenia*, and his mangled body left unburied, to be devoured by the wild beaſts. Upon his death, the reſt of the army either ſurrendered to the enemy, or, diſperſing in the night, were purſued and put to the ſword. The *Romans* loſt in this campaign at leaſt thirty thouſand men, of which twenty thouſand were killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners. The latter continued in captivity among the *Parthians*, and contracting ignominious marriages, to the ſhame of *Rome*, as *Horace* emphatically expreſſes it (F), grew old on the lands, and under the ſtandards of the barbarians. The ſtandards of the vanquiſhed legions were carried to *Seleucia*, and there

His whole army deſtroyed.

[n] Liv. l. cvi. [o] Flor. l. iii. c. 11. [p] Sext. Ruf. in brev.

(F) The words of *Horace* are.

Mileſne Craſſi conjuge barbara
Turpis maritus vixit? & hoſtium
(Proh Curia inverſique mores!)
Conſenuit ſocerorum in armis

Sub rege Medo Marſus & Appulus,
Anciliorum, nominis, & togæ
Oblitus, æternæque Veſtæ,
Incolumi Jove & urbe Roma (19)?

(19) *Horat. carm. l. iii. od. 5.*

ſhew-

ſhewn for many years as ſights; and from this time the *Romans* looked upon the war with the *Parthians* as the moſt important of all their wars, the revenging of the death of *Craſſus* and the recovering of their enſigns being ever after the chief object of their application; but how they ſucceeded herein, we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. This battle is called by the *Latin* authors the battle of *Carrhæ*, becauſe it was fought at a ſmall diſtance from that city, and was, without all doubt, the moſt terrible blow, after the battle of *Cannæ*, which the *Romans* ever received.

Surenas, having thus intirely defeated the *Roman* army, ſet out on his march to *Seleucia*, ſpreading a report, that *Craſſus* was ſtill alive, that he intended to ſhew him to the numerous inhabitants of that great metropolis. His deſign was to entertain them with a comical ſcene, which he projected on his march. There was among the *Roman* captives one *Caius Paccianus*, who greatly reſembled the proconſul *Craſſus*. This man *Surenas* cauſed to be dreſſed after the *Parthian* manner, and having placed him on a ſtately horſe, made him enter *Seleucia* at the head of the army, with twelve lictors carrying before him their faſces and axes. The guards of this mock conſul were mounted on camels, each of them having an empty purſe hanging at his girdle. The bloody heads of ſeveral *Roman* ſoldiers, ſtuck on ſpears, ſerved for trophies, and revived in the minds of the citizens of *Seleucia*, the joy which the firſt news of the late victory had occaſioned in that city. This odd train was followed by a company of lewd women, who with looſe ſongs ſtigmatized the memory and character of *Craſſus*. When the ſhew was over, *Surenas* produced, in the preſence of the ſenate of *Seleucia*, a collection of laſcivious tales, then known by the title of the *Mileſian fables*, which a *Parthian* ſoldier had found in rifling the baggage of a young *Roman*, whom *Plutarch* calls *Ruſtius*. The general took occaſion from thence to inveigh againſt the debauchery of the *Romans*, who put ſuch infamous books into the hands of their youth, and corrupted their minds with lewd fables, inſtead of forming their bodies for the exerciſe of war [q].

WHEN the battle of *Carrhæ* was fought, king *Orodes* was, as we have hinted above, in *Armenia*, where he had concluded a peace with *Artabazes*; for the king of *Armenia*, on the return of the expreſſes he had ſent to *Craſſus*, perceiving by the falſe meaſures he had taken, that the army under his command muſt have been infallibly loſt, had entered into a trea-

[q] PLUT. ibid.

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ty of friendſhip with the *Parthian*, and cemented it by giving one of his daughters in marriage to *Pacorus* the ſon of *Orodes*. While the two kings were ſolemnizing their new alliance with expenſive and public feaſts, *Styllaces* or *Syllaces*, a *Parthian* officer, whom *Surenas* had ſent with the news of his late victory, and the head of *Craſſus* as a proof of it, arrived in the capital of *Armenia*. The two kings were at table, and *Jaſon* a tragedian of *Trallis*, was ſinging ſome ſongs out of the *Bacchis* of *Euripides*, when the meſſenger was introduced, and preſented *Orodes* with the head of *Craſſus*, ſaying, Surenas *ſends you the head of the* Roman *general, who has been cut in pieces with his whole army*. The tranſports of joy which *Orodes* felt, at this ſight and theſe words, are not to be expreſſed. The lords of both kingdoms, who attended their ſovereigns, raiſed loud and repeated ſhouts of joy; and *Syllaces* was ordered to give a more particular and diſtinct account of that memorable action: which when he had done, *Orodes* commanded melted gold to be poured into *Craſſus*'s mouth, reproaching him thereby with avarice, which had been always his predominant paſſion [r].

The head of Craſſus *ſent to* Orodes.

Surenas did not long enjoy the pleaſure of his victory; for *Orodes*, growing jealous of his glory and great authority among the *Parthians*, cauſed him to be put to death ſoon after [s], placing *Pacorus*, his favourite ſon, at the head of the army in his room. The young prince, agreeable to his father's directions, marched into *Syria*, which the *Parthians* expected to find without defence, after the late defeat of the *Roman* army; but *Caſſius*, the only general officer who ſurvived the defeat of *Craſſus*, meeting them on the frontiers, at the head of five hundred horſe, who had eſcaped with him out of *Meſopotamia*, and ſome *Aſiatic* levies, gave them ſo warm a reception, that they thought it adviſeable to retreat to their own territories, and there raiſe more forces for a ſecond invaſion. Accordingly they repaſſed the *Euphrates*, and, having ſpent the winter in making new preparations, early in the ſpring they croſſed the *Euphrates* anew, and reentered *Syria* with a very numerous army, under the conduct of *Orſaces*, an old and experienced commander; for *Pacorus* the king's ſon, being then but fifteen years of age, had only the name of general. *Orſaces* reduced, without oppoſition, ſuch places as lay in his way; and being maſter of all the country between the *Euphrates* and the city of *Antioch*, cloſely beſieged that metropolis, *Caſſius* having ſhut himſelf

Surenas *put to death.*

The Parthians *invade* Syria.

[r] Flor. l iii. c. 11. Sext. Ruf. in brev. Dio. Cass. l. xl.
[s] Dio. Cass. ibid.

up

up in it, as not having ſufficient forces to keep the field and make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy. In the mean *Cicero*, to whom the province of *Cilicia* had been aſſigned, being informed by *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, that *Caſſius* was beſieged in *Antioch* by the *Parthians*, and that the king of *Armenia* was ready to fall upon *Cappadocia*, drew together what forces he could, and with them marched to the eaſtern borders of his province lying next to *Armenia*, with a deſign to prevent the *Armenians* from invading *Cappadocia*, and to be at the ſame time near at hand to aſſiſt *Caſſius*, in caſe the *Parthians* ſhould purſue the ſiege of *Antioch* with vigour. He likewiſe ſent another body of troops to mount *Amanus* with the ſame view, which falling in with a great party of *Parthian* horſe, that had entered *Cilicia* through the ſtreights of that mountain, cut them all off to a man. The news of this defeat and of *Cicero*'s approach to *Antioch*, greatly encouraged *Caſſius* and his men to make a vigorous defence, and ſo diſheartened the *Parthians*, that deſpairing to carry the place, they raiſed the ſiege, and marching to *Antigonia*, another city in that neighbourhood, attempted to reduce it, but as they were quite unacquainted with the manner of managing ſieges, their chief force conſiſting in cavalry, they were attended with no better ſucceſs there, and were ſoon obliged to retire. *Caſſius*, who was appriſed of the rout they would take, drew them into an ambuſcade, in which great numbers of them were cut off, with *Orſaces* their leader. Thoſe who had the good luck to eſcape repaſſed the *Euphrates* with *Pacorus*; but returned again with new forces towards the end of the ſummer, and wintered in *Cyrrheſtica*, a northern province of *Syria* [t].

But are driven out with great loſs by Cicero *and* Caſſius.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon was proper for action, the *Parthians* took the field, and marching to *Antioch*, beſieged that city a ſecond time, and *M. Calpurnius Bibulus* with all his forces in it; for the province of *Syria* had been allotted to him, and *Caſſius*, who had defended it before without any legal commiſſion, was now returned to *Rome*. As *Bibulus* was no warrior, he did not ſo much as make one ſally, but kept his troops within the walls, ſuffering the enemy to carry on their works without the leaſt moleſtation. He would not even acquaint *Cicero*, who was ſtill in *Cilicia*, with the danger he was in; nay, he was heard to ſay, that he had rather be

Return, and beſiege Antioch.

[t] JOSEPH. Antiq. l xiv. c. 12. & de bell. Jud. l i. c. 6. DIO. CASS. l. xl. PLUT. in Cicer. & Cic ad familiar. l. iii epiſt. 2. & l. xv. epiſt. 1, 2, 3, 4. & l. v. ad Attic epiſt 18, 20.

reduced to the utmoſt extremity, than ſeem to ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance. However, his lieutenants wrote both to *Cicero*, and to *Thermus* prætor of *Aſia*, ſoliciting them to haſten to their relief; but, before their arrival, *Bibulus* effected by craft what he dared not attempt by force; for having by his emiſſaries encouraged *Ordonopantes*, a nobleman of *Parthia*, who had been diſguſted by *Orodes*, to raiſe a rebellion in the heart of the kingdom, the army before *Antioch* was recalled to ſuppreſs it; by which means the ſiege of *Antioch* was raiſed, and all *Syria* delivered from the danger it was in of falling under the power of the *Parthians* [u].

The ſiege raiſed.

We find no further mention made of the *Parthians* from this time to the breaking out of the civil war between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, when the latter ſent embaſſadors to ſolicit ſuccours from *Orodes*; which that prince was willing to grant, on condition that *Syria* was delivered up to him; but *Pompey* refuſing to comply with his demand, he not only denied him the ſuccours he required, but, after the battle of *Pharſalia*, put in irons *Lucius Hirtius*, whom *Pompey* had ſent to him to implore his aſſiſtance anew, or at leaſt to obtain for him leave to ſhelter himſelf in the *Parthian* dominions [w]. But, for all this, *Cæſar* had no ſooner got the better of *Pompey*'s party, and ſettled his affairs at *Rome*, than he began to make great preparations, with a deſign to invade *Parthia*, and revenge the defeat and death of *Craſſus* at *Carrhæ*; but when all things were ready for his expedition, *Cæſar* was killed, and the *Parthians* by his death delivered from a war, which, in all likelihood, would have proved fatal to them [x]. Not long after, the eaſtern provinces being allotted to *Marc Antony*, in the famous partition of the *Roman* empire between him, *Octavianus*, and *Lepidus*, the cities of *Syria*, being grievouſly oppreſſed with the taxes *Marc Antony* laid on them, roſe up in arms, and, having killed thoſe who were ſent to gather them, invited the *Parthians* to their aſſiſtance, aſſuring them that they were all to a man ready to join them and drive out the *Romans*. On this invitation the *Parthians* paſſed the *Euphrates* with a mighty army, under the command of *Pacorus* and *Labienus*, a *Roman* general of *Pompey*'s party. He was the ſon of *Titus Labienus*, who had been

The Parthians *invade* Syria, *under the command of* Pacorus *and* Labienus.

[u] Cic. ad famil. l. ii. epiſt 17 & l. xii. epiſt. 19. & ad Attic. l. vi. epiſt. 6. l. vii. epiſt. 2. &c. Dio. Cass ibid. [w] Dio, l. xli, xlii. [x] Plut. in Cæſ. Appian. de bell civil. l ii. Dio, Cass. l. xlii. & xliii.

Cæſar's

Cæsar's lieutenant in *Gaul*, and one of his chief favourites; but afterwards siding with *Pompey*, became one of his most inveterate enemies, and was slain fighting against him in the battle of *Munda*. His son, pursuing the same interest, had been sent by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, a little before the battle of *Philippi*, to beg succours of the *Parthian* king, which he was soliciting when that battle happened. The bad success which attended his friends on that occasion having discouraged him from returning, he continued in *Parthia*; and, having prevailed on *Orodes* to undertake this war, was sent with *Pacorus* to command under him [y]. On his entering *Syria*, he was met by *Saxa*, *Antony*'s lieutenant, whom he overthrew in a pitched battle, obliging him to shelter himself in *Cilicia*. After this victory, having divided his army into two bodies, he marched with one after *Saxa* into *Cilicia*, where he killed him, over-ran all *Asia Minor*; and having obliged *Plancus*, *Antony*'s other lieutenant in those parts, to fly to the islands, subjected all the places as far as the *Hellespont* and the *Ægean* sea [z]. At the same time *Pacorus*, with the other part of the army, reduced all *Syria* and *Phœnice*, as far as *Tyre*, which was the only city that held out against him, being defended by the *Romans*, who from all parts had flocked thither as to a place of refuge. Thus the *Parthians* made themselves masters of all *Syria*, *Asia Minor*, and *Phœnice*, except *Tyre*, and exercised their power even in *Judæa*, where they plundered *Jerusalem*, drove *Hyrcanus* from the throne, and placed *Antigonus* on it in his room, in the manner we have related in the history of the *Jews*.

Their conquests in Syria, Phœnice, *and* Asia Minor, &c.

BUT they did not long enjoy their new conquests; for *Antony*, after his reconciliation with *Octavianus*, having sent *Ventidius*, one of his lieutenants, against them, that general was attended with such success, that the *Parthians* were soon obliged to quit all they had taken and repass the *Euphrates*; for *Ventidius* managed matters with such expedition, that, arriving in *Asia* much sooner than expected, he surprized *Labienus* before he was in a condition to withstand him, having no *Parthian* troops with him, but only a few *Roman* deserters, and a small body of raw and undisciplined *Asiatics*, gathered up in *Cyria*, *Phœnice*, and *Asia Minor*; wherefore, not daring to stand the approach of a *Roman* army, he retired as fast as *Ventidius* advanced, till he got to

Ventidius sent against them.

[y] DIO. CASS ibid. EUSEB. in chron. APPIAN. in Parthic. PLUT. in Anton. [z] DIO CASS. ibid. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 5.

mount *Taurus*, where he encamped so advantageously, that he could not be forced to a battle, and then sent to *Pacorus* for assistance. *Pacorus* sent immediately the flower of his army to the relief of *Labienus*; but the *Parthians*, despising the *Romans* on account of their late victories over them, engaged *Ventidius* before *Labienus* could join them, and were intirely defeated. The news of this defeat so disheartened those who were with *Labienus*, that they all abandoned him, every one shifting for himself in the best manner he could. *Ventidius* pursued them, slew some of them, and took the rest into his service. As for *Labienus*, he made his escape in a disguise; but after having sculked about for some time in *Cilicia*, from one hiding place to another, he was at last discovered by *Demetrius*, governor of *Cyprus*, taken, and put to death [a]. After this victory, *Ventidius*, having made himself master of all *Cilicia*, marched to mount *Amanus*, which parted that province from *Syria*; and there met another army of *Parthians*, who, under the command of *Pharnapates*, one of *Pacorus*'s lieutenants, had seized the passes leading into *Syria*, in order to obstruct his further progress; but, *Ventidius* falling upon them, cut most of them in pieces, killed their general, and having gained a second victory as considerable as the former, pursued his march, without any further opposition, into *Syria*. Hereupon *Pacorus*, having assembled all his forces, made what haste he could to the *Euphrates*, which he repassed, leaving the *Romans* masters of all the countries on this side of that river [b].

Gains great advantages over them.

Labienus *taken and put to death.*

Antony, who in the mean time was diverting himself with his new wife *Octavia* at *Athens*, being informed of the victories gained by *Ventidius*, made great rejoicings in that city; but hearing at the same time that *Pacorus* was making vast preparations for another invasion, he resolved to head his army in person, and not suffer his lieutenant to reap the whole glory of the war: wherefore early in the spring he left *Athens* with all his forces and marched towards the east; but, before he got thither, *Ventidius* had gained a third victory over the *Parthians*, far more glorious than the other two. It was obtained in the following manner: *Ventidius* fearing left the *Parthians*, whose preparations were much advanced, should pass the *Euphrates* before he had time to draw all his troops together from their different quarters,

[a] DIO, l. xlviii. p. 380, 381. APPIAN. in Parthic.
[b] DIO, APPIAN. ibid. LIV. epit. l. cxxvii. FLOR. l. iv. c. 9. PLUT. in Anton.

had

had recourſe to the following ſtratagem: there was a petty eaſtern prince in his camp, under the character of an ally, who was intirely addicted to the intereſt of the *Parthians*, with whom *Ventidius* well knew he kept a private correſpondence, communicating to them all the intelligence he could get of the counſels and deſigns of the *Romans*. This man's treachery *Ventidius* reſolved to improve to his own advantage; for taking the firſt opportunity that offered of converſing with him, and ſeeming to repoſe in him an intire confidence, he told him, that he had heard with much concern that the *Parthians* did not deſign to paſs the *Euphrates* at *Zeugma*, as uſual, but to enter *Syria* another way, at a paſſage much below the former; for if they paſs at *Zeugma*, ſaid he, the country on this ſide the *Euphrates* is ſo mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army conſiſts, can do us no great hurt; but, in caſe they take the lower paſſage the country being there all plain and level, they will have ſo great an advantage over us, that it will be impoſſible for us to make head againſt them. This conference was no ſooner over, than the treacherous *Chaunæus*, for ſo he is called by *Appian*, conveyed a full account of it to the *Parthians*, with whom it had the deſired effect; for *Pacorus*, inſtead of keeping the road to *Zeugma*, took the other rout, and in that march loſt forty days; during which time *Ventidius* being joined by *Silo*, *Antony*'s lieutenant in *Paleſtine*, and by all the legions which were quartered on the other ſide mount *Taurus*, found himſelf in a condition to give them a warm reception when they entered *Syria*. As they met with no oppoſition either in paſſing the river or advancing into *Syria*, they aſcribed that inactivity to fear, and therefore, with great boldneſs went directly to attack the *Romans* in their camp, on the top of a ſteep hill. This *Ventidius* expected, and therefore ſallying out upon them at the head of his legionaries, as they were aſcending the hill, eaſily put them in diſorder, by the advantage of the ground, and purſued them with great ſlaughter into the plain, where they rallied and made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, the victory being doubtful, till *Pacorus* was killed, fighting with incredible bravery at the head of the *Parthian* horſe. His death was followed by the flight of the whole army, every one ſtriving to regain the bridge, in order to retire into their own country; but *Ventidius*, with a ſtrong detachment of horſe, getting to the *Euphrates* before them, cut off their retreat; ſo that only a ſmall number of them eſcaped by flight, and retired into the dominions of *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*; the reſt

Pacorus killed, and his army intirely cut off by Ventidius.

reſt were all put to the ſword [c]. This victory, which fully revenged the death of *Craſſus*, and the *Romans* who were killed with him, was gained on the ſame day of the year, on which, fourteen years before, the famous battle of *Carrhæ* was loſt.

Orodes, when he heard of the defeat of his army and the death of his ſon, was ſo overwhelmed with grief, that, for ſome days, he abſtained from all food, not being able to utter a ſingle word the whole time; and when he recovered the uſe of his tongue, he acted and ſpoke in ſuch a manner, as plainly ſhewed, that ſorrow had got the better of his reaſon; for nothing was heard from him but the name of *Pacorus*, *his dear Pacorus*; ſometimes he talked to him as if he had been preſent, commended his gallant behaviour, and launched out on the happineſs of a father who was bleſſed with ſuch a ſon. At other times, remembering that he was dead, he burſt into a flood of tears, and was ready to lay violent hands on himſelf: and indeed never was grief more juſt; for this was the moſt terrible blow the *Parthian* monarchy had ever received, and the loſs of the young prince was as great as that of the army, he being commended by all the antients as the moſt worthy perſon for juſtice, clemency, valour, and all other princely qualities, that the royal family of *Arſaces* ever produced. He ſo endeared himſelf to the *Syrians*, during the ſhort time he lived among them, that they never expreſſed more affection for any of their native ſovereigns, than they did for him, tho' deſcended from a family, which had brought many calamities on their country [d].

Had *Ventidius* purſued the advantages of this victory, he might have driven the *Parthians* quite out of *Meſopotamia* and *Babylonia*, and extended the boundaries of the *Roman* empire to the *Tigris*; but, as he was afraid of giving umbrage to *Antony*, with whoſe jealous temper he was well acquainted, he contented himſelf with reducing thoſe places in *Syria* and *Phœnice*, which had revolted from the *Romans* in the late war. Purſuant to this plan, he was with his whole army in *Comagene*, making war upon *Antiochus* king of that country, for ſiding with the *Parthians*, when *Antony* arriving took the command of the army upon himſelf and diſmiſſed *Venti-*

[c] Liv. l. cxxviii. Flor l. iv. c 9. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 751. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 78 Joseph. l. xiv. c. 27. A. Gell. l. xv. c. 4. Justin. l. xlii. c. 4. Plut. in Anton. Frontin. ſtratagem. l. i. c. 1. & l. ii. c. 2. Dion, l. xlix. [d] Justin. l. xlii. c. iv.

dius.

dius. His pretence for this was, that *Ventidius* deſerved a triumph, and ought to go to *Rome* to aſk it of the ſenate; but the true motive that prompted him to act in this manner was, that he envied him the great glory he had acquired, and the reputation he was in with the army; for *Antony* was one of thoſe, who cannot bear to be ſerved by perſons of ſuch talents as are capable of eclipſing their own; he was therefore glad to get rid of him, and never employed him afterwards, tho' he often ſtood in need of ſo able and experienced a general. *Ventidius*, on his return to *Rome*, was received there with all poſſible marks of honour, and granted a triumph, with the general applauſe of the whole city. In his triumph two very remarkable circumſtances concurred; the one, that he was the only *Roman* who ever triumphed over the *Parthians*, no one having, either before or after him, attained to that honour. The other circumſtance, no leſs remarkable, was, that he triumphed after having been led in triumph himſelf; for in the *ſocial* war, being made a captive, at the taking of *Aſculum*, the chief city of *Picenum*, by *Strabo* the father of *Pompey the Great*, he was, with his father and mother who carried him in her arms, led before the triumphal chariot of that general. Afterwards his family being brought to poverty by the ruin of their city, he was obliged, when grown up, to betake himſelf to a mean and ſordid employment for his livelihood; for at firſt he was only a muleteer, and being uſed to provide mules to carry the baggage of ſuch *Roman* magiſtrates as were ſent to govern foreign provinces, *Cæſar* employed him in this capacity when he firſt went into *Gaul*; and having on that occaſion obſerved in him a great quickneſs of apprehenſion and activity, took him with him into his province, and put him in the way of riſing to great preferments; for he firſt gave him a ſmall command in the army, from which he raiſed himſelf, by his diſtinguiſhed merit, through all the ſtations of the camp to the higheſt poſt in the army, and became one of *Cæſar*'s chief generals in all the wars he waged afterwards. Upon his death he ſided with *Antony*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf at *Mutina* and *Peruſia*, and was at laſt ſent as *Antony*'s lieutenant into the eaſt, where he gained the victories over the *Parthians* which we have mentioned [c].

Antony diſmiſſes Ventidius, and takes the command of the army on himſelf.

Ventidius obtains a triumph.

[c] PLUT. APPIAN. DION CASS. ibid. A. GELL. l. xv. c 4. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii c 03. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c 9. PLIN. l. vii. c. 43.

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IN the mean time *Orodes*, being in ſome degree recover from the diſtraction of mind, which the death of his ſon *Pacorus* had occaſioned, appointed *Phrahates* the eldeſt, but the moſt wicked of all his children, to ſucceed him in the throne, admitting him at the ſame time to ſhare the regal power with himſelf. *Phrahates* no ſooner ſaw himſelf veſted with the ſovereign authority, than he cauſed all his brothers by the daughter of *Antiochus Euſebes*, king of *Syria*, to be put to death, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they were of a more noble deſcent than himſelf. As this was highly reſented by his father, he attempted to put him to death alſo, by giving him a potion of the poiſonous juice of hemlock; but that proving only a medicine againſt the dropſy, which grief had brought upon the king, the cruel and unnatural ſon cauſed him to be ſtifled in his bed, and ſoon after diſpatched all his brothers, who were thirty in number. The ſame cruelty he exerciſed over the nobility, and all the reſt of the royal family, not ſparing his eldeſt ſon, leſt the diſcontented *Parthians* ſhould place him, as he was already of age, on the throne. Hereupon many of the chief lords of *Parthia*, quitting their own country, took refuge in *Syria*, under the protection of *Antony*. Among theſe was one *Monæſes*, a man of great diſtinction, who, having gained the confidence of *Antony*, prevailed upon him to engage in a war with the *Parthians* his countrymen f.

Orodes barbarouſly murdered by his ſon Phrahates.

As *Antony* had, by means of his lieutenant *Publius Canidius*, reduced the *Armenians*, *Albanians*, and *Iberians*, and carried his victorious arms as far as mount *Caucaſus*, he was eaſily perſuaded to embark in a war, which he had long deſigned, all the *Romans*, who ſerved under him, earneſtly preſſing him to revenge the death of *Craſſus* and their countrymen, who had periſhed with him at *Carrhæ*. Accordingly he began to make vaſt preparations for ſo great an undertaking; and as he formed all his ſchemes for the carrying of it on by the advice of *Monæſes*, in order to attach him the more to his ſervice, he allowed him the revenues of three cities for his maintenance, imitating therein the generoſity of *Xerxes* towards *Themiſtocles*; and moreover promiſed to place him on the throne of *Parthia*, on his conquering that country. But in the mean time *Phrahates*, dreading the advantage which the enemy might draw from the advice of ſo wiſe and able a counſellor, who was well acquainted with the country, ſent a

Antony *undertakes a war againſt the* Parthians. Year of the Flood 2963. Before Chriſt, 36.

f JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 4. DIO. CASS. l. xlix. PLUT. in Craſſ.

ſolemn

ſolemn embaſſy to invite him home, on ſuch terms as the baniſhed *Parthian* thought fit to accept. This greatly provoked *Antony*; but nevertheleſs he did not think it adviſeable to uſe any violence with him, for fear of diſcouraging others from revolting: He therefore diſmiſſed him with great civility, and ſent embaſſadors with him to *Phrahates* to treat of a peace, hoping by that means to divert him from making the neceſſary preparations for a war, and to fall upon him before he was in a condition to withſtand him; but herein he was greatly diſappointed, for, on his arrival at the *Euphrates*, which he intended to paſs and enter the *Parthian* dominions on that ſide, he found all the paſſes ſo well guarded on the other bank, that he thought it adviſeable to march off to the left, with a deſign to reduce *Media*, and from thence invade *Parthia*. This plan had been ſuggeſted to him before by *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*, who, falling out with *Artavaſdes* king of *Media*, had preſſed *Antony* to take that rout, with no other view but to diſtreſs the *Median* his rival. *Antony* had rejected it when firſt propoſed, intending to invade the *Parthian* dominions by the neareſt cut over the *Euphrates*; but not ſucceeding in that, he fell in with the propoſal of the *Armenian*, who in the end betrayed him; for, inſtead of conducting him the ſtraight way from *Zeugma* on the *Euphrates* to the river *Araxes*, which parted *Media* from *Armenia*, and was about five hundred miles diſtance from the place whence he firſt ſet out, he led him over rocks and mountains ſo far about, that the army had marched a thouſand miles and upwards, before they reached the borders of *Media*[s], where they intended to begin the war; ſo that they were not only greatly fatigued, but had not ſufficient time, the year being already far ſpent, to put in execution the deſign on which they were come. However, as *Antony* was in great haſte to get back to *Cleopatra*, he left behind him moſt of the baggage of the army, and three hundred waggons loaded with battering rams and other military engines for ſieges, ordering *Statianus*, one of his lieutenants, with a body of ten thouſand men, to guard them, and bring them by ſlower marches after the army. With the reſt of the forces he haſtened forward, and marched three hundred miles more, without allowing his men any reſpite, till he arrived at *Praaſpa*, or, as others call it, *Phraata*, the capital of *Media*, which he immediately inveſted; but as the place was well fortified, he was ſoon made ſenſible of his miſtake in leaving behind him his battering rams

Invades Media.

His long and fatiguing march.

Beſieges Phraata.

[s] DIO. CASS. & PLUT. ibid. STRABO, l. xi. & xvi.

and other military engines; for without them he could make no progress in the siege: and when the *Median* and *Parthian* forces came up with him, they did not think it worth their while to attack him, but pursued their march, with a design to prevent *Statianus* from joining him with the heavy carriages, without which, they well knew, he could never make himself master of the city. *Statianus* did not expect them, and therefore, being attacked before he had time to draw up his men, was cut off, with the whole body under his command, which amounted to ten thousand men. All the baggage and military engines were taken, and among the rest a battering ram eighty foot long. *Polemo*, king of *Pontus*, was made prisoner, and with him a few *Romans*, to whom the *Parthians* gave quarter in the end of the slaughter; but all the rest were put to the sword [h].

Statianus *cut off, with ten thousand* Romans.

Statianus, on his first discovering the enemy, had dispatched an express to *Antony*, who made all the haste he could to his assistance; but nevertheless came too late, and found, on his arrival, *Statianus* and all his men dead on the field of battle: but as no enemy appeared, he took courage, imagining they had fled at his approach, and returned to the siege, where he was daily harassed by the garison within, and by the enemy's army without. If he sent out small parties to forage, they were generally cut off by the *Parthian* cavalry; and if he detached large bodies, those who remained were not able to stand the repeated sallies of the numerous garison. To obviate these inconveniences, *Antony* attempted to draw the enemy to a general engagement, and twice succeeded therein, but without reaping from thence any advantage; for tho' he put the enemy to flight in both engagements, yet the loss they sustained was very inconsiderable, the *Parthians* preventing, by the swiftness of their horses, the evil consequences which generally attend such defeats. In the last he thought his victory complete, and pursued it to the utmost; but in the end found that he had killed only eighty of the enemy's men, and taken thirty prisoners during the whole action. However, he continued before *Phraata* till his provisions were near spent, and the forage round the country quite consumed; when he began to think of a retreat, seeing he had lost all hopes of making himself master of the besieged city; but as he was to march three hundred miles through the enemy's country, for at that distance *Phraata* lay from the borders of *Armenia*, before he raised the siege

[h] STRABO, l. xi. p. 523. DION. CASS. p. 407. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 82. PLUT. in Anton.

he

he ſent embaſſadors to *Phrahates* to acquaint him, that the *Roman* people was willing to grant him a laſting peace, provided he would return the ſtandards and priſoners taken at *Carrhæ*. *Phrahates* received the embaſſadors ſitting on a golden throne, and, after having bitterly inveighed againſt the avarice and unbounded ambition of the *Romans*, told them, that he would not by any means part with the ſtandards and captives taken at *Carrhæ*, but would allow *Antony* to retire unmoleſted, provided he withdrew immediately from before *Phraata*. *Antony*, who was reduced to great ſtraits, no ſooner received this anſwer, than he raiſed the ſiege, and began his march towards *Armenia*, hoping that *Phrahates* would be as good as his word; but he was therein greatly diſappointed, for the *Parthian* army haraſſed him the whole way, and fell upon him eighteen times with all their forces, before he reached the *Araxes*, which was the boundary of the *Median* territories. 'Tis true, he always repulſed them, but not without great loſs on his ſide; whereas that of the *Parthians*, as being all horſemen, was very inconſiderable, by reaſon of their quick retreats. The *Romans* were very fortunate in their guide, who, being a native of *Mardia*, a country bordering on *Media* and *Armenia*, was well acquainted with the roads and by-ways, and conducted them with great fidelity. However, the army was thrice in imminent danger of being intirely cut off by ambuſcades, which they could not poſſibly have eſcaped, had they not received notice of them from the enemy's quarters. *Monæſes* twice forewarned *Antony* of them by a meſſenger ſent to him for that purpoſe, in return for the kindneſs ſhewn him during his baniſhment. The other time he had his intelligence from an old *Roman* ſoldier, who had continued among the *Parthians* ever ſince the battle of *Carrhæ*, and came to the *Roman* camp to acquaint his countrymen with the danger. This painful march laſted twenty ſeven days, during which time they were not only inceſſantly haraſſed by the *Parthian* arrows, but greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, the parties that went out to forage being generally cut off, and their beaſts of burden either dead, or employed in carrying the ſick and wounded. A quart of wheat was ſold in the camp for fifty drachmas, and barley-loaves for their weight in ſilver. At laſt they were reduced to live upon ſuch roots and herbs as they found in the fields, which occaſioned many diſtempers among them. When the famine firſt began to rage in the camp, ſome, to avoid it, fled to the enemy; but were by the *Parthians* cruelly murdered in the ſight of the reſt; which put a ſtop to their deſerting, and proved very advan-

Antony *raiſes the ſiege of* Phraata. *Haraſſed by the* Parthians *in his retreat.*

tageous to *Antony*, who would have been left alone, had the enemy treated kindly ſuch as took refuge with them. *Antony*, ſeeing his men dying every day in great numbers, was often heard to cry out, *O, the ten thouſand!* admiring the conduct of *Xenophon*, who marched a far longer way through the enemy's country, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, led his men ſafe home. At length the army began to mutiny, and, falling upon thoſe who had any gold or ſilver, plundered and murdered them, rifled *Antony*'s baggage, ſeized on his money and plate, and committed many other diſorders. Hereupon the general, quite diſheartened, retired to his tent, and, calling one of his freed-men, ordered him to kill him, and, after his death, to cut off his head, and conceal it, leſt it ſhould fall into the enemy's hands, and be inſulted as that of *Craſſus* had been; but the *Mardian* guide, coming into his tent in the mean time, prevailed upon him to forbear uſing any violence on himſelf, by aſſuring him, that the worſt of the march was over, and that he was at a ſmall diſtance from the river *Araxes*, beyond which the *Parthians* would not purſue him. Accordingly he arrived a few days after at that river, and croſſed it, without being diſturbed in the leaſt by the enemy. The ſoldiers, ſeeing themſelves at length out of the enemy's reach, and in a place of ſafety, fell down on the ground, and kiſſed it, embracing one another with tears of joy *.

Reduced to great ſtraits.

Antony committed, without all doubt, many miſtakes in the management of this war, but none in his retreat; for all the antients do him the juſtice to own, that he conducted it with as much art and ſucceſs as it was capable of. He loſt indeed a great many men; for on his reviewing his forces after he had paſſed the *Araxes*, he found twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe miſſing; but the greater part of theſe had periſhed by the hardihips of the campaign, and very few by the enemy's ſwords. The greateſt error he committed in this fatal undertaking, was his obſtinately purſuing his march, after he had, with the utmoſt difficulty, got back into *Armenia*; for, inſtead of putting the remainder of his army into winter-quarters, and allowing them time to refreſh themſelves after ſo long and fatiguing a march, as he was in haſte to get back to *Cleopatra*, he continued his march, tho' winter was far advanced, through *Armenia*, which was then covered with ſnow, and, in that mountainous country, loſt eight thouſand more of his men, who periſhed by reaſon of the hard ſeaſon and exceſſive cold; ſo that, according to the

* Plut: Dio. Cass. Justin. Flor. ibid.

moſt

moſt moderate calculation, he loſt in all two and thirty thouſand men [i]. *Florus* tells us [k], that he did not bring back the third part of his army, which, at his firſt ſetting out on this deſtructive undertaking, conſiſted of an hundred thouſand men. He was not indeed overcome in battle, as *Craſſus* had been; but, if we compare the loſſes of both generals, we ſhall find *Antony*'s expedition to have been the moſt unfortunate of the two; and yet, on his return into *Egypt*, he had the confidence to aſſume ſuch honours as were due only to conquerors. *His great loſs.*

Antony was ſcarce returned from this expedition, when the kings of *Media* and *Parthia*, falling out about the booty they had taken on the defeat of *Statianus*, the former ſent an embaſſy to him, offering to join him with all his forces againſt the latter. *Antony* accepted this offer with great joy, the more becauſe he was informed at the ſame time, that the *Parthians*, not able to endure the tyranny and cruelty of their king, had taken up arms againſt him, and were greatly divided among themſelves. Theſe circumſtances offered him a favourable opportunity of making amends, by a new expedition, for the miſcarriages of the former. Accordingly he reſolved to lay hold of it, and, leaving *Egypt*, haſtened into *Syria*, there to make the neceſſary preparations for a ſecond invaſion; but *Cleopatra* feigning that his abſence had thrown her into a languiſhing diſtemper, and that ſhe could not live without him, he was ſo infatuated as to believe her, and giving over all thoughts of revenging his late loſſes, to drop the enterprize and return to the embraces of his beloved queen [l]. However, he ſent ſuch a body of *Romans* to the aſſiſtance of *Artavaſdes*, king of *Media*, as enabled him to gain a complete victory over *Phrahates* king of *Parthia*; but the enſuing year a war breaking out between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, the former not only recalled the troops he had ſent to the aſſiſtance of *Artavaſdes*, but alſo retained thoſe which *Artavaſdes* had ſent him in their room; by which means the king of *Media* was intirely defeated in a ſecond battle, and taken priſoner by *Phrahates*, who, purſuing his victory, reduced all *Media* and likewiſe *Armenia*, reſtoring to that throne *Artaxias* the ſon of *Artabazes*, who had been driven from it by *Antony*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Armenia*. *Reſolves on a ſecond expedition againſt the* Parthians; *but is diverted from it by* Cleopatra. Media *reduced by* Phrahates.

Phrahates, elated with this ſucceſs, began to oppreſs his ſubjects in a moſt cruel and tyrannical manner; whereupon *Civil diſſenſions among the* Parthians

[i] PLUT. & DIO. CASS. ibid. [k] FLOR. l. iv. c. 10. [l] PLUT. in Anton. DION CASS. l. xlix. p. 411.

the

the *Parthian* nobility, conſpiring againſt him, drove him from the throne, and placed on it in his room *Tiridates*, one of their own body; but the next year *Phrahates* returned into *Parthia* at the head of a numerous army, and, having overcome his rival in a pitched battle, recovered his crown. *Tiridates* took refuge in *Syria*, where *Octavianus* found him after the death of *Antony*, and was warmly ſolicited by him to lend him his aſſiſtance againſt *Phrahates*. At the ſame time embaſſadors arrived from *Phrahates* on the ſame errand. *Octavianus* received them both in a very friendly manner, without intending to help either, but rather to egg them on againſt each other with fair promiſes, and by that means to waſte and weaken the power and ſtrength of that formidable empire. With this view he gave *Tiridates* leave to continue in *Syria*, till he ſhould be in a condition to make head againſt his rival, accepting from him a ſon of *Phrahates*, who had fallen into his hands. This ſon he carried with him to *Rome*, where he kept him as a hoſtage [l]. Not long after, *Tiridates* returned into *Parthia* and drove out *Phrahates*; but was ſoon driven out again by him in his turn. *Phrahates* was aſſiſted by the *Scythians*, who not only reinſtated him in his kingdom, but ſupported him in it with a mighty army. Hereupon *Tiridates* with the leading men of his party, fled to *Rome*, to implore the aſſiſtance and protection of *Auguſtus*, promiſing to hold the kingdom of him, provided he was reſtored to it by his means. *Phrahates* hearing he had fled to *Rome* diſpatched embaſſadors thither after him, to obviate his deſigns, and to demand of *Auguſtus* the delivery of his rebellious ſubjects and the releaſe of his ſon, whom *Tiridates* had put into his hands. *Auguſtus* received *Tiridates*, as well as the embaſſadors, with particular marks of eſteem; but anſwered, that he would not deliver *Tiridates* into the hands of *Phrahates*, nor lend either of them aſſiſtance againſt the other. However, to gratify both in ſomething, he gave *Tiridates* leave to continue at *Rome*, ordering him out of the public treaſury a maintenance ſuitable to his rank; and ſent back to *Phrahates* his ſon, on his promiſing to reſtore the captives and ſtandards that had been taken from *Craſſus* and *Antony* [m]. This *Phrahates* then promiſed to do, but could not prevail upon himſelf to perform, till the coming of *Auguſtus* into *Syria*, which happened three years after; when dreading a foreign war, as he was greatly hated by his ſubjects on account of his cruelties

[l] Dion Cass. l. li. p. 456. Plutar. ibid. Justin. l. xlii. c. 5.
[m] Justin. ibid. Dion Cass. l. liii.

cruelty, he ſent embaſſadors to him, to conclude an alliance with the people of *Rome*; and on this occaſion it was that he ſent back all the captives and enſigns, which the *Parthians* had taken in their wars with *Craſſus* and *Antony*. At the ſame time he agreed to ſuch terms of peace as *Auguſtus* thought fit to propoſe, and gave four of his ſons with their wives and children, as hoſtages for the performance of them [n]. The enſigns *Auguſtus* cauſed to be hung up in a temple, which he built and conſecrated to *Mars twice the revenger*, and appointed *Circenſian* ſports to be annually ſolemnized in memory of his victory at *Philippi*, (for before that battle he had vowed the temple to *Mars*) and of his recovering the *Roman* enſigns from the *Parthians* [o]. *Juſtin* obſerves here [p], that *Auguſtus* did more by the greatneſs of his name, than any other could have done by a long and expenſive war; but *Tacitus* [q] tells us, that *Phrahates*, was induced to comply with the demands of *Auguſtus*, not for fear of him, but becauſe he diſtruſted his own ſubjects. *Strabo* [r] and *Joſephus* [s], agreeing with *Tacitus*, relate the matter in the following manner: A very beautiful *Italian* woman, by name *Thermuſa*, having been formerly ſent by *Auguſtus* to *Phrahates* as a preſent, the king kept her at firſt as his concubine; but afterwards, on her bringing him a ſon, married her and declared her queen. In this ſtation ſhe gained an abſolute aſcendant over him, which ſhe made uſe of to ſecure the ſucceſſion to her ſon. With this view ſhe propoſed to *Phrahates* the delivering up of his other ſons, who were four in all, to the *Romans*; and he readily came into the propoſal, as not thinking himſelf ſafe againſt his diſcontented ſubjects, ſo long as there were any of the royal race of *Arſaces* of an age fit to govern. On this conſideration, when hoſtages were demanded by *Auguſtus*, for ſecuring the terms of their agreement, he delivered up to him his four ſons, *Saraſpades*, *Ceroſpades*, *Phrahates*, and *Vonones*, two of their wives, and four of their ſons. Theſe were all carried to *Rome*, where they remained many years; but *Thermuſa*'s ſon, by name *Phraatices*, was bred up at home, and appointed to ſucceed his father. The *Parthians* were ſo ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the family of *Arſaces*, that

Phrahates *reſtores to* Auguſtus *the enſigns and priſoners taken from* Craſſus *and* Antony.

[n] LIV. l. CXXXIX. FLOR. l. iv. c. ult. STRABO, l. ii. p 288. & l. xvi p 748. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 91. JUSTIN. l. xlii c. ult. DIO, l. liv p. 52. EUTROP. l. vii. OROS. l. vi c 21. [o] Vide OVID. faſt. l v. & HORAT. l. iv. od. ult. [p] JUSTIN l. xlii. c. 5. [q] TACIT annal. l. ii. c. 1. [r] STRABO, l. vi. p 288. [s] JOSEPH. antiq l. xviii. c. 3.

Phrahates

Phrahates well knew they would bear with him, notwithſtanding their hatred to him, as long as they had no other of the ſame race to ſet up in his room; and therefore, not for fear of *Auguſtus*, but for his own ſafety, readily yielded up to him his four ſons, who, being of an age to govern, gave him no ſmall jealouſy. But what he thus projected for his
Phraatices ſafety, proved at laſt his ruin; for as ſoon as *Phraatices* was of age, *Thermuſa*, impatient to ſee him on the throne; poiſoned her husband, to make room for him the ſooner [t]. But he was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when the *Parthians*, diſdaining to be governed by ſo wicked a parricide, roſe up in arms, and drove him from it into baniſhment, where he pe-
Orodes II. riſhed ſome years after [u]. In his room they placed one *Orodes*, who was of the royal family of *Arſaces*; but generally hated on account of his cruel and ſavage temper. However, they preferred him to the ſons of *Phraatices*, who, by their father, were deſcended from the *Italian* concubine *Thermuſa*; but not being able to bear his unheard of cruelties, they killed him ſoon after at a banquet [w]. Upon his death they diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome*, intreating *Auguſtus* to ſend one of the ſons of *Phrahates* to rule over them. The emperor rea-
Vonones. dily granted them *Vonones*, who was received at firſt with great demonſtrations of joy; but, as he betrayed a great inclination to the *Romans* and affected their dreſs and manners, the *Parthians* grew ſoon weary of their new king; and diſdaining to obey, as they expreſſed it, a *Roman* ſlave, had recourſe to *Artabanus* king of *Media*, who was likewiſe of the race of *Arſaces*, inviting him to take poſſeſſion of the
Artabanus crown of *Parthia*. *Artabanus* willingly complied with their requeſt; but being met on the frontiers by *Vonones*, was by him defeated, tho' he had a conſiderable army with him, and obliged to fly back into *Media*, where he raiſed new forces, and in a ſecond engagement obtained a complete victory over *Vonones*, who took ſhelter in *Armenia*, where he was kindly received, and entertained by ſome of the chief lords of that country. But *Artabanus* threatening to invade *Armenia*, *Vonones* thought fit to retire from thence, after having ſolicited in vain the aſſiſtance of *Tiberius*, by a ſolemn embaſſy ſent to *Rome* for that purpoſe. From *Armenia* the unhappy prince withdrew into *Syria*, and there delivered himſelf up to *Creticus Silanus* governor of that province,

[t] Strabo, l. xvi. p 749. Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. [u] Joseph. ibid. [w] Idem ibid.

who,

who, in regard he had been brought up at *Rome*, ſuffered him to live at *Antioch*, with the pomp and title of a king. He was afterwards removed by *Germanicus* from *Antioch* to *Pompeiopolis* in *Cilicia*, whence he made his eſcape, tho' kept under a ſtrict guard; but being ſoon after retaken, he was killed by one *Remmius* a *Roman* ſoldier [x]. *Germanicus* had removed him from *Antioch* to *Pompeiopolis* at the requeſt of *Artabanus*, and alſo becauſe he was in high favour with *Cneius Piſo*, to whoſe wife *Plancina* he made rich preſents, having brought with him into *Syria* immenſe treaſures [y].

Artabanus, having now no competitor to contend with, began to treat his ſubjects with great cruelty, whereupon ſome *Parthian* lords, among whom were *Sinnaces*, a man of great power and credit, and an eunuch named *Abdus*, entering into a plot againſt him, ſent privately to *Rome* for *Phrahates*, the ſon of king *Phrahates*, who, as we have related above, had been delivered by his father to *Auguſtus* as a hoſtage. The deputies repreſented, that the *Parthians* were ready to revolt; that they wanted only a leader; that a deſcendant of *Arſaces* ſupported by *Rome* and ſeen on the banks of the *Euphrates*, would occaſion an immediate and general inſurrection. *Tiberius*, who had ſucceeded *Auguſtus*, was glad of ſo favourable an opportunity of raiſing new diſturbances in *Parthia*; for *Artabanus*, elated with the ſucceſs that attended him in his wars with the neighbouring nations, had not only ſeized on *Armenia*, and appointed his eldeſt ſon *Arſaces* king of that country, but ſent a proud meſſage to the governor of *Syria*, demanding the treaſures which *Vonones* had left there and in *Cilicia*, and claiming all the countries which had been poſſeſſed by *Cyrus*, and after him by *Alexander*. *Tiberius* therefore, overjoyed at the thoughts of humbling the haughty *Parthian*, immediately diſpatched *Phrahates* to recover his father's kingdom; but that prince arriving in *Syria*, and there diſuſing the *Roman* way of living, to which he had been many years accuſtomed, and reſuming the *Parthian* cuſtoms, was ſeized, on that ſudden change, with a violent diſtemper, which put an end to his life. At the ſame time the plot was diſcovered, and the chief promoters of it either privately put to death, for *Artabanus* was afraid to uſe open violence, or ſo narrowly watched, that they could not meet, without being obſerved, to conſult together about the neceſſary meaſures. However, *Tiberius* did not abandon the enterprize;

[x] SUET in Tiber. & Octav. c. 21 JOSEPH. ibid. TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 2 & 4.

[y] TACIT. ibid.

terprize; but putting *Tiridates*, another prince of the royal family of *Parthia*, in the room of *Phrahates*, wrote to *Mithridates Iberus*, requesting him to invade *Armenia* with his brother *Pharasmanes* king of *Iberia*, and by that means to draw *Artabanus* out of his own kingdom. *Mithridates*, pursuant to the directions of *Tiberius*, entered *Armenia*, at the head of a numerous army of *Iberians*, and made himself master of *Artaxata*, the metropolis of that kingdom. At the same time his brother *Pharasmanes*, having recourse to treachery, suborned some of the servants of *Arsaces* to murder him. *Artabanus* no sooner heard of the invasion of *Armenia* and the death of his son, but he dispatched his other son *Orodes*, with a mighty army, against the enemy, and at the same time sent to hire auxiliaries in *Sarmatia*, and the neighbouring countries. *Pharasmanes*, on the other hand, having joined the *Albanian* forces to his own, and received great supplies from *Sarmatia*, marched to the assistance of his brother, and meeting with *Orodes*, offered him battle; which he declining, *Parasmanes* besieged him in his camp, and reduced him to such straits, that he was obliged at last to put all to the issue of an engagement, which proved very bloody, the *Parthians* behaving with their usual bravery. The victory was long doubtful; but in the end *Pharasmanes* having attacked and wounded *Orodes*, and a report being thereon spread through the *Parthian* army that he was killed, the *Parthians* retired in disorder, and left *Pharasmanes* master of the field. This victory was attended with the conquest of *Armenia*, which *Pharasmanes* over-ran without opposition, the *Parthians* flying every where before him. In the mean time, *Artabanus*, having raised another army, marched in person against the united forces of *Mithridates* and *Pharasmanes*; but was attended with no better success than his son *Orodes*, his army being intirely defeated, and himself obliged to abandon his kingdom, and take refuge among the *Carmanians* and *Hyrcanians* [a].

Artabanus *driven from the throne.*

Upon the retreat of *Artabanus*, *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, advanced with his legions to the banks of the *Euphrates*; and having crossed that river on a bridge of boats, caused *Tiridates*, whom he had brought with him, to be proclaimed king of *Parthia*. The new king was immediately joined by a great many *Parthian* lords, among whom were *Ornospades*, *Sinnaces*, and *Abdagases*. *Ornospades* brought with him a strong body of horse, and *Abdagases* all the ensigns of royalty, which had been committed to his care. When *Vitellius* found the *Parthians* inclined to receive *Tiridates*, thinking it enough to have countenanced them, he repassed

Tiridates.

[a] Tacit. annal. l. vi. c. 36. Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6.

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the *Euphrates* with his legions, and retired into *Syria*. He was no sooner gone, than *Phrahates* and *Hiero*, two men of great power and authority among the *Parthians*, out of envy to *Abdageſes*, who governed the new king and his whole court, returned to their old allegiance, and recalled *Artabanus*, who was, at his firſt appearing, joined by all thoſe who hated *Abdageſes*. The *Scythians* likewiſe, the *Dahæ* and the *Sacæ*, declared in his favour, and ſent him powerful ſupplies; ſo that he was ſoon in a condition to take the field; which he did accordingly, at the head of a very numerous and well-diſciplined army. *Tiridates*, who had ſpent his whole time in beſieging a fortreſs, whither *Artabanus* had conveyed his treaſures and concubines, did not think it adviſeable to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle; and therefore retired into *Meſopotamia*, with a deſign to recruit his army in the country of the *Elymæans* and *Armenians*, and then try the fortune of a battle; but in his march he was abandoned by the greateſt part of his troops, who either retired home, or fled to *Artabanus*; inſomuch, that not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe within the *Parthian* dominions, he retired into *Syria*, leaving his competitor in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown [a]. But it was not long ere new diſturbances obliged *Artabanus* to quit the kingdom a ſecond time. The nobility, not being able to bear his cruelties and haughty behaviour, conſpired anew againſt him, and taking up arms, obliged him to ſhelter himſelf in the dominions of *Izates* king of the *Adiabenians*, who not only received and entertained him in a manner ſuitable to his rank, but, by his kind offices, prevailed upon the *Parthian* nobility to receive him again, after he had, by a ſolemn oath, promiſed to forgive all thoſe who had taken up arms againſt him. The *Parthians* had placed one *Cinnamus* on the throne in his room; who was by the ſame *Izates* perſuaded to reſign, of his own accord, the regal power and authority, to the baniſhed prince. *Artabanus*, being thus reſtored to his kingdom by the mediation of *Izates*, in acknowledgment of the favours he had received at his hands, beſtowed on him the rich country of *Niſibis*, and allowed him to wear a ſtrait tiara, and to lie in a golden bed; which were privileges peculiar to the kings of *Parthia* [b]. From this time he governed with great equity and moderation, and, after a reign of thirty years, died greatly lamented by all his ſubjects, leaving behind him ſeven ſons, *viz.* *Darius*, *Bardanes*, *Gotarzes*, *Orodes*, *Vologeſes*, *Pacorus*, and *Tiridates*. By his laſt will he appointed *Bardanes* to ſucceed him, who, forget-

Artabanus *reſtored.*

Bardanes.

[a] TACIT. ibid. c. 41, 42, 43, 44. JOSEPH. ibid c. 6. DION. CASS. l. lviii. p. 537. SUET. in Tiber. c. 66. [b] JOSEPH. ibid.

ful of the obligations his family owed to *Izates*, made war upon him, for no other reason, but because he refused to join him against the *Romans*[c]. His monstrous ingratitude towards a prince who had so well deserved of the *Parthian* nation, was highly resented by the chief lords of his kingdom, who taking up arms against him, killed him, and raised his brother *Gotarzes* to the throne[d]. This is the account which *Josephus* gives us, in a few words, of the accession to the crown, and reigns of *Bardanes* and *Gotarzes*; but *Tacitus*, disagreeing with that writer, relates the matter in a quite different manner[e]. According to him, *Gotarzes* and *Bardanes* were not the sons, but the brothers of *Artabanus*, who was succeeded by *Gotarzes*, a most cruel prince, and therefore so hated by his subjects, that they called *Bardanes* to the throne. *Bardanes*, as he was a man of great resolution and activity, marched in two days three thousand furlongs, and arriving at *Ctesiphon*, surprized and drove *Gotarzes* from the throne. With the same expedition he over-ran the chief provinces of the *Parthian* empire, and was every-where received with loud acclamations. *Seleucia* was the only city that refused to submit to him, which he closely besieged; but while he was wasting his time before that place, *Gotarzes* unexpectedly arrived at the head of a numerous army of *Dahans* and *Hyrcanians*, which obliged *Bardanes* to raise the siege, and retire to the plains of *Bactria*, where he encamped with a design to venture a battle in the open fields. *Gotarzes* followed him; but while the two armies were ready to engage, *Gotarzes* received private intelligence of a conspiracy formed by the chief men of the kingdom against himself, and also his brother, to whom he immediately imparted it. Hereupon the two competitors had an interview, in which, tho' at first distrusting each other, they were at last thoroughly reconciled, both of them swearing on the altars not to molest one another, but to turn their arms against their common enemies; nay, *Gotarzes*, judging *Bardanes* more worthy of the crown than himself, an instance of equity and moderation seldom to be met with, resigned it to him; and, in order to remove all ground of jealousy, retired into the most remote parts of *Hyrcania*. *Bardanes*, leaving *Bactria*, returned to the siege of *Seleucia*, which voluntarily submitted to him, after he had attempted in vain to reduce it by force. Being now sole master of the whole *Parthian* empire, he formed a design of re-

Gotarzes

Gotarzes *driven out by* Bardanes.

Gotarzes *resigns the crown to his brother* Bardanes.

[c] Idem ibid. Zonar. l. iii. Philostrat. l. i. & iii de vita Apollon. [d] Joseph. ibid. [e] Tacit. annal. l. xi. c. 8.

covering

covering *Armenia*; but *Vilius Marsus*, or, as we read in *Josephus*, *Cassius Longinus*, governor of *Syria*, threatening him with war, in case he made any attempts upon that kingdom, he thought it advisable to drop the enterprize [f].

IN the mean time, *Gotarzes*, repenting his resignation, and being recalled by the nobility, who, in time of peace, were ever plotting changes in the government, raised new forces, and advanced at the head of a powerful army as far as the river *Charinda*, where he was met and intirely defeated by *Bardanes*, who, elated with that victory, attacked and reduced all the countries lying between that river and the *Gindes*, which parts the *Dahans* from the *Arians*. There he was obliged to halt, the *Parthians* tho' victorious, refusing to follow him into countries so remote from their own. Having therefore erected monuments with pompous inscriptions, importing, that none of the *Arsacidæ*, before him, had exacted tributes from those nations, he returned home, loaded with the spoils of the countries he had conquered. The glory he acquired in this expedition inspired him with such pride, that he became quite insupportable to his subjects, especially to the nobility; who thereupon conspiring against him, killed him at a hunting match, when he was not attended as usual by his guards, as not apprehending any treachery or danger. He was, according to *Tacitus*, a prince endued with excellent qualities, and would have been one of the greatest kings that ever reigned in *Parthia* had he studied to be as much beloved by his subjects, as he was feared by his enemies [g].

Bardanes murdered.

UPON the death of *Bardanes*, new disputes arose among the nobility about the electing of a king to succeed him, some declaring for *Gotarzes*, and others for *Meherdates*, the grandson of *Phrahates*, by whom he had been delivered to the *Romans* as an hostage. At last the party of *Gotarzes* prevailed, who was no sooner placed on the throne, than he began to use all sorts of cruelty on his subjects, especially on those who had adhered to *Meherdates*; whereupon they had private recourse to the emperor *Claudius*, soliciting him to send them *Meherdates*, since they could no longer bear with *Gotarzes*, whose cruelties had rendered him odious to all his subjects. *Claudius* readily complied with their request, and having exhorted *Meherdates* to govern with equity and moderation, blessings, said he, unknown to barbarians, and thence the more likely to please them, he dismissed him, toge-

Gotarzes.

Meherdates *set up against him by the* Parthian *nobility, and supported by the emperor* Claudius.

[f] TACIT. ibid. c. 8, & 9. JOSEPH. ibid. [g] TACIT. ibid.

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ther with the embaſſadors, and at the ſame time wrote to *Caius Caſſius*, governor of *Syria*, injoining him to attend the young prince to the banks of the *Euphrates*. As ſoon as *Meherdates* arrived in *Syria*, *Caſſius*, agreeable to his inſtructions, drew together his legions, and marched with them to *Zeugma*, where the river was then fordable. There he encamped, and being joined by *Abgarus* king of *Edeſſa* and ſuch of the *Parthian* chiefs as privately favoured *Meherdates*, he exhorted, in their preſence, the new king to preſs on the execution of his deſign without delay, leſt the *Parthians* ſhould in the mean time change their mind, as it had often happened, and cooling in their affections to him, retire home, or join his competitor. This advice, the beſt that could be given him, was fruſtrated by the treachery of *Abgarus*, who had, in appearance, eſpouſed the intereſt of *Meherdates*, but was in reality intirely attached to *Gotarzes*; and therefore detained the young king many days at *Edeſſa*, tho' *Carrhanes* a leading man among the *Parthians*, and a ſincere friend to *Meherdates*, preſſed him, by frequent meſſages, to advance with all poſſible expedition, and aſſured him, that if he only ſhewed himſelf, he would be joined by great multitudes; but *Meherdates*, neglecting the advice of his friends, followed that only of the treacherous *Abgarus*, who prevailed upon him to march a great way about, and, inſtead of entering *Meſopotamia*, tho' he was on the borders of that country, to paſs through *Armenia*, which, as winter was already begun, was in great part covered with ſnow. As they came down into the champain country, wearied with the deep ſnow and ſteep mountains, *Carrhanes* joined them with his forces. Thence they croſſed the *Tigris*, paſſed thro' the country of the *Adiabenians*, and advancing to the city of *Ninos*, the antient ſeat of the kings of *Aſſyria*, made themſelves maſters of that place, as they did likewiſe of the ſtrong caſtle of *Arbela*, ſo famous in hiſtory on account of the ſignal victory gained there by *Alexander* over *Darius*. In the mean time *Gotarzes*, having offered ſacrifices on mount *Sambulos* to the gods of the place, eſpecially to *Hercules*, came and incamped in the plain, with the river *Carma* between him and the enemy. *Meherdates* endeavoured by daily inſults and haughty meſſages, to draw him to a battle; but he declined it, ſoliciting in the mean time by his emiſſaries, the friends of *Meherdates* to abandon and betray him: and herein he was atended with all the ſucceſs he could have wiſhed for; for firſt *Izates* king of the *Adiabenians*, and afterwards *Abgarus* king of the *Edeſſans* went over to him, with all the forces under their command.

Meherdates *betrayed by* Abgarus *king of* Edeſſa.

mand. *Meherdates* seeing himself thus forsaken by his allies, and mistrusting those who remained, resolved, as his only recourse, to commit the issue to chance, and risque a battle, which *Gotarzes* no longer avoided, his army being now as much strengthened as his enemy's was weakened. Both parties engaged with the utmost fury, and the victory continued doubtful, till *Carrhanes*, having put to flight one of the enemy's wings and pursuing it too far, was surrounded by a body of reserve, which prevented him from returning to the assistance of *Meherdates*; who thereupon, being intirely defeated, and so hemmed in that he could not make his escape, surrendered himself to one *Parrhaces*, a dependent of his father's, by whom he was immediately loaded with fetters, and delivered up to the conqueror. *Gotarzes* looking upon him not as one of the race of *Arsaces*, but as a *Roman* and foreigner, ordered his ears to be cut off, in contempt of the *Romans*, but granted him his life to shew his clemency [h].

His army defeated, and himself taken prisoner.

NOT long after *Gotarzes* died, and was succeeded by *Vonones*, at that time governor of *Media*, whose reign was short and inglorious; for he did nothing which writers have thought worth transmitting to posterity. Upon the death of *Vonones*, the crown of *Parthia* devolved upon *Vologeses*, the son of *Gotarzes* according to *Josephus*, of *Vonones* according to *Tacitus*. In the very beginning of his reign he invaded *Armenia* with a powerful army, and having, without opposition, made himself master of *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta*, the two chief cities of that kingdom, he obliged *Rhadamistus* the *Iberian*, who had usurped the crown, to save himself in *Iberia*. Upon his retreat, *Vologeses* declared his brother *Tiridates* king of *Armenia*, having before appointed his other brother, by name *Pacorus*, king of *Media*; for *Tiridates* and *Pacorus* had yielded the crown of *Parthia* to him, tho' born of a *Greek* concubine; whence he thought it incumbent upon him to procure a crown for those, who had so generously parted with one for his sake. But while he was in *Armenia*, a plague breaking out in his army, occasioned chiefly by want of provisions, he was forced to relinquish his conquests, and retire into his own dominions. Hereupon *Domitius Corbulo* entering *Armenia*, drove out *Tiridates*, with the few *Parthian* forces that had continued with him, and placed on that throne *Tigranes* the *Cappadocian*, as we have related in the history of *Armenia*. This affront *Vologeses* could not brook, and therefore having publickly and with great solemnity,

Vonones.

Vologeses

His wars with the Romans.

[h] Idem ibid. & l. xii. c. 14.

crowned

crowned *Tiridates* king of *Armenia*, he dispatched *Monæses*, one of his generals, with a strong body of chosen horse and *Adiabenian* auxiliaries, injoining him to drive out *Tigranes*, and recover *Armenia*, which had been long held by, and therefore belonged to, the princes of the family of *Arsaces*. As for himself, he dropped his expedition against the *Hyrcanians*, who had lately revolted; and, having drawn together a mighty army, began to make the necessary preparations for a descent on the *Roman* provinces. *Corbulo*, whom *Nero* had charged with the defence of *Armenia*, was no sooner acquainted with the measures taken by *Vologeses*, than he sent two legions to the assistance of *Tigranes*, under the command of *Verulanus Severus* and *Vettius Bolanus*, with private injunctions to act rather with caution than eagerness and dispatch; for he was more desirous, as *Tacitus* observes, of keeping a war on foot, than bringing it to a speedy conclusion; besides he had wrote to *Nero*, that another general was necessary to defend *Armenia*, since *Syria* was threatened with a terrible storm from *Vologeses*. In the mean time, he posted the remaining legions along the banks of the *Euphrates*, and having raised new forces in the province, placed guards at all the passes, and erected forts over the several fountains to prevent the enemy from having any water in that dry and sandy country.

WHILE *Corbulo* was thus busied in securing *Syria*, *Monæses* advanced by long marches towards *Armenia*, hoping to surprize *Tigranes*: but with all his expedition, he found that prince well guarded against him; for he had furnished the strong city of *Tigranocerta* with all manner of provisions and warlike stores, and retired into it with all his forces. *Monæses*, after having attempted in vain to reduce it, withdrew, and began to lay waste the country. Hereupon *Corbulo*, who was unwilling to engage in a war with the *Parthians*, lest he should lose the reputation he had hitherto gained, sent embassadors to *Vologeses*, to expostulate with him for falling upon a *Roman* province, for besieging a king who was a friend and ally of the *Roman* people, and for ravaging a country which *Rome* had taken under her protection. At the same time he gave him to understand, that if he did not forthwith abandon the siege of *Tigranocerta*, he would look upon it as an infraction of the treaties subsisting between the *Parthians* and *Romans*, and in his turn invade the *Parthian* territories. *Vologeses*, as he did not care to provoke *Corbulo*, who had acquired great fame by his military exploits, answered with great moderation, that he would send embassadors to *Rome*, to

to beg of *Nero* the kingdom of *Armenia*, and to renew the alliance made by his anceſtors with the people of *Rome*. Agreeable to this anſwer he immediately diſpatched meſſengers to *Monæſes*, ordering him to raiſe the ſiege of *Tigranocerta*; and retired himſelf with all his forces into the heart of his dominions, to wait there for the return of the embaſſadors he had ſent to *Rome*. The emperor *Nero* received them in a very obliging manner, but refuſed to renew his antient alliance with the *Parthians*, unleſs they renounced all pretenſions to the crown of *Armenia*. This anſwer ſo incenſed *Vologeſes*, that he immediately drew again all his forces together, with a deſign to invade *Syria*; but finding the banks of the *Euphrates* ſtrongly guarded by *Corbulo*, he turned all his efforts againſt *Armenia*; where he gained thoſe advantages over *Ceſennius Petus*, which we have related at length in the hiſtory of that kingdom. However, he conſented at laſt, dreading the conſequence of a war with the *Romans*, that his brother *Tiridates* ſhould go in perſon to *Rome*, and there receive the crown of *Armenia* as a gift from *Nero*; which he did accordingly. By this means the antient alliance between the two empires was renewed, and the affairs of the eaſt ſettled in peace [i]. From this time no further mention is made of *Vologeſes*, till the beginning of the reign of *Veſpaſian*, to whom he ſent embaſſadors, offering to aſſiſt him with forty thouſand *Parthian* horſe [k]. *Veſpaſian*, as he was already ſettled on the throne, did not accept of the ſuccours offered him; but, renewing all the antient treaties with the *Parthians*, diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, loaded with preſents, and maintained, during the reign of *Vologeſes*, a good underſtanding with the *Parthian* nation. *Vologeſes*, being now diſengaged from all foreign and domeſtic wars, applied himſelf to the building of a city, which, from his own name, he called *Vologeſocerta*, or, *the city of Vologeſes*; but was prevented by death from completing the work he had begun.

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Artabanus* III. who, falling out with *Veſpaſian*, eſpouſed the cauſe of the counterfeit *Nero*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of *Rome*. However, the emperor did not think it adviſeable to reſent the affront, for fear of kindling a new war in the eaſt, the kingdom of *Parthia* being at that time in a very flouriſhing condition, and the *Roman* provinces greatly weakened by a late irruption of the *Alani*, a barbarous people of *Scythia*, inhabiting the countries bordering on the Artabanus III.

[i] TACIT. ibid. [k] TACIT. hiſt. l. vi.

river *Tanais* and the lake *Meotis*. *Artabanus* had formed a deſign of invading *Armenia*; but died before he could put it in execution [l]. Upon his death, his ſon *Pacorus* II. was raiſed to the throne; but all we know of him is, that he entered into an alliance with *Decebalus* king of the *Daci*, and maintained, during the whole time of his reign, which is ſaid to have been very long, a ſtrict friendſhip with the *Romans* [m].

Pacorus II.

Coſdroes.

He was ſucceeded by his brother *Coſdroes*, who invading *Armenia*, drove out *Exadares*, who had been appointed king of that country by the emperor *Trajan*, and in his room placed his eldeſt ſon *Parthamaſiris* on the throne. As this was an open infraction of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two empires, *Trajan* haſtened into the eaſt, with a deſign to humble the *Parthians*, who, relying on their victories formerly gained over the *Romans*, were daily raiſing new diſturbances in *Syria* and *Armenia*, and making incurſions into the *Roman* provinces bordering on their dominions. His arrival in *Armenia* was ſo ſudden and unexpected, that he reduced the whole country, almoſt without oppoſition, and took *Parthamaſiris* himſelf priſoner. Animated with theſe ſucceſſes, he entered *Meſopotamia*; and having there beſieged and taken the ſtrong city of *Niſibis*, after many ſkirmiſhes and encounters, he made himſelf maſter of that opulent country, never before ſubject to *Rome*. From *Meſopotamia*, which he reduced to a *Roman* province, he returned, in the beginning of the winter, into *Syria*, whence he acquainted the ſenate with the ſucceſs that had attended his arms againſt the *Parthians*, and was by them honoured with the ſurnames of *Armenicus* and *Parthicus* [n].

Early in the ſpring, he took the field again; but was warmly oppoſed by *Coſdroes*, whom he found encamped on the banks of the *Euphrates*, with a deſign to diſpute his paſſage; which he did with ſuch vigour, that the emperor, after having ſeveral times attempted to ford that river, and been always repulſed with great ſlaughter, was obliged to cauſe boats to be built on the neighbouring mountains, which he privately conveyed from thence on carriages to the water ſide; and having in the night-time formed a bridge with them, he paſſed his army the next day, but not without great loſs and danger, the *Parthians* haraſſing his men the whole time with inceſſant ſhowers of arrows, which did

[l] Xiphilin. in Othone. [m] Suidas, voce Ωνητην. Plin. epiſt. l. x. [n] Sext. Ruf. in breviar. Theodos. Min. Spartian. in Trajan.

grea

great execution. Having gained the oppoſite bank, he advanced boldly into *Aſſyria*, the *Parthians* flying every-where before him, and made himſelf maſter of *Arbela*. Thence he purſued his march, ſubduing, with incredible rapidity, countries, where the *Roman* ſtandards had never been diſplayed before. *Babylonia*, or the province of *Babylon*, voluntarily ſubmitted to him. The city itſelf was, after a vigorous reſiſtance, taken by ſtorm; by which means he became maſter of all *Chaldea* and *Aſſyria*, the two richeſt provinces of the *Parthian* empire. From *Babylon* he marched to *Cteſiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian* monarchy, which he beſieged and at laſt reduced. But as to the particulars of theſe great conqueſts, we are quite in the dark, this expedition, however glorious to the *Roman* name, being rather hinted at, than deſcribed by the writers of thoſe times. While *Trajan* was thus making war in the heart of the enemy's country, *Coſdroes*, having recruited his army, marched into *Meſopotamia*, with a deſign to recover that country, and cut off all communication between the *Roman* army and *Syria*. On his arrival in that province, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts, and moſt of the cities, driving out the gariſons left by *Trajan*, opened their gates to him. Hereupon the emperor detached *Lucius* and *Maximus*, two of his chief commanders, into *Meſopotamia*, to keep ſuch cities in awe as had not revolted, and to open a communication with *Syria*. *Maximus* was met by *Coſdroes*, and having ventured a battle, his army was intirely defeated and himſelf killed. But *Lucius*, being joined by *Euricius* and *Clarius*, two other commanders ſent by *Trajan* with freſh ſupplies, gained conſiderable advantages over the enemy, and retook the cities of *Niſibis* and *Seleucia*, which had revolted. And now *Trajan*, ſeeing himſelf poſſeſſed of all the beſt and moſt fruitful provinces of the *Parthian* empire, but at the ſame time being well appriſed that he could not, without a vaſt expence, maintain his conqueſts, nor keep in awe ſo fierce and warlike a people at ſuch a diſtance from *Italy*, reſolved to ſet over them a king of his own chooſing, who ſhould hold the crown of him and his ſucceſſors, and acknowledge them as his lords and ſovereigns. With this view he repaired to *Cteſiphon*, and having there aſſembled the chief men of the nation, he crowned one of the royal family, by name *Parthanaſpates*, king of *Parthia*, obliging all who were preſent to pay him their allegiance. He choſe *Parthanaſpates*, becauſe that prince had joined him at his firſt entering the *Parthian* dominions, conducted him with

great fidelity, and ſhewn on all occaſions an extraordinary attachment to the *Romans*. Thus the *Parthians* were at laſt ſubdued, and their kingdom made tributary to *Rome*. But they did not long continue in this ſtate of ſubjection; for they no ſooner heard of *Trajan*'s death, which happened ſoon after, than, taking up arms, they drove *Parthanaſpates* from the throne, and recalling *Coſdroes*, who had retired into the country of the *Hyrcanians*, openly revolted from *Rome*. *Adrian*, who was then commander in chief of all the forces in the eaſt, and ſoon after acknowledged emperor by the army, did not care, tho' he was at that time in *Syria* with a very numerous army, to engage in a new war with the *Parthians*; but contented himſelf with preſerving the antient limits of the empire, without any ambitious proſpects of farther conqueſts: therefore, in the beginning of his reign, he abandoned thoſe provinces beyond the *Euphrates*, which *Trajan* had conquered, withdrew the *Roman* gariſons from *Meſopotamia*, and, for the greater ſafety of other places, made the *Euphrates* the boundary of, and barrier in, thoſe parts, poſting his legions along the banks of that river. Some writers are of opinion, that he did this out of a ſecret envy to his uncle *Trajan*'s glory and reputation; but others commend it as a very politic and prudent action, the maintaining of thoſe diſtant conqueſts being attended with many inconveniences, and no advantages, to the empire. Before he left *Antioch* to return to *Rome*, in order to keep the *Parthians* quiet, he diſmiſſed their priſoners without ranſom, and among the reſt, the daughter of *Coſdroes*, who had been taken by *Trajan*. *Coſdroes*, in return for theſe favours, never offered to diſturb the *Romans* in the poſſeſſion of the provinces bordering on his dominions; but ſhewed himſelf always ready to aſſiſt them, as his beſt friends and allies [o].

Vologeſes II.

Coſdroes died after a long reign, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Vologeſes*; in whoſe reign the *Alani* breaking into *Media*, then ſubject to the *Parthians*, committed there great devaſtations; but were prevailed upon, with rich preſents ſent them by *Vologeſes*, to abandon that kingdom and return home. Upon their retreat, *Vologeſes*, having no enemy to contend with at home, fell unexpectedly upon *Armenia*, ſurprized the legions there, and having cut them in pieces all to a man, entered *Syria*, defeated, with great ſlaughter, *Atilius*

[o] Theodos. Min. in frag. Spartian. Xiphilin. ibid. Paul. Diacon. hiſt. miſcell.

tilius Cornelianus, governor of that province, and advanced, without oppoſition, to the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, putting every-where the *Romans*, and thoſe who favoured them, to the ſword. Hereupon the emperor *Verus*, by the advice of his collegue *Antoninus*, ſurnamed *the Philoſopher*, leaving *Rome*, haſtened into *Syria*, and, having driven the *Parthians* out of that province, ordered *Statius Priſcus* to invade *Armenia*, and *Caſſius*, with *Martius Verus*, to enter the *Parthian* territories, and carry the war into the enemy's country. *Priſcus* made himſelf maſter of *Artaxata*, and, in one campaign, drove the *Parthians*, though not without great loſs on his ſide, quite out of *Armenia*. *Caſſius*, on the other hand, having in ſeveral encounters defeated *Vologeſes*, though he had an army of four hundred thouſand men under his command, reduced, in four years time, all thoſe provinces which had formerly ſubmitted to *Trajan*, took *Seleucia*, burnt and plundered the famous cities of *Babylon* and *Cteſiphon*, with the ſtately palaces of the *Parthian* monarchs, and ſtruck terror into the moſt remote provinces of that empire. On his return he loſt above half the number of his forces by ſickneſs and famine; ſo that after all the *Romans*, as *Spartianus* obſerves, had no great reaſon to brag of their victories and conqueſts. However, *Antoninus Verus*, who had never ſtirred, during the whole time of the war, from *Antioch* and *Daphne*, took upon him the lofty titles of *Parthicus* and *Armenicus*, as if he had juſtly acquired them in the midſt of his pleaſures and debaucheries [q]. We are told, that ſome of *Caſſius*'s ſoldiers, in pillaging the temple of *Apollo* at *Babylon*, found under ground a ſmall golden coffer, which, upon their opening it, caſt forth ſuch peſtilential vapours as infected all thoſe who were preſent, and by their means the reſt of the army. As *Verus*, on his return to *Italy*, took *Caſſius*'s forces along with him, he carried the plague into all the provinces through which he paſſed, and ſpread the infection through *Italy*, whence it was communicated to the moſt remote parts of the empire, and every-where attended with great mortality. After the revolt and death of *Caſſius*, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of in the hiſtory of the *Roman* emperors, *Antoninus the Philoſopher* repaired into *Syria*, to ſettle the affairs of that province, and was, on his arrival, met by embaſſadors from *Vologeſes*, who, having recovered moſt of the provinces ſubdued by *Caſſius*, and being

[q] EUTROP. in chron. VOPISC. in AURELIAN. OROS. hiſt. miſcel. THEODOS. MITYL. ibid.

unwilling

unwilling either to part with them, or engage in a new war, ſolicited the emperor to confirm him in the poſſeſſion of them, promiſing to hold them of him, and to acknowledge the ſovereignty of *Rome*. To theſe terms *Antoninus* readily agreed, and a peace was accordingly concluded betweeen the two empires, which *Vologeſes* did not long enjoy, being ſoon after carried off by a diſtemper, and not murdered by his own ſubjects, as we read in *Conſtantinus Manaſſes*, who calls him *Belegeſes*.

Vologeſes III.

Upon his death *Vologeſes* III. the ſon of his brother *Sanatruces*, and grandſon of *Coſdroes*, was raiſed to the throne. He ſided with *Niger* againſt the emperor *Severus*, who thereupon, having ſettled matters of home, marched with all his forces againſt him, and, advancing to the city of *Cteſiphon*, whither he had retired, laid cloſe ſiege to that metropolis. *Vologeſes* made a moſt gallant defence; but the city, after a long ſiege, and much bloodſhed on both ſides, was at length taken by aſſault. The king's treaſures, with his wives and children, fell into the emperor's hands; but *Vologeſes* himſelf had the good luck to make his eſcape, which was a great diſappointment to *Severus*, who immediately diſpatched an expreſs, to acquaint the ſenate with the ſucceſs that had attended him in his expedition, againſt the only nation that was then formidable to *Rome*. He ſent likewiſe a particular deſcription of the countries, cities, rivers, and mountains he had paſſed, and of the battles he had fought, all drawn and painted upon tables; for which the ſurnames of *Parthicus*, *Arabicus*, and *Adiabenicus*, were decreed him. But he had no ſooner croſſed the *Euphrates*, than *Vologeſes* recovered all the provinces, except *Meſopotamia*, which he had reduced. Theſe expeditions were very chargeable to the *Romans*, and coſt them much blood, without their reaping any advantages from them; for as they had not ſufficient forces to keep in awe the provinces they had ſubdued, the inhabitants, greatly attached to the family of *Arſaces*, never failed to return to their antient obedience, as ſoon as the *Roman* armies were withdrawn. *Vologeſes* was ſoon after engaged in a war, ſtill more troubleſome and deſtructive, with his brother *Artabanus*, who, encouraged by ſome of the diſcontented nobles, attempted to rob him of the crown, and place it on his own head. *Vologeſes* gained ſeveral victories over his brother and rebellious ſubjects; but died before he could reſtore the empire to its former tranquillity.

Artabanus, who had a numerous army at his devotion, did not meet with any oppoſition in ſeizing the throne vacant by the death of his brother, though *Tiridates* had a better title to it, as being his elder brother. He had ſcarce ſettled the affairs of his kingdom, when the emperor *Caracalla*, deſirous to ſignalize himſelf, as ſeveral of his predeceſſors had done, by ſome memorable exploit againſt the *Parthians*, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to him, deſiring his daughter in marriage. *Artabanus*, overjoyed at this propoſal, which, he thought, would be attended with a laſting peace between the two empires, received the embaſſadors with all poſſible marks of honour, and readily complied with their requeſt. Soon after *Caracalla* ſent a ſecond embaſſy, to acquaint the king, that he was coming to ſolemnize the nuptials: whereupon *Artabanus* went to meet him, attended with the flower of the nobility, and his beſt troops, all unarmed, and in moſt pompous habits; but this peaceable train no ſooner approached the *Roman* army, than the ſoldiers, on a ſignal given them, falling upon the king's retinue, made a moſt terrible ſlaughter of the unarmed multitude, *Artabanus* himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty. The treacherous *Caracalla*, having gained by this exploit great booty, and, as he thought, no leſs glory, wrote a long and boaſting letter to the ſenate, aſſuming the title of *Parthicus* for this piece of treachery, as he had before that of *Germanicus*, for murdering in like manner ſome of the *German* nobility. *Artabanus*, reſolving to make the *Romans* pay dear for their inhuman and barbarous treachery, raiſed the moſt numerous army that had ever been on foot in *Parthia*, croſſed the *Euphrates*, and entered *Syria*, putting all to fire and ſword; but *Caracalla* being murdered before this invaſion, *Macrinus*, who had ſucceeded him, met the *Parthians* at the head of a mighty army, compoſed of many legions, and all the auxiliaries of the ſtates of *Aſia*. The two armies no ſooner came in ſight of each other, but they engaged with the utmoſt fury. The battle continued two days, both *Romans* and *Parthians* fighting ſo obſtinately, that night only parted them, without any apparent advantage on either ſide, though both retired, when night had put an end to the conteſt, crying, *Victory, victory*. The field of battle was covered all over with dead bodies, there being already above forty thouſand killed, including both *Romans* and *Parthians*; nevertheleſs *Artabanus* was heard to ſay, that the battle was only begun, and that he would continue it till either the *Parthians* or *Romans* were all to a

Artabanus IV.

Treachery of the emperor Caracalla.

Artabanus *invades* Syria.

An obſtinate engagement between the Parthians *and* Romans.

man

man cut in pieces. But *Macrinus* being well appriſed, that the king came highly inraged againſt *Caracalla* in particular, and dreading the conſequences which would attend the deſtruction of his army, ſent a herald to *Artabanus*, acquainting him with the death of *Caracalla*, and propoſing an alliance between the two empires. The king, underſtanding that his great enemy was dead, readily embraced the propoſals of peace and amity, upon condition that all the priſoners, who had been taken by the treachery of *Caracalla*, ſhould be immediately reſtored, and a large ſum of money paid him to defray the expences of the war. Theſe articles being performed without delay or heſitation, *Artabanus* returned into *Parthia*, and *Macrinus* to *Antioch* [q].

The Perſians *revolt.*

As *Artabanus* loſt on this occaſion the flower of his army, *Artaxerxes*, a *Perſian* of a mean deſcent, but of great courage and experience in war, revolting from the *Parthians*, prevailed upon his countrymen to join him, and attempt the recovery of the ſovereign power, which, he ſaid, they had been unjuſtly deprived of, firſt by the *Macedonians*, and afterwards by the *Parthians*, formerly their vaſſals. *Artabanus*, upon the news of this revolt, marched with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom to ſuppreſs it; but being met by *Artaxerxes*, at the head of a no leſs powerful army, a bloody battle enſued, which is ſaid to have laſted three days. At length the *Parthians*, though they behaved with the utmoſt bravery, and fought like men in deſpair, were forced to yield to the *Perſians*, who were commanded by a more experienced leader. Moſt of their troops were cut off in the flight, and the king himſelf taken priſoner, and ſoon after put to death by *Artaxerxes*'s orders. The *Parthians*, having loſt, in this fatal engagement, both their king and their army, were forced to ſubmit to the conqueror, and become vaſſals to a nation which had been ſubject to them for the ſpace of four hundred and ſeventy five years. Thus was this gallant and warlike nation ſubdued at laſt, and the empire once more transferred to the *Perſians*; whoſe kings reigns, till they were in their turn reduced by the *Arabs*, will be the ſubject of the following ſection. However, the royal family of *Arſaces* did not end in *Artabanus*, but continued to reign in *Armenia* till the time of the emperor *Juſtinian*, holding that kingdom of the *Perſian* monarchs, to whom the *Arſacidæ*

Defeat the Parthians, *kill their king, and put an end to the* Parthian *empire.*

[q] Theodos Mitil. ubi ſupra. Zonar. l. iv. Sozomen. lnlior tupart. l iii c. 1.

of

of *Armenia* were tributaries. Among these we find the following princes mentioned in history, *Arsaces*, *Teridates*, *Artavasdes*, *Teridates* II. *Arsaces* II. *Paras*, *Tigranes*, and *Arsaces* III. all descended from *Arsaces*, brother to *Artabanus* IV. the last king of *Parthia*. But of *Armenia*, and the princes who reigned there, after that country became subject to the *Persians*, we shall have occasion to speak in the next section.

CHAP. XIII.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of the Perſians, *from their recovering the empire from the* Parthians, *to their being ſubdued by the* Arabs.

According to the Greek *and* Latin *authors.*

THE reader hath before ſeen, after what manner, and how long, the *Perſians* were ſubject to the *Parthian* princes. We are here to ſpeak of their atchievements after they had again rendered themſelves independent; and not only ſo, but lords alſo of many ſpacious provinces, and the firſt nation in the eaſt. As we have no regular hiſtory of *Perſia* by any *Greek* or *Latin* writer, what we offer to the reader in this ſection, is collected, as carefully as might be, from ſuch as have occaſionally mentioned the *Perſian* affairs. Theſe paſſages we have digeſted into their natural order; and, if there be any omiſſions, they will be ſupplied in the next article, wherein we ſhall treat of the ſame period from the oriental hiſtorians (A).

A

(A) There is no branch of the *Univerſal Hiſtory* which more clearly evinces the general uſefulneſs of this work, or the peculiar ſymmetry of its parts, than this before us. All the general hiſtories, that have been publiſhed in our own, or in other modern languages, are ſtrangely deficient in this article. We have either a looſe, unſatisfactory account of the paſſing of the empire of the eaſt from the *Parthians* to the *Perſians*, and from them to the *Arabians*;

A TABLE of the *Perſian* kings.

	Years.	Months.
Artaxares	14	10
Sapores	31	

Ormiſdates

Arabians; or we have ſuch a chronological table of their kings, as that inſerted in our text, with a few remarks thereon from *Scaliger*'s *Chronicon*, or ſome other collection; and ſo we are hurried to another ſubject. It muſt be owned, that there are ſome particular relations which promiſe fairer, and perform more, than is either expected or done by the compilers of general hiſtories; but then we can very truly affirm, that even theſe fall very far ſhort of the following account. The learned 1) *Bizarus*, whoſe hiſtory of the *Perſian* affairs is deſervedly eſteemed the beſt extant, takes all that he hath relating to this period from a very few *Latin* and *Greek* authors; ſo that, for very want of materials, he is forced to draw in the *Roman* affairs, and other matters ſtill more foreign; nay, he once digreſſed ſo far as to mention *William the Conqueror* and compliment queen *Elizabeth* 2. One might ſay much more as to other compendiums of *Perſian* hiſtory (3); but we deſire not to prejudice the works of others, or to give any more than a fair account of our own.

We have divided the hiſtory of this period into two parts. The firſt is compoſed of ſuch material as the *Latin* and *Greek* writers furniſh, particularly that noble collection which goes under the name of the *Byzantine Hiſtorians*, whence we have taken ten times as much as hath appeared in any modern language, and, by aſſembling a multitude of divided paſſages, have preſented the public with ſomething that looks like a connected hiſtory. Whereas *Bizarus* found himſelf ſo deſtitute of matter, that in his hiſtory of the *Perſian* affairs, he makes the reigns of the *Roman* emperors his rule, and refers the ſeries of *Perſian* monarchs to a table. The ſecond part is truly taken from *Oriental* writers; but more eſpecially from *Mirkhond*, and what is related therein is ſo neceſſary a ſupplement to what the firſt part contained, that, without it, there would not only have remained a viſible imperfection, but, in many places, it would have been unintelligible; becauſe, the *Greek* writers, out of a perverſe humour, wilfully miſrepreſent the manners, cuſtoms, and literature of the *Oriental* nations. The compariſon

(1) *Rerum Perſicarum hiſtoria, initia gentis, mores, inſtituta, reſque geſtas ad hæc uſque tempora complectens: auctore Petro Bizaro Sentinate. fol Francofurti, A D.* 1601. (2) *Hiſt. rer Perſic. l v. p* 137. (3) *Bartholm. Keckermannus. de monarch. Perſar. Tom. II Oper. ejuſd author. in fol Genev* 1614 *Reinec. comment. de reb. Perſic. ap hiſt. Jul. Schicard. catal reg. Perſar.*

	Years.	Months.
Ormiſdates	1	10 days.
Varanes	3	
Varanes II.	17	
Varanes III.	00	4
Narſes	7	9
Miſdates		
Sapores II.	70	
Artaxerxes	4	
Sapores III.	5	
Varanes IV. or *Cermanſaa*	11	
Iſdigertes	21	
Varanes V.	20	
Varanes VI.	17	4
Perozes	20	
Valens	4	
Cavades	11	
Zambades	8	
Cavades II.	30	
Coſroes	48	
Hormiſdas	8	
Coſroes II.	39	
Siroes	1	
Adheſyr	00	2
Sarbaras	00	6
Bornarim	00	7
Hormiſdas	10	

Artaxares, Year of Chriſt 230. *Artaxares*, or, as he is ſometimes called, *Artaxerxes*, the reſtorer of the *Perſian* kingdom, was not only a private perſon, but of ſpurious birth, as we are informed by *Agathias* (B). His mother was married to one *Pabecus* or *Pabec*, who was

therefore of theſe diſtinct hiſtories will illuſtrate each of them, and enable the intelligent reader perfectly to comprehend both; whereby this wide chaſm will be in ſome meaſure filled up, and this period of *Perſian* hiſtory no longer remain, as it hitherto hath done, under an impenetrable obſcurity.

(B) As we have taken the foregoing table chiefly from *Agathias*, and as we have generally preferred his authority, where-ever he ſpeaks deciſively, it is neceſſary we ſhould ſay ſomething of the merit of this author. He was a native of *Marina*, and addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of the law; and as thoſe who dedicated their time to the acquirement of that ſcience, ſtudied moſtly in colleges,

he

was either a tanner or a shoemaker, but withal a person well skilled in judiciary astrology. It happened, that one *Sasanus*, or *Sasan*, a military officer, travelling through the country of the *Cadusians*, took up his lodging in the house of this *Pabec*, tho' it was a very mean one. *Pabec*, by his art, perceiving, that a person begotten by this stranger, would become the head of a most potent family, and also arrive at regal honours, he began to fret within himself, because he had neither sister, daughter, nor cousin in the house. At length, his ambition getting the better of his sense of shame, he caused his wife to go to bed to *Sasan*, who begat on her *Artaxares*. When afterwards *Artaxares* came to be king, *Pabec* and *Sasan* each claimed him for a son; whereupon the story became public, and it was agreed, that he should be styled the son of *Pabec* of the seed of *Sasan* [a]. *Artaxares* from his youth addicted himself to a military life, and having attained to great skill and no less reputation in the wars, he projected the delivery of

[a] AGATH. SCHOLAST. hist. de reb. gest. Justinian, imperat. edit. Paris. l. ii. p. 65. l. iv. p. 134.

he came from thence to be called *Scholasticus* (4), which the learned *Vossius* will have to signify the same as *Advocatus* (5). He was a poet and a historian; but it is in his last capacity only that we have to do with him. He was, it seems, so pleased with *Procopius*'s memoirs of the *Persic* wars, that he resolved to continue them, which he did in the history we yet have, divided into five books. In the fourth of these he takes occasion to mention one *Sergius*, who was so well skilled in the *Persian* tongue, as to be on that account in great favour with *Cosroes* the first. This man making several journies into *Persia*, and having many opportunities of conversing with the learned of that nation, procured, by their favour, the perusal of the royal annals from whence he made many extracts, which, at his earnest desire, he communicated to *Agathias*. These were, in that historian's opinion, of so great weight, that he preferred them to the memoirs of *Procopius*, differing from him to follow them; which shews, that he was thoroughly convinced of their authority. From these extracts he drew up a short, but very perspicuous and exact, account of all the *Persian* monarchs from *Artaxares*, who recovered the kingdom from the *Parthians*, to *Cosroes*, with whom himself was cotemporary (6). It is from this short account that we have taken the dates, and such other material circumstances, as, we thought, could not be had with the same probability of exactness from other historians, who wrote from later and less authentic memoirs.

(4) *Agath. Scholast præfat. ad hist.* (5) *De histor. Græc.* l. ii. p. 270. (6) *Agath. Schol. hist. l. 4. p. 140, 141*

In

his countrymen from the *Parthian* yoke. In purſuance of this deſign, he wrought them to a general revolt; and having in three battles routed, and in the laſt ſlain, the *Parthian* monarch, he aſſumed the double diadem and the pompous title of *king of kings*. He was, as all authors agree, a man of great abilities and undaunted ſpirit, or, in other words, a perſon of great courage and unbounded ambition [b].

Aſſerts his right to all the provinces of the antient Perſian *empire.*

He was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he formed a deſign of reſtoring the *Perſian* empire to its antient glory; and having cauſed the neceſſary preparations to be ſet on foot, he gave notice to the *Roman* governors of the provinces bordering on his dominions, that he conceived himſelf to have a juſt and unqueſtionable title, as the ſucceſſor of *Cyrus*, to all the *Leſſer Aſia*, which he commanded them immediately to quit, as well as the provinces on the frontiers of the antient *Parthian* kingdom, which was already his. *Alexander Severus* was at this time the poſſeſſor of the *Roman* empire, a very youth, under the tutelage of his mother, and one who had hitherto dwelt always at *Rome*; he was therefore unwilling to engage in a war, eſpecially if it might be avoided; and for that reaſon ſent letters to *Artaxares*, importing that he would do wiſely to keep within bounds, and not, out of vain hopes of conqueſt, to enterprize new wars, which might not be attended with the ſame ſucceſs as formerly; that, in the preſent caſe, he ought to conſider he was not to deal with *barbarians*, or with a nation unuſed to war, but with the *Romans*, whoſe emperors, *Auguſtus*, *Trajan*, and *Severus*, had often vanquiſhed the *Parthians*. The *Perſian* king had little regard to theſe letters, on the contrary he began to raiſe a great army, and to attack the fortified poſts of the *Romans*, on the river *Euphrates*, making ſuch a progreſs in the reduction of the adjacent provinces, that the emperor *Alexander*, how unwilling ſoever he might be, was conſtrained to raiſe an army, and to march towards *Meſopotamia*, in order to give a check to the *Perſian* power [c].

Sends an inſolent meſſage to the emperor Alexander.

Artaxares was employed in the ſiege of *Niſibis* or *Antiochia*, when he received the news of *Alexander*'s marching towards him; upon which he thought proper to raiſe the ſiege, that he might recruit and refreſh his army. He ſent, however, deputies or embaſſadors, if we may be allowed to call four hundred perſons by that title, whom he ſelected for their extraor-

[b] Herodian. hiſt. l. vi. Æl Lamprid. in vit. Aurel Alexand Sever. Oros. hiſt. l vii c. 11. Nicephr. hiſt. eccleſ l i.c.6. Gregor. Abul Phar hiſt. dynaſt. dyn 7. p. 186. [c] Herodian & Æl. Lamprid. ubi ſupra.

dinary

dinary stature and great strength; and having furnished them with rich habits, and fine horses, he gave them commission, when they should be introduced to the emperor's presence, to speak thus: *The great king* Artaxares *commands the* Romans *and their prince to depart out of all* Syria and Asia Minor, *and to restore to the* Persians *all the countries on this side of the* Ægean *and* Pontic *seas, as of right descending to them from their ancestors* [d].

THESE heralds or embassadors performed their commission very exactly; which so highly irritated *Alexander*, who was otherwise a prince of the gentlest disposition, that he ordered all their equipage to be taken from them, and sent them into *Phrygia*, where he assigned them farms, which they might cultivate for their subsistence. This done, he advanced into *Mesopotamia*, which he recovered in a great measure without fighting. Historians differ so much in the accounts they give us of the subsequent parts of this war, that it is almost impossible to reconcile them. We shall, however, relate what appears to us most probable, and give our readers our reasons in a note [e]. *His messengers rigorously treated.*

Artaxares advanced with his forces into *Mesopotamia*, as soon as he thought himself strong enough to give the enemy battle. His army consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand horse, ten thousand heavy armed soldiers, eighteen hundred chariots with scythes, and seven hundred elephants. *Alexander*, however, did not decline fighting. An engagement ensued, in which the *Romans* were victorious, and *Artaxares* was compelled to retire into the heart of his dominions, where, with great assiduity, he applied himself to the recruiting and restoring of his army. On the other hand, the *Roman* emperor divided his forces into three bodies, the first, marching through *Armenia*, had orders to penetrate into *Media*; the second marched over the marshes, to enter the *Parthian* dominions on the other side; the third, which was the greatest, and which the emperor commanded in person, was to have fallen into the heart of *Artaxares's* dominions; and if this scheme had been thoroughly executed, in all probability, the *Persian* power would not only have been weakened, but even brought to the very verge of destruction [f]. *Gives battle to, and is beaten by the* Romans.

THE body of troops which passed through *Armenia*, underwent great difficulties, and with very much fatigue arrived at last in *Media*. *Artaxares* quickly marched against them with a formidable army; but was not able to do much, for the *Restores his affairs by firmness and vigilance.*

[d] ZONAR. hist ad. A C 230 [e] HERODIAN & Æ. LAMPRID. ubi supra. [f] ZONAR. ubi supra. HERODIAN. l vii.

country

country being uneven, the *Roman* foot had the better of his cavalry. While he was considering how these evils might be surmounted, he received advice of the other body of *Romans* breaking into his territories, which, in some measure, frustrated all his designs; however, having left guards sufficient to secure the passes, he marched with his forces against the new invaders. These troops finding no enemy to oppose them, plundered all the country, and proud of their spoils, would no longer be restrained under discipline; nay, at last they became so scandalously licentious, that they slew their commander in chief, *Flavius*, for endeavouring to restrain them, and for being more careful of their safety than they were themselves. In this situation the *Persian* king fell upon them, and rather destroyed than defeated them. The *Roman* emperor in the mean time, being under feminine counsels, failed to perform the share he had taken to himself in this enterprize; which was the ruin of his army, the remains of which having joined the corps under his command, he returned first to *Antioch* and then to *Rome*, where he triumphed, and was styled *Parthicus* and *Persicus*, with very little reason (C). *Artax-*

erxes

(C) Nothing can be more opposite than the account given by *Herodian* and *Ælius Lampridius* of the *Persian* war. We will give a concise account of what is said by each of them, and leave it to the intelligent reader to decide as he pleases. *Herodian* affirms, that in the fourteenth year of *Alexander Severus*, letters came from the presidents of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, purporting, that *Artaxerxes* king of *Persia* had made an inroad into *Mesopotamia*, and threatened to invade *Syria*, claiming all the continent opposite to *Europe*, from the *Ægean* sea to the *Propontis*, as the antient patrimony of the *Persians*. Upon this, after writing letters to no purpose to persuade the *Persian* to be quiet, the emperor *Alexander* marched into the east, where he divided his army, as we have related in our text, and by failing to perform what himself had undertaken, brought them all into a miserable situation: for which the army was so grievously offended with the emperor, that they openly said, he had most foully betrayed them. Upon this he led them back to *Antioch*, where he refreshed the remains of them, distributed amongst them large sums of money; and perceiving, that the *Romans* who were slain in *Persia*, by selling their lives dear, had exceedingly weakened the enemy, he had thoughts of invading their territories again, when he had advice of the *German* rebellion, which compelled him to return into *Italy* (7). On the other hand, we are expressly told by the writer of the life of *Alexander Severus*, addressed to *Constantine the Great*, that the *Persians* were intirely de-

(7) *Herodian. hist. l. vi. c.* 6——16.

feated,

ares made the best use of his absence, recovering what he had lost, restoring the glory of the *Persian* name; and having reigned with much reputation, died with honour and in peace, after enjoying the kingdom twelve years, or, as others say, fifteen years, abating two months [g].

Sapores. Year of Christ 242.

HE was succeeded in the throne by his son *Sapores* or *Sapor*, a prince equally famous for strength of body and abilities of mind, fierce and intractable in his nature, covetous of glory, haughty, insolent, and cruel. He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he began to meditate a new war with the *Romans*, to which he was encouraged by a traitor, who dwelt in his court. The name of this man was *Cyriades*, the son of another *Cyriades*, an eminent commander in the *Roman* army. This profligate son of whom we are speaking, began his exploits with robbing his own father. He was naturally a voluptuous man; and therefore, as soon as he had possessed himself of this treasure, he withdrew into *Persia*, where he lived in that splendor and luxury, for which he had sacrificed his honour. In conjunction with *Odomastes*, a *Persian* gene-

[g] AGATH. SCHOLAST. l. iv. p. 134.

rated, and a great number made prisoners. He likewise informs us, that he transcribed from the journal of the senate, a speech of the emperor's after his return, which hath abundance of extraordinary particulars. Amongst others, the emperor assures the senate, that *Artaxerxes* was not improperly styled *the great king*; that he brought seven hundred elephants into the field, of which three hundred were taken and two hundred killed; that the *Romans* had cut to pieces an army of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, had sold a multitude of *Persian* prisoners, and that he had defeated the *Persians* in the plains where *Crassus* had been overcome by the *Parthians*. He affirmed the same thing in gross to the people of *Rome*, and was thereupon complimented with the title of *Conqueror of the* Parthians *and* Persians (8). This author mentions *Herodian*'s account, and also some other accounts less favourable to the emperor *Alexander* than his; but he thinks the authorities cited by himself sufficient to weigh down all they say. However *Herodian*, we know, wrote only of such things as happened within his own life-time, and made it a rule with him to make every thing give way to truth. As for the author of this life addressed to *Constantine*, some will have him to be *Ælius Lampridius*, and again others attribute it to *Spartianus* (9); but, whoever writ it, it has much the air of a panegyric, or at least of an apology.

(8) *Æl. Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Seve.* (9) *G. J. Voss. de hist. Latin. l. ii. p.* 192.

ral, he waſted the adjoining provinces; and having at laſt prevailed on the king himſelf to take the field, *Cyriades*, with the deſerters, who, for the ſake of plunder, followed him, attacked the cities of *Antioch* and *Cæſarea Philippi*, both of which they were ſo lucky as to make themſelves maſters of; whereupon *Cyriades* took firſt the title of *Cæſar*, and then called himſelf *emperor*, acquiring by degrees, dominions, revenues, and forces, not altogether unworthy of that title [h].

His dominions invaded by the Romans.

The young emperor *Gordian*, when he had ſettled the affairs of the empire in the weſt, reſolved to reſcue the eaſt alſo from the tyranny of pſeudo-emperors, as well as from the terror of the *Perſian* arms. With this view he marched into *Syria* at the head of a great army; and as long as his father-in-law, whom ſome writers call *Myſitheus*, others *Timeſocles*, lived, every thing went well. The *Perſian* found himſelf conſtrained to withdraw into his own dominions, whither the emperor followed him, taking *Charra* or *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*; but while he was preparing to puſh his conqueſts ſtill farther, he was murdered by the treachery of *Philip*, whom he had made captain of his guards, on the death of his father-in-law [i].

Makes an advantageous peace.

This *Philip*, having poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign authority, made peace with *Sapor*, and abandoned *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia* to him again. Part of theſe provinces, on the news of the ſenate's diſapproving his conduct, he recovered again, without ſhewing any regard to his treaty; and, leaving a ſufficient number of troops to ſecure the frontiers, marched back into *Italy*. As ſoon as the *Roman* army was withdrawn, *Sapor* and *Cyriades* renewed their incurſions; and the latter, growing ſtronger than ever, began in all reſpects to be treated as an emperor. Indeed the *Roman* affairs were in ſuch miſerable confuſion, that many, who would otherwiſe have oppoſed *Cyriades*, were now glad to be ſheltered under his protection. At length, however, things began to take a new turn. *Valerian*, though he was ſeventy years old when he was advanced to the empire, yet ſpared he no pains to reduce all the numerous provinces thereof to a proper degree of obedience. While he was thus employed, firſt in the weſt, and then in the north, *Sapor*, with a numerous army, broke into the *Roman* territories, burnt and pillaged the country; and at length advancing as far as *Edeſſa*, beſieged it

[h] Trebell. Pol. in hiſt. trigint tyran. [i] Herodian. hiſt. l. vii. Jul. Capitolin de vita Gordian. tert. Zosim. hiſt. A. C. 243 Zonar. hiſt. A C. 244.

in

in form, one *Demosthenes*, who commanded therein, making a gallant resistance [k].

Valerian no sooner received advice of this, than he posted with the troops about his person to its relief. His approach gave new spirits to the distressed inhabitants of the *Roman* provinces, and disposed them to take all the necessary steps for compelling the *Persians* to retire into their own dominions. The soldiers of *Cyriades* mutinied against him, put him to death, and declared for *Valerian*. *Sapor*, however, confiding in the strength of his army, continued still before *Edessa*, in the neighbourhood whereof an action happened, in which *Valerian* was taken prisoner, whether by his own temerity, or the treachery of one of his commanders, cannot be well determined. This gave a mortal wound to the *Roman* affairs in the east, where *Sapor* gained continual advantages, and used his fortune with an insolence not to be endured. This at length drove the people to despair; so that, first under the command of *Callistus*, afterwards under that of *Odenatus*, prince of *Palmyrene*, they took arms, and not only protected themselves from any further insults, but also under the command of the last-mentioned general, defeated the *Persian*, and took part of his baggage, with all his concubines, which determined him to retire into his own dominions. In his march he is said to have made use of the bodies of his unfortunate prisoners to fill up the hollow roads, and to facilitate the passages of his carriages over such rivers as lay in his way. On his return into *Persia* he was solicited by the kings of the *Caduceans*, *Armenians*, *Bactrians*, and other nations, to set the emperor *Valerian* at liberty, but to no purpose. On the contrary he used him the worse, treated him daily with indignities, set his foot upon his neck when he mounted his horse, and, as some writers say, after several years confinement caused him to be be flay'd alive [l] (D).

Takes the emperor Valerian prisoner.

FROM

[k] JUL. CAPITOLIN. in vita Gordian. TREBELL. POL. hist. trigint. tyran. ZONAR. hist A. C. 253. ZOSIM. hist. A.C. 252. [l] TREBELL. POL. in vita Valerian. AGATH. SCHOL. l iv. p. 133. GREGOR. ABUL PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 128.

(D) There is nothing more confused, nothing for which it is more difficult to account, than the manner by which *Valerian* fell into the hands of *Sapor*, and his treatment afterwards. *Trebellius Pollio*, who wrote the life of this emperor, expresses himself doubtfully as to the conduct of *Marcianus*, whether it was treacherous, or unfortunate only; but, as to the emperor himself, he is positive, that, after he was made prisoner, *Sapor* made use of him as a

Treats him inhumanly, and is ever after unfortunate.

From this time forwards the affairs of *Sapor* wore but an indifferent aspect. *Odenatus*, flushed with victory at the head of a gallant army, and cloathed with the character of president over the *Roman* provinces in the east, bridled the *Persians*, and made them frequent visits in their own territories. Twice this general advanced as far as the city of *Ctesiphon*, seated on the banks of the *Tigris*, all the countries between *Palmyra* and that river being under his obedience. On his death his wife, the celebrated *Zenobia*, continued to oppose the *Persians*, and with success, till she was conquered and made prisoner by the emperor *Aurelian*, who vindicated the honour of the *Romans* on this side, and took ample vengeance for the ill treatment of *Valerian*. Much spoil, many prisoners, and one of the king's chariots, *Aurelian* carried with

footstool when he mounted his horse. The same writer hath preserved three letters; one from king *Belsotus*; another from *Balenus* king of the *Caduci*; and a third from *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*, to the *Persian* monarch, in favour of *Valerian*, who, he says, died in his captivity at a very advanced age (10). *Zonaras* affirms, that however *Valerian* was taken, whether fighting in his own defence, or voluntarily yielding himself up, he was afterwards treated with the utmost indignity. He likewise says, that he was carried into the heart of *Persia*, and was so unhappy as to be an eye-witness of the massacring the *Romans*, in order to fill up the hollow ways with their carcasses; and this, says he, was the end of *Valerian* (11). *Zosimus* relates things more particularly. He informs us, that *Valerian*, finding his army much weakened by sickness, and distrusting the fidelity of most of his officers, endeavoured first to negotiate, and then to buy a peace from *Sapor*: who, refusing to treat with any but the emperor, he imprudently went to confer with him, attended only by his ordinary guards, and so was surprized, put into chains, and carried away prisoner into the inland parts of *Persia*, where he died of extreme old age (12). *Agathias* asserts, that *Valerian* was not only treated with the utmost ignominy, after he was made prisoner by *Sapor*, but that at length he ordered him to be flay'd alive; which was accordingly performed (13). *Cedrenus* says, that *Valerian*, with twenty thousand men, were made prisoners by *Sapor* at the battle of *Cæsarea*; and that his skin being pulled over his ears, he died in miserable torture (14). To cite more authors would be tedious, as well as to no purpose; for we do not pretend to ascertain any fact, but to shew, that the death of *Valerian* is very uncertain; and this we have already sufficiently done.

(10) *In vita Valerian.* (11) *Hist. A. C.* 259. (12) *Hist. A. C* 259, 260. (13) *Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p.* 133. (14) *Hist. comp. p.* 104.

him

him into *Italy*, and with them graced his triumph at *Rome*[k]. *Sapores*, however, continued to inlarge his dominions at the expence of his barbarous neighbours, and having reigned, with great variety of fortune, thirty one years, died, and left the kingdom to his son. An eastern writer informs us, that *Aurelian* made peace with *Sapores*, and gave him his daughter in marriage, in whose train were two *Greek* physicians, who first brought the writings of *Hippocrates* into the east[l]. In the reign of this monarch flourished, according to the same writer, the famous heretic *Manes*, whose opinions so long disturbed the church[m] (*E*).

Hormisdas

[k] TREBELL. POL. in vita Gallien. Odenat. & Saturn. [l] GREGOR. ABUL PHAR. dynast vii. p. 138. [m] AGATH. SCHOL. l. iv p. 134. FLAV. VOPISC. in vita Aurelian. GREGOR. ABUL PHAR. dynast 7. p. 130.

(*E*) The ecclesiastical historians are not agreed at what time *Manes* flourished However, as *Cedrenus* (15), who wrote his compend of histories from good memoirs, places him under the reign of *Sapor*, we may as well speak of him here as any-where else. Concerning him and his doctrines we are told in general, that one *Terebinthus*, an arch heretic, having fled out of *Palestine* into *Persia*, and being there received into the house of a widow, took the name of *Buda*, pretended to have been born of a virgin, to have been brought up in the mountains, and to have received a command to teach men a new religion, or at least new notions in religion. He being either killed by the people, or by an evil spirit that he conversed with in this woman's house, left behind him in her hands four treatises, containing the sum of his doctrines. This woman having bought a slave called *Cabricus*, when a boy of seven years old, caused him to be carefully educated, and, when she died, left him all she had. By this means the writings of *Terebinthus* or *Buda* coming into his hands, he read, considered them, and resolved to pass for somebody as well as his master. The first thing he did, was to change his name from *Cabricus* to *Manes*; then he began to propagate his opinions, which were taken principally from the writings of *Zoroaster* and the *Gnostics*. Part of the scriptures he rejected, part he retained; but magnified his own writings above all. He asserted two principles, the one good, and the other evil. He spoke respectfully of *Jesus Christ*, yet denied that he suffered, and rose again, affirming *that the* Jews *crucified a phantom*. He gave himself sometimes out for the Messiah, at others for the Comforter. He chose twelve apostles, and seventy two disciples, who discharged their offices faithfully, spreading his notions far and

(15) *Idem*, *p.* 259.

wide,

Hormiſdas Year of Chriſt, 273.

Hormiſdas ſucceeded *Sapores*, of whom we have little to ſay. It was during his reign that the *Palmyrenians* were fooliſh enough to take arms again, in order to free themſelves from the *Romans*, or rather, as other parts of the *Roman* empire had done, to aſſert a right of making emperors. They caſt their eyes on one *Antiochus*, whom they arrayed in purple, and ſaluted emperor; but *Aurelian* did not leave them long at liberty to carry on this ſcheme He returned with his victorious army, reduced *Palmyra*, and dyed the cloaths of his ſoldiers, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, in the blood of its inhabitants. As for *Antiochus*, he took no notice of him at all. And for *Hormiſdas*, he had not interfered, and therefore *Aurelian* did not trouble his country; he had the good fortune conſequently to die in peace, after having ſat on the throne a year and ten days [n].

Varanes I. Year of Chriſt, 274.

Varanes the firſt ſucceeded him. Of him we know very little more than that he reigned three years, during which ſpace we find not that he enterprized any thing againſt the *Romans*, or they againſt him. In truth, the empire was at this time in a very indifferent condition; for, after the death of *Aurelian*, the *Roman* forces in *Syria* and *Meſopotamia* were very unquiet. At length *Saturninus* ſet himſelf up for em-

[n] Agath. Schol. hiſt. l. iv. p. 134. Flav. Vopisc. in vita Aurelian. Zosim. hiſt. A. C. 274.

wide, ſome of them penetrating into *China* (16). As for *Manes* himſelf, he was, according to the manner of thoſe times, a perſon of conſiderable learning; for he drew a map of the world, and wrote a treatiſe of its uſe. He likewiſe compoſed a large book of enigmatical figures, which, he pretended, contained a ſeries of revelations to the end of the world (17). In the end he is ſaid to have loſt himſelf in that whirlpool which ſwallows up moſt impoſtors, the affectation of working of miracles. He would needs undertake to cure the king of *Perſia*'s ſon, who laboured under a mortal diſeaſe; but he failed in his attempt, the young prince died, and he was impr ſoned. He made his eſcape afterwards, and for ſome time wandered about, and was concealed by his diſciples. At length he was apprehended by the king of *Perſia*'s officers, and, as ſome ſay, was crucified by the order of *Sapor*, though, as others affirm, he was flay'd alive (18). However, his opinions did not periſh with him; for his ſect flouriſhed afterwards in *Perſia*, and was encouraged by ſome of its kings.

(16) *Epiphan. hær.* 6. *Auguſt. hær.* 46. *Theodoret. lib. hær. fab.* 10. *Gregor Abul-Phar. dinaſt vii p.* 130. 17) *Herbelot. Artic. Eutenk. Giagraſiah.* (18) *Cedren. compend. p.* 260. *Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi ſupra.*

percr,

peror, but with no great good luck; yet as he was a man of probity, and an excellent commander, he kept the *Perſians* within their limits; ſo that the prince, of whom we are ſpeaking, never had any opportunity of exerting himſelf [o].

Varanes the ſecond aſcended the throne on the death of the former king of the ſame name. He had at firſt ſome thoughts of invading the *Roman* provinces; but he quickly found, that the ſtate of things was changed; for, on the firſt motion of his troops, the emperor *Probus* advanced in perſon into the eaſt. Upon this *Varanes* deſiſted from his enterprize, and, hearing of the emperor's great ſucceſs, ordered *Narſes*, who commanded for him in *Armenia*, to ſend deputies to compliment *Probus*, to make him preſents, and to treat of peace. The emperor received them very haughtily, refuſed the preſents they brought him, and wrote an anſwer to the letter of *Narſes* to this purpoſe: That all he had was his; that he wondered how he could ſend him ſuch trifles: wherefore, to him, who might perhaps eſteem them, he had ſent them back, as well knowing how to have all that he poſſeſſed, when the *Romans* ſhould deſire it. However, he granted them peace at this time, and terrified them ſo much with his power, that the *Perſians* were afraid to make their uſual excurſions for ſome time [p]. At length *Varanes* took heart, and began to think of recovering ſome of the provinces which his anceſtors had loſt; but, before he was able to do any thing, he found himſelf diſturbed by domeſtic ſeditions; and, before theſe were calmed, *Probus* aſſembling a great army, began his march towards the eaſt. *Varanes* conceived himſelf delivered from this misfortune, when he heard that the army, in a ſedition, had killed the emperor; but he was miſtaken, for *Carus* his ſucceſſor, after ſubduing ſeveral barbarous nations, ſhortly after entered *Meſopotamia*, and carrying all before him, advanced beyond *Cteſiphon*, as if he intended an abſolute conqueſt of that province. The fears of the *Perſians* were, however, ſoon over; for the emperor *Carus* died in the firſt march he afterwards made, either by an illneſs under which he had long laboured, or by his tent's being ſet on fire by lightning. What was ſtill more happy for the *Perſians* was a notion, the *Romans* took from thence, that fate had aſſigned *Cteſiphon* for the bounds of their empire, which they were

Varanes II. Year of Chriſt 277

[o] AGATH. SCHOLAST. ubi ſupra. FLAV. VOPISC. in vita Saturnin. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynaſt. vii. p. 134. [p] FLAV. VOPISC. in vita Prob. EUTROP. hiſt. Rom. l. ix. M. A. CASSIODOR. chron. xxxi.

never

never to paſs but to their hurt (F). Soon after *Numerianus*, the ſon of *Carus*, was alſo ſlain; and the *Roman* army, under the command of *Dioclesian*, returned into *Italy*. *Varanes* gained hereby ſome reſpite, which he employed in ſtrengthening his frontiers; but when, on the news of the diſturbances

(F) There is nothing ſo valuable in an hiſtorian as truth, and yet there is nothing more frequently wanting. We generally eſteem thoſe authors moſt, who lived neareſt the times of which they wrote; and yet we are as often deceived by them as by any others. A deſire of praiſing immoderately thoſe of whom they write, too often influences hiſtorians to repreſent things otherwiſe than they apprehended them *Vopiſcus*, in his life of the emperor *Carus*, affects a great deal of candour and impartiality, eſpecially in reſpect to the death of that emperor, which had been generally ſuppoſed ominous to the empire. He expired in his camp before *Cteſiphon*, blaſted, as the report went, by lightning; whence it was inferred, that the *Romans* ſhould never penetrate farther than this city. It was built by the *Parthians* on the eaſt bank of the *Tigris*, and was a very populous place; and beſides, the country beyond it was quite unknown to the *Romans*, as well as very improper for their manner of making war, which probably gave birth to this opinion. However, *Vopiſcus* was reſolved to deſtroy it, in order to which he produces a letter from *Calphurnius*, ſecretary to *Carus*, wherein he gives a very ambiguous account of that emperor's death. He ſays it happened after the greateſt clap of thunder which was heard during the ſtorm; that his ſervants, for grief, ſet fire to his tent, which occaſioned the report that he was burnt by lightning; whereas, according to the beſt account this writer could get, he died of his ſickneſs. *Vopiſcus* then mentions the notion that *Cteſiphon* was fatal to the *Roman* empire, and that the death of *Carus* was thought a judgment for attempting to paſs farther. But, ſays he, let cowardice make uſe of ſuch art to cover it; the brave will ever deſpiſe them. The moſt excellent *Cæſar Maximian* will never believe this; but, on the contrary, will attempt and finiſh the conqueſt of the *Perſians*, and penetrate beyond them (18) Would it not have been better, if, inſtead of this flouriſh, he had told us, that, immediately after the death of *Carus*, his army, under the command of his ſon *Numerianus*, was attacked and beaten by the *Perſians*, and thereby forced to retire into the *Roman* provinces again (19)? Yet he ſays nothing of this, either here, or in the life of *Numerianus* (20), whom ſome writers affirm to have been taken and put to death by the *Perſians* after their victory (21).

(18) *In vita Car.* (19) *Zonar. hiſt. A. C.* 283. (20) *Flav. Vopiſc. in vita Numerian.* (21) *Gregor. Abul. Phar. dynaſt.* 7. *p.* 112

which

which had happened in the *Roman* empire, he began to think of invading its provinces, *Diocleſian* ſuddenly returned into *Armenia* with a great body of forces, and thereby ſtruck ſuch a terror into the *Perſians*, that they were afraid to undertake any thing. A little after died *Varanes*, after an unfortunate reign of ſeventeen years, leaving the kingdom to his ſon [q].

Varanes the third reigned no more than four months. He is dignified by hiſtorians with the title of *Seganſaa*. *Agathias* hath given us the reaſon of this appellation. He tells us, that it was the cuſtom of the *Perſian* monarchs to incorporate the nations they ſubdued into the body of their ſubjects, not by removing them hither or thither, but by allowing them to live, as formerly, under their own laws, themſelves adding to their titles that which the antient princes of the country bore. *Varanes* the ſecond having, a little before his death, overcome this nation, his ſon took the title of *Seganſaa* or *Seganſhâh*, which, *Agathias* expreſly tells us, ſignified *king of the Segani* or *Segeſtani* [r]. Varanes III. Year of Chriſt 294.

Narſes ſucceeded next, a prince of high ſpirit, who deſigned, no leſs than *Artaxares*, the founder of the new *Perſian* monarchy, had done, the reduction of all the *Perſian* provinces, held at this time either by the barbarous nations, or conquered by the *Romans*. It is certain, that never did a fairer opportunity offer for the execution of this vaſt deſign, than at the entrance of this prince's reign. The *Roman* empire was in ſuch diſtraction, that tho' there were two emperors, yet they found the weight too heavy for them, and therefore created two *Cæſars* to ſhare the burden of government. War was kindled in every corner of the empire, when *Narſes*, with a great army, broke into *Meſopotamia*, and in a ſhort time recovered moſt of the places which had been heretofore in the hands of his anceſtors. But it was not long before *Diocleſian* ſent *Galerius*, one of the *Cæſars*, with a numerous army, to *Antioch*, to check the progreſs of the *Perſian*. *Narſes* did not decline an engagement; but his ſucceſs was not equal to his courage, either in this, or in a ſecond battle. *Galerius* being conqueror in both, paſſed the river *Tigris*, and advanced into the very heart of the king of *Perſia*'s dominions. *Narſes* tho' he retired continually, yet kept a ſtrict eye upon the enemy, beſeeching his own troops Narſes. Year of Chriſt 294.

[q] FLAV. VOPISC. in vit. Prob. & Car. ZONAR. hiſt A C. 283. SEXT. AUREL. VICTOR. in Car. AGATH. SCHOLAST. p. 134. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynaſt. 7. p. 132. [r] AGATH. SCHOLAST. l. iv. p. 135.

not to look upon his conduct as timorous, but to be assured, that he would take an opportunity of vindicating their honour, and revenging the loss he had sustained. He was as good as his word; for *Galerius*, elated with success, abating of his usual care and circumspection, *Narses* took advantage thereof, and falling upon the *Roman* army while they were upon their march, gave them so total a defeat, that scarce any remains of them could be afterwards drawn together. *Galerius* himself with much ado escaped, and making haste to the army of *Diocletian*, prepared to give the emperor the best account he could of his misfortune. *Diocletian* used him but very indifferently, shewed a high dislike of his conduct, and in a manner refused to trust him with another army. At length, however, the zealous importunities of *Galerius* prevailed, and, levies being made with all possible expedition, he was sent with fresh forces against *Narses*. The *Persian* king had, in this interval, made the best use of his victory, retrieving not only the cities and country which he had lost, but also bringing into the field a numerous army, composed especially of chosen horse, to maintain the conquests he had made, in case the *Romans* should once more dispute them[f].

Constrained to submit to the Romans.

Galerius acted now as *Narses* had before; he added prudence to fortitude, and depended no less on his own conduct, than on the courage of his forces. He went with a few of his friends to view the *Persian* army, and having happily performed this exploit, he returned to his own, which he disposed in such a manner, as to attack the *Persians* at unawares, whereby he gained a complete victory. *Narses* himself was wounded, and forced to fly with a small remnant of his army into the mountains. His baggage, treasure, papers, all fell into the hands of *Galerius*, as did likewise his sisters, his queen, his concubines, and children. In vain he endeavoured to repair his misfortune; the spirits of his subjects were effectually damped by this blow, insomuch, that he found it impossible to collect another army capable of taking the field against the victorious *Romans*, who were shortly after joined by *Diocletian* and his army, who, at the time of the engagement lay encamped at *Antioch*, in order to have sustained *Galerius*, in case any thing amiss had befallen him. Overcome therefore with the reflection of his misfortunes, *Narses*, to rid himself of these troublesome neighbours, consented to give up five of his provinces; on which condi-

[f] Zonar. hist. A. C. 297. Eutrop. hist. Rom. l. ix. Agath. Scholast. ubi supra.

tion

tion peace was granted him, and his queen restored; but as for his sisters, his concubines, and the other persons of quality, who were taken in the battle, they were carried to *Rome*, and there led in triumph. The grief of this broke the heart of *Narses*, when he had enjoyed the regal dignity about seven years [t].

HE was succeeded by *Misdates*, otherwise called *Hormis-* Misdates
das the second; who wore the diadem seven years and five *or* Hor-
months, but without doing any thing remarkable. As he misdas.
was long in a declining condition, and had no issue, the no- Year of
bility of *Persia* were under the utmost concern for the con- Christ
sequences of his decease, without a successor declared. At 301.
length it appeared, that the queen was with child; upon which a council of the magi was summoned, and they were required to inform the nobles whether the queen was with child of a son or a daughter. The magi answered, Of a son. Hereupon the diadem was placed upon the queen's great belly, and all the nobility swore allegiance on the faith of the foregoing prediction to the son she should bear. The king dying in the interim, the public peace was preserved by this expedient; and at the end of nine months the queen was delivered of a son, who was a king before he was born [u]. This was

Sapores, or *Sapor* the second, who governed the domi- Sapor II.
nions of his ancestors long and happily. The account we Year of
have given in the last reign is strongly controverted, and it Christ
must be allowed, that there are more testimonies alledged 308.
against it than can be urged in its support. Yet we have given it the preference, for a reason which will appear at the bottom of the page, and which we are persuaded, will induce our readers to be of the same mind (G). This prince, if we

[t] M. A. CASSIODOR. chron. xxxiii. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 268. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast vii. p. 132. ZONAR. EUTROP. AGATH. ubi supra. [u] AGATH. SCHOLAST. lib. iv. p. 134.

(G) There are several passages in the writings of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (22), *Zosimus* (23), *Socrates* (24), and other writers, which seem to intimate, that *Sapor* was not a posthumous child, but born in his father's life-time, and educated by his direction. They also speak of one *Hormisdas*, who fled to the emperor *Constantine*, as if

(22) *Hist. lib. xvii. xviii, xix.* (23) *Hist. lib. ii* (24) *Hist. eccles. lib. ii.*

we may credit an ecclesiastical historian, was educated under the care of an eunuch named *Uztazades*, who was secretly a

he had been brother to this prince. Now, if these facts were true, it would follow, that what is above related must be false. But if it be considered first, that the relations found in these authors are so worded, as that they may be made to suit with either fact: That, secondly, there is nothing expressly said of the manner in which *Sapor* came to the crown And that, thirdly, these writers appear to be frequently very indifferently instructed as to the history of *Persia*, and scarce at all acquainted with its religion: We must confess, that no great stress can be laid on what they deliver, much less on what is inferred from their accounts. On the other hand, what *Agathias* relates, he had from the *Persian* records, and the *Persian* records are the best evidence for *Persian* affairs (25). But besides, there is another reason which so strongly corroborates what *Agathias* tells us, that one can scarce entertain any doubt of the truth of the fact mentioned by *Agathias*. *Sapor* succeeded in the *Persian* throne about the same time that *Constantine* became emperor, and he reigned seventy years. In the fifteenth year of his reign, *Hormisdas* retired into the *Roman* dominions. Now, if *Hormisdas* had been the brother of *Sapor*, and had been a man before the death of his father, we must conceive that *Sapor* was within a few years as old as he, otherwise he could not have been his rival. But this would stretch the life of *Sapor* to an incredible extent, and would also involve us in new difficulties. It is therefore better to acknowledge *Agathias*'s account, which concurs exactly with the most remarkable events recorded by other historians. As to the story of *Hormisdas*, it runs thus; he is said to have been a prince of the blood-royal of *Persia*, and that coming in when his father celebrated his birth-day feast, he observed that the nobility did not rise to salute him. Upon which he threatened, that if ever he came to the crown, he would treat them as *Marsyas* the *Phrygian* was treated Most of the *Persian* lords knew not what to make of this; but one of them told the rest the story of *Marsyas*, who, for contending with *Apollo*, was by him flayed alive. This irritated them so much against the prince *Hormisdas*, that they not only excluded him from the succession, but caused him also to be closely imprisoned, whence, however, he escaped by the contrivance of his wife; and flying to the emperor *Constantine* met with a favourable reception, which he very well deserved, by the diligence and fidelity which he manifested on all occasions in the service of the *Romans* (26). There is certainly a strong air of fable in the first part of this narration; for that a *Persian* prince should

(25) *De reb. gest. Justian. lib. iv. p.* 134. (26) *Zosim. hist. lib. ii. A. C.* 324.

b

a chriſtian. Whoever had the care of his education, certain it is, that he became a very great prince, if we may beſtow that character on one who was no very good man. He was a zealous aſſerter of the dignity of the *Perſian* diadem, and purſued ſteadily that deſign which *Artaxares* had firſt ſet on foot, *viz.* of uniting all the territories of the antient *Perſian* kings under his obedience. But he did not purſue this deſign, as ſome of his predeceſſors had done, openly, and at the head of armies: if he had, in all probability he would not have been more fortunate than they; for the *Perſian* militia were by no means able to combat the regular forces of the *Romans*. This prudent monarch took quite different meaſures; he encouraged the barbarous people dwelling on the frontiers of the *Roman* provinces to ravage and harraſs them; this he did more openly, when the affairs of the *Romans* were in confuſion, and with greater ſecrecy, when they were better eſtabliſhed. He extended his own dominions towards the eaſt, and towards the north; he encreaſed his revenues, by encouraging induſtry and trade among his ſubjects; he diſciplined his forces, and above all things affected a mighty eſteem and veneration for the civil and religious conſtitution of his country *.

Perſecutes the chriſtians in his dominions.

THIS laſt-mentioned diſpoſition induced him to perſecute the chriſtians, who were repreſented to him, by the magi and the *Jews* ſettled in his dominions, as men of deteſtable principles, bad ſubjects to their governors, and avowed enemies of religion; that is, of its fundamental articles. It is ſaid, that he put *Simeon* biſhop of *Cteſiphon*, and many other eccleſiaſtics, to death, and that he even cut off the head of the

* AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xvii. EUSEB. in vit. Conſtant. SOZOMEN. hiſt. eccleſ. lib ii.

be acquainted with the ſtory of *Apollo* and *Marſyas*, muſt appear ſtrange, if not incredible. Again, that ſo raſh and cruel a prince ſhould, in getting out of priſon, leave all his ill qualities behind him, and come a perfect wit and hero (for ſo theſe writers paint him afterwards) to the court of *Conſtantine* 27); this ſurely is very wonderful alſo; and therefore ſtripping off theſe marvellous appendages, if we credit the bare matter of fact, that *Hormiſdas*, a prince of the blood-royal of *Perſia*, fled to the *Romans*, and behaved well in their ſervice; it will anſwer all reaſonable purpoſes, and the current of our hiſtory receive no interruption.

(27) *Zonar. hiſt. A. C.* 340.

eunuch

eunuch before-mentioned, notwithstanding he had been his governor, and his father's old and faithful servant. One great crime objected to the christians was, their regard for *Constantine*, then emperor of *Rome*. His power was too great for *Sapores* to think as yet of attacking him openly; he therefore sent a solemn embassy to *Constantinople* to compliment that prince, and to renew that peace which had for so many years subsisted between the two empires, directing his ministers privately to inquire into the strength of the *Romans*, and to buy up a quantity of arms, of which his subjects stood in great need. The emperor, though well informed of the design of *Sapores*, received his ministers very graciously, granted their requests, and at their return charged them with a letter for the king of *Persia* their master. Of this letter there are two copies extant, the one more full and correct than the other. The intent of the epistle was to persuade *Sapores* to treat the christians with greater lenity. The arguments made use of therein are just and natural, delivered in language becoming the writer, and him to whom it was addressed (H). In all probability, it had its effects; for we are informed by an impartial author, that *Sapores* treated the christians afterwards with less severity. Indeed, he had never troubled them at all

(H) *Sozomen* hath given us a long account of the cruel persecution raised against the *Persian* christians by *Sapor*; but even this writer intimates, that the whole was not only excited, but managed also, by the magi. Those who are desirous of entering farther into this matter, may find in the works of this historian a very copious account, not only of the general persecution, but of the principal martyrs, their quality, and behaviour (28). *Eusebius*, in his life of *Constantine*, affords us a concise view of the persecution; but then, he gives us the letter of the emperor at large; whereas *Sozomen* gives us only an extract of it. In this letter the emperor first gives a short account of his faith, then of his success and grandeur, which he attributes wholly to God's blessing thereon; he afterwards expatiates on the odious folly of idolatry; but without insinuating any thing of his suspicion that *Sapor* was an idolater. He then very pathetically represents the miseries which had constantly attended unjust and cruel princes, especially persecutors, of whom he particularizes *Valerian*; whom he asserts to have been happy in all his undertakings, until he persecuted the christians. Lastly, he warmly recommends the christians in his dominions to the favour of *Sapor*, and beseeches him for his sake to look upon them as his good and faithful subjects (29).

(28) *Hist. eccles. lib. ii. c.* 9, 10, 11, 12. (29) *In vit. Constant.*

if

if he had not been inſtigated by ſome malicious prieſts of his own religion, and the indiſcretions perhaps of ſome chriſtian prieſts.

HOWEVER, he abandoned not the ſcheme he had formed of raiſing himſelf and his ſucceſſors to the ſupreme dominion over the eaſt. When he thought he had brought things to bear, he generouſly acquainted *Conſtantine* with his intention, tranſmitting to him by his embaſſadors a letter, or rather a manifeſto, wherein he expreſly ſet forth his claim to all the dominions antiently belonging to the *Perſian* emperors, affirming, that the river *Strymon* was the legal boundary of his empire. *Conſtantine* returned him an anſwer, full of dignity and reſolution; and though he was now grown in years, made great preparations for war, aſſembled a numerous army, and reſolved to command it in perſon. When the ſeaſon of the year approached, he joined his forces, and immediately began his march for the eaſtern provinces; but providence prevented his deſign from taking effect, by removing him out of this life, ſo that together with his empire, he left the management of this *Perſian* war to his ſucceſſors [y]. *Sapores* did not fail to make uſe of the advantages afforded him by the diſorders which happened in the empire on the death of *Conſtantine*. He inſtantly entered the *Roman* provinces, and reannexed to his own dominions what his anceſtors had loſt. It is a very difficult thing to give any account of this war from the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians, notwithſtanding the writings of many who lived in thoſe days have come down to our hands, by reaſon of their evident partiality, ſome commending the emperor *Conſtans*, as a very martial prince, others upbraiding him with puſillanimity, both endeavouring rather to ſuit hiſtory to their own opinions, than to the truth. By making proper allowances, however, for the viſible biaſſes of theſe writers, the truth ſeems to have been, that in pitched battles, and in defending of towns, the *Romans* were ſuperior to the *Perſians*; but that in ſwift marches, horſe-combats, and ſurprizes, the *Perſians* had the advantage.

Reſolves on a war with the Romans.

HENCE it came to paſs, that altho' *Sapores* reconquered large tracts of country, and was ſucceſsful in many engagements; yet could he not prevail againſt *Niſibis*, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs the *Romans* had in thoſe parts, tho' he often beſieged it, and exerted his utmoſt force, in order to deliver his ſub-

Which proves tedious and bloody.

[y] ZONAR. hiſt. A. C. 337. ZOSIM. hiſt. lib. ii. A. C. 338. EUTROP. lib. x. AMM. MARCEL. EUSEB. Sozom. ubi ſupra.

jects

jects from a thorn that continually pricked them; but he was constantly defeated, and constrained after great losses to rise from before it. As to the circumspection of the emperor *Constans*, when in the field, it might very probably be owing to the situation of those countries, which were the seat of war. In a plain country, such as *Mesopotamia*, the emperor was forced to act with great circumspection, because the enemy had all advantages, their cavalry having room to extend themselves, to retire, and come back to the charge, which in a mountainous situation they could not have done. We need not wonder therefore, that the *Romans* were backward in fighting, and more solicitous about fortifying their camps than seeking the enemy. In the battle of *Singara*, which was fought in the night, *Sapores* had at first the advantage by reason of the surprize the *Romans* were under; but when they had recovered themselves a little, they repulsed the enemy so briskly, that in the end *Sapores* was forced to retire, after having lost his son in the battle, and received a dangerous wound himself. Both parties were in the end tired out with the war; the *Roman* emperor therefore leaving the care of the eastern provinces to *Gallus*, whom he had lately created *Cæsar*, returned into the western provinces of his empire, while *Sapores*, who perceived that little was now to be got from the *Romans*, turned his arms upon his eastern neighbours, and left the care of his frontiers towards the *Romans* to his most experienced generals. In his expeditions against the *Barbarians*, he was more fortunate than against the *Romans*. Some he subdued by force, others readily yielded him obedience; with his most powerful and inveterate enemies he made a solid and lasting peace. In the midst of this success, he received advice that overtures had been made to his generals in the west for the conclusion of a peace. To shew therefore his readiness in this point, he dispatched one *Narses*, a nobleman of great credit in his court, to carry his letters to *Constans*, with the terms on which he was content to enter on a treaty. This minister proceeded to *Sirmium*, in order to have an interview with *Constans*; there he presented him with the letters of the *Persian* king written in the usual strain of the *Persian* monarchs, *i. e.* in a lofty swelling style. The purport was, that notwithstanding *Sapor* knew himself to have a just claim to all the countries between *Persia* and the river *Strymon*, yet he was content for the sake of peace to be satisfied with *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*; which once yielded up, he would willingly become the friend of the *Romans*. *Narses* perceiving how ill his master's letter was taken, endeavoured all that in him lay to pacify the *Romans*, and to obtain from the em-

peror

peror an account of his demands, with which *Conſtans* readily complied. He named on his ſide embaſſadors, who were to go to *Sapor*, and who were charged with letters, importing that, while himſelf was poſſeſſed of but a part of the *Roman* empire, he had notwithſtanding maintained its antient boundary in the eaſt; and that now being maſter of the whole, it was not reaſonable to expect that he ſhould yield to ſuch conditions as had been propoſed. The *Roman* embaſſadors found the king of *Perſia* at *Cteſiphon*, where they had many conferences with him and his miniſters, though to very little purpoſe, for the *Perſian* would remit nothing; however, time was gained, in which *Conſtans* came firſt to *Conſtantinople*, and then prepared to ſet out for the eaſt [y].

ABOUT this time one *Antoninus*, an officer of great credit in the *Roman* army, being perſecuted by ſome of the emperor's favourites, fled to *Sapor*, by whom he was received with open arms, treated with the utmoſt kindneſs, and immediately admitted into the higheſt confidence. In the mean time, the emperor had been prevailed upon to remove *Urſicinus*, who was general of the horſe in the eaſt, and to give his command to *Sabinian*, a very old man, who thought himſelf very cautious, but was by others eſteemedtimid, and moſt unfit for ſupreme command. *Antoninus* quickly gave the *Perſian* notice of the incapacity of the *Roman* general, who thereupon determined, with the numerous army under his command, immediately to enter the *Roman* provinces, and to advance as faſt as poſſible without embarraſſing himſelf with ſieges, or attempting to divide his forces, in order to gariſon towns. Accordingly, he paſſed the *Tigris*, and marched with all imaginable diligence towards the *Euphrates*, intending, if poſſible, to penetrate into *Syria*, hoping to pillage that fruitful country, which had enjoyed ſo many years peace [z]. But *Urſicinus*, who was returned again into the eaſt with the title of general of the foot, prevented him by throwing up works on the ſide of the river, and poſting himſelf with his troops behind them. *Sapor* then, by the advice of *Antoninus*, turned to the left; and before it was expected, inveſted the city of *Amida*. In the neighbourhood of this place he took ſeveral ſtrong caſtles, and in one of them a conſiderable number of chriſtian virgins, who had dedicated themſelves to the ſervice of God. The *Perſian* treated them not only with humanity, but with the utmoſt politeneſs, being deſirous to ſhew that proſperity ſoften-

Antoninus *deſerts, and* Sapor *renews the war.*

[y] ZONAR. hiſt. A. C. 350 ZOSIM. hiſt. lib ii. A C 352 AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xviii. EUTROP. lib x. [z] AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xviii. c. 5.

ed his disposition, instead of rendering him arrogant. *Amida* made a long defence, and the siege thereof is said to have cost *Sapor* thirty thousand men. It was at last, however, taken by storm after a siege of seventy three days. The principal officers of the garison he hanged, the men he sent into slavery, after which he put an end to the campaign on this side; he entered, however, afterwards *Mesopotamia*, where he took the town of *Singara*, and ruined it; he then attacked *Bezabda*, and after a siege of some days, took it, and fortified it; then he advanced to *Virta*, which he likewise invested; but, after a siege of some continuance, was obliged to retire. The emperor *Constans* in the mean time passed the *Euphrates*, and came to *Amida*, over the ruins of which he is said to have wept; he then advanced, in hopes of regaining the places taken by *Sapor*, and proceeded to besiege *Bezabda*, but to no purpose; for the rainy season, and a scarcity of provision, obliged him to raise his siege, and return into *Syria*, where he continued all the winter [a] (I).

Sapor,

[a] Ammian. Marcel. lib. xx. Eutrop. lib. x. Zonaras, A. C. 355. Zosim. hist. lib. iii. Sozomen. hist. eccles. lib. iv.

(I) It would have been very easy to have rendered this part of our history more particular and more entertaining than it is, if there had not been two very cogent arguments offered by the very nature of the work to keep us here much within bounds. For first, as all the accounts we have come from *Latin* and *Greek* authors, they especially regard the conduct of the eastern emperors, their ministers and generals, and consequently belong rather to the *Constantinopolitan* than *Persian* history. Secondly, they agree so little among themselves, and yet are all of them so partial to their own countrymen, that should we relate exactly what those writers are pleased to say of the *Persians*, we should rather deceive than inform our readers, as too many historians do. There was a necessity of making these observations, that the nature of this part of our history might be well understood. We have herein stuck close to facts, without scrupulously reporting circumstances, because the latter have frequently appeared to us improbable, or at least violently exaggerated. *Ammianus Marcellinus* is the author on whom we have principally depended in the history of this reign. He was a man of quality, a soldier, and one who actually served in this very war, of which he writes. Besides all this, he was a native of *Antioch*, and therefore perfectly well acquainted with the seat of the war. However, as he was a *Pagan*, he lessens all the christian emperors, that his hero *Julian* may appear with the greater lustre; and as he was a *Roman*, he exaggerates the barba-

rity

Sapor, in the beginning of the next spring, drew together a great army, and made a shew of entering the *Roman* provinces immediately, which compelled the emperor *Constans* to prepare also to take the field. As he had by this time not only a very great body of forces, but those too the very best in the empire, his great excellence lying in an exact knowledge of military discipline, in all probability the war would have been both bloody and lasting, if it had not been prevented by the military prudence of the *Persian*, to whom when an account was brought of the *Roman* preparations, he instantly determined to put strong garisons into his frontiers, and then to withdraw the remainder of of his forces; which he accordingly did. The *Roman* emperor perceiving, that, without a peace, the war was at an end, did the like on his side; and having given directions for fortifying the places which were most in danger, he resolved to march away immediately against *Julian*, who had taken the title of *Augustus*, and had given just grounds to suspect he aimed at the empire [b].

His prudence saves his forces.

IN this march the emperor fell sick and died; whereby *Julian* was raised to be absolute lord of the *Roman* empire, the whole forces of which he intended to make use of in order to destroy the *Persians*; that is, to break their force so effectually, as that it should be impossible for them ever to trouble

His dominions invaded by the emperor Julian.

[b] AMMIAN MARCEL. l. xxi. EUTROP. ubi supra. ZOSIM. ubi supra. SOZOMEN. hist. eccl. l. v. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 113.

rity and want of discipline among the *Persian* troops, who yet held the *Romans* at bay, and made very long sieges, which tumultuary armies never do (30). *Zosimus* is by far more outrageous than *Marcellinus* He was so bigotted a heathen, that he will not allow *Constantine the Great* to have done the least thing worthy of that title. He censures him for withdrawing the garisons from the frontiers of the empire, and insinuates, that by this means the *Persians* ravaged the *Roman* provinces with impunity (31). The christian writers, on the other hand, magnify all the actions of *Constantine* (32). In such a situation we could do no more than assemble the matters of fact relating to *Persia*, and deliver them in a plain style, and in their natural order; for had we entered into the comparing of authors and weighing authorities, we should have exceeded all bounds, and, after all, perhaps wasted our time to no great purpose.

(30) *Hist. rer. gest. sub. imp Constant. Julian. Jovian &c.* (31) *Hist l. ii. prop fin.* (32) *Euseb. in vit. Constant Zonar. hist. Rom. Sozomen. hist. eccles &c.*

more the *Roman* provinces. Full of this great project, he did every thing which might conciliate the minds of the soldiers, raise his own reputation, or by any means contribute to facilitate his enterprize; in which he succeeded so well, that the army discovered an unusual alacrity, and readily followed him into the dominions of *Sapor*, who contented himself with acting on the defensive, having no hopes at all of defeating the *Romans* in a pitched battle under so martial a prince. In this expedition *Hormisdas* the *Persian* commanded the left wing of the *Roman* army, and by his advice it was that the emperor regulated most of his designs. As long as he did this, success attended his arms; some strong places he took by force, others yielded through fear; but most were given up to him by treachery. At length he besieged *Ctesiphon*, which had been the bulwark of the *Parthian* empire, but without success; for it was well fortified, and had a numerous garison. Here it was that the *Romans* began to discover how puissant an enemy they had to deal with [c].

Whom he destroys, by drawing him too far into his country.

The *Persians* skirmished with him every day; the country on all sides was burnt and destroyed, insomuch, that it appeared impracticable to hope any further advantages on this side. *Julian* therefore resolved to repass the *Tigris*, on which he had a fleet of transports laden with provisions. A *Persian* of quality deserting to him assured him, that the method he took would be equally prejudicial to his fame and to his affairs; that hitherto he might be justly styled the *conqueror of the Persians*, and that he might still better deserve this title, if he would follow his advice; which was, to quit the side of the river, to burn his fleet, and to march through a broad open road, into which he promised to conduct him, where, after three or four days march, he would find an end put to all the difficulties, which he either actually struggled with, or even apprehended. *Hormisdas*, when the emperor consulted him upon this project, told him plainly, That it was impracticable, and that he would be undone if he pursued it. *Julian*, however, was inflexible; he ordered his soldiers to furnish themselves with twenty days provisions, and having so done he commanded the fleet to be set on fire, maugre all the solicitations of his friends, who, while it was yet in a flame, convinced him that he was betrayed; whereupon he ordered the *Persian* nobleman and his attendants to be put to the torture. This was executed upon the servants; but as for

[c] Eutrop. l. x. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxiii. Zonar. A. C. 303. Socrat. hist. eccles. l. iii. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 307. Zosim. l. iii.

their

their lord, he was fled. It ſerved only to increaſe the emperor's diſquiet; for the men readily acknowledged, that they came on purpoſe to miſlead him. Orders were then given to ſave as many of the veſſels as was poſſible, which, however, were but a few; and then, as if he had perfectly loſt his ſenſes, *Julian* threw himſelf and his army into that road, which had been pointed out to him by his enemies. For three or four days they met with little or no interruption; but afterwards *Sapor*, with the whole force of *Perſia*, coaſted them in their march, and at the beginning of the night continually ſet upon their rear guard. The weather proving intenſely hot, water ſcarce, and proviſions failing, *Julian* ſaw plainly that his obſtinacy had brought him into difficulties almoſt unſurmountable. He ſtill continued to bear up againſt them with great conſtancy, and the ſoldiers, encouraged by his example, repulſed the *Perſians* with great ſlaughter, as often as they attacked them. At length, on the twenty fifth of *June* in the evening, a mighty cloud of duſt aroſe, occaſioned by the advance of the greater part of the *Perſian* horſe. On this occaſion the *Perſian* noblemen gave full teſtimony of their valour, making ſuch an impreſſion on the left wing of the *Roman* army, as obliged the emperor to repair thither in perſon; whither he was no ſooner come, than he received in his body an arrow, whether from the enemy, or from one of his own ſoldiers, could never be known, of which wound he died the next night. This threw his army into a terrible conſternation, notwithſtanding they had been victorious in the fight the day before, ſlain many thouſand *Perſians*, and amongſt them fifty perſons of quality [d].

Sapor, as ſoon as he was informed of the emperor's death, made proclamation that he would give a great reward to the man by whoſe hand he fell; which, however, was never claimed. At the ſame time, to ſhew his deſire of peace, he ſent deputies to *Jovian*, who had ſucceeded *Julian*. In four days a peace was concluded, whereby the five provinces in diſpute were for ever yielded to the *Perſians*, together with the ſtrong fortreſs of *Niſibis*, which had ſo long been the bulwark of the empire. As ſoon as the treaty was concluded, *Sapor* furniſhed the *Romans*, for their money, with proviſions, and alſo gave and received hoſtages for the due performance of the treaty; which was exactly executed, tho' with much reluctancy, by the *Romans*; yet of the nigh-

Makes an advantageous peace with the Romans.

[d] AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxiv, xxv. CEDREN. hiſt. comp p. 308. ZONAR. ubi ſupra. GREGOR. AR. I. PHAR. dynaſt. vii p. 140. ZOSIM. l. iii. A. C. 363.

ty army led by *Julian* into *Persia*, scarce a tenth part returned, and even these perhaps had never returned, but by the favour of this peace, which they so much decried [c] (K).

During

[c] Ammian. Marcel. ubi supra. Socrat. hist. eccles. l. iii. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 308. Eutrop. l. x. Agath. Scholast. p. 136.

(K) The various accounts which are given by different authors of the death of the emperor *Julian*, belong to the *Constantinopolitan* history; and therefore we have but just touched upon this subject here. *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Zosimus* afford the highest commendations to their hero *Julian*, on account of his penetrating farther into the *Persian* territories than any of his predecessors. The last-mentioned of these authors carries his eulogy so far, as to pretend that *Julian* conquered the greatest part of the *Persian* empire; than which nothing can be falser, or more ridiculous. Almost all the *Greek* historians agree in blaming *Jovian* for the peace he made; and on this account they degrade him far below his predecessor It may not be amiss to take this opportunity of setting in a true light a point, which hath so generally, and so long, been misunderstood. *Julian* was, without question, a very gallant man and an excellent soldier; but he was as certainly no general, since there is scarce a maxim in the art of war, against which he did not expressly act in this *Persian* expedition. All the *Roman* generals, who had suffered themselves to be dazzled with the reputation of conquering the *Persians*, had perished in their foolish attempts; for, from *Crassus* to *Carus*, no *Roman* had ever penetrated the *Persian* dominions, but to his own dishonour; and therefore there could be nothing more contrary to reason, than *Julian*'s pushing forwards as he did. Again, he acted without any certain view; he marched he knew not where; he sought he knew not what; he took for guides he knew not whom; he burnt a fleet, when of all things it was most necessary to him; he sacrificed his soldiers, in making them pass rivers almost unpassable in themselves, and in the sight of an enemy perfectly acquainted with the country. In one word, there were five large provinces in dispute: *Julian*, if he had taken cool and proper measures, might have disposed things so as to have secured them for ever to the *Romans*; but instead of doing this, he did the single thing he should not have done; he quitted the antient *Roman* method of making war, to take up that of the *Persians*; and by engaging *Sapor* in his own way, and in his own country, sacrificed a numerous and victorious army. But if *Julian* was not, *Sapor* certainly was, a general; he

(22) *Zosim. hist Rom. l. iii. Ammian. Marcel l. xxvi. Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p.* 136.

managed

DURING the rest which so advantageous a treaty afforded to the *Persians*, their monarch neglected no opportunity of settling effectually the bounds of his empire towards *Tartary* and *India*. This took him up some time, and served also to exercise his soldiers; but after the death of *Jovian* the *Roman* emperor, when the affairs of that people were again disordered, *Sapor* did not fail to make a new irruption, in breach, as the *Latin* writers say, of the peace subsisting between the two empires. The issue of this war is no less obscure than its commencement. All we know of it is, that at the beginning, *Sapor* had great advantages in *Armenia*, having slain *Arsaces*, who then reigned in that country, where he also reduced a large territory under his obedience; but, on the arrival of *Arinthius*, he was constrained to abandon a great part of his conquests. However, being intent on aggrandizing the *Persian* dominions on this side, he still remained in arms, and transferred the imperial seat to *Ctesiphon*, the old capital of the *Parthian* empire, that he might be always at hand to improve such opportunities as might offer (L). It does not, however,

Turns his arms against other enemies.

managed the war as it ought to have been managed; he retired that he might conquer; and when he had conquered, he thought of nothing but making an advantageous peace. In this he shewed himself a wise king, a great captain, and an able statesman The eloquence of the *Greek* writers will everlastingly do justice to the military virtues of *Julian*, and the christian piety of his successor. As we are now writing the *Persian* history, we thought it but justice to vindicate the character of a *Persian* monarch, by a short recapitulation of facts, which is all that is intended by this note.

(L) *Ammianus Marcellinus* hath given a pretty large account of this *Armenian* war, wherein he charges the king of *Persia* with breach of faith to the *Romans*, and with excessive cruelty and treachery towards the *Armenians*. He says, that he took advantage of that confusion which overspread the *Roman* affairs, after the death of the emperor *Jovian*, to fall upon the *Armenians*, first by slight incursions, quickly after more openly and with greater force; that in the progress of the war, he, on some pretence or other, prevailed on *Arsaces* king of *Armenia* to admit of a personal conference with him; at which he seized him, and instantly caused his eyes to be put out, and himself to be cruelly beaten with silver rods; and a short time afterwards ordered him to be crucified, laying then siege to the capital of *Armenia*, where the queen, the king's sons, and treasures were; that the *Armenians*, in this distress, had recourse to the emperor *Valentinian*, who sent to their assistance *Arbitio*, with an army which obliged *Sapor* to retire, tho' he exclaimed

however, appear, that, after this time, he gained any great victory; and all we know farther is, that in the beginning of the reign of *Gratian*, this restless and ambitious monarch ended his days, after having reigned seventy years, or, as some say, seventy two, with great variety of fortune [f].

Artaxerxes. Year of Christ, 380.

To *Sapor* succeeded *Artaxerxes*; but who he was is a question. Some writers are positive that he was the son of his predecessor; others are no less positive that he was his brother. Those who will have him to be son of *Sapor*, give us this account of the matter: They say, that *Sapor* had four sons, *Hormisdas*, *Adarnasses*, and *Narses*, by great princesses; this *Artaxerxes* by a lady of exquisite beauty, but of no distinguished family. *Hormisdas*, by going over to the *Romans*, forfeited his right to the crown, and so *Adarnasses* came to be considered as his heir; but this prince threw away his title to the kingdom, by displaying his own unworthiness to possess it; for the inhabitants of *Mesopotamia* having presented to king *Sapor* a tent of camels skins, curiously painted, and inriched with gold, the king gave it to his son, and afterwards

[f] Agath. Scholast. ubi supra. Cedren. ibid. p. 312. Zosim. l. iv. Paul. Diacon. l. xi. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxvii.

claimed against it as a breach of the peace (34). It is easy enough to see that this account is perplexed, and altogether favourable to the *Romans*; but it is not easy to unravel it, or, at this distance of time, to point out all the misrepresentations contained therein. We know, however, that they are not wanting, and that the true ground of the war was this: *Julian*, when he made his irruption into *Persia*, compelled *Arsaces* king of *Armenia* to attend him with all the forces he cou'd raise, tho' he would not accept the assistance of other princes. This he did, because *Arsaces* was a christian, and he had a mind to harrass him and his subjects. When *Sapor* came to treat with *Jovian*, he excluded the *Armenians*, intending to revenge himself upon them for the assistance they had given *Julian*; so that the war was not altogether without pretence, any more than the complaint of the *Romans* assisting them, since they could not do this according to the letter of their treaty with the *Persians*. Some time after, when *Valentinian* suspected *Para*, who succeeded his father *Arsaces*, he, by fraud, got him into his hands, and, after very ill usage, caused him to be cruelly put to death; which fact was highly resented by *Sapor*. Henceforward the peace was ill observed on both sides; and, on the whole, it is most evident, that *Sapor* did not employ either fraud or force more unjustly than the *Romans*, with whom he had to deal, tho' the authors of that nation are not always ready to acknowledge as much.

(34) *Ammian. Marcel. l.* xxvii. *Socrat. l.* iii.

asking

asking him how he liked it; *The thing*, replied he, *is well enough*; *but when I come to be king, I will have a tent of the skins of men.* His actions corresponded so exactly with this barbarous expression, that it was judged proper to set him aside. *Narses* had the misfortune to offend the king, who therefore disinherited him, whereby the crown came to this *Artaxerxes*, who least thought of it; a most romantic and incredible tale! But the other opinion, that *Artaxerxes* was not the son, but the brother, of *Sapor*, is not at all the more probable, as making the foregoing story inconsistent and unintelligible; we ought therefore to suppose he was his kinsman only. However, our *European* historians tell us nothing more concerning this prince, than that he maintained the peace with the *Romans*, and governed his dominions quietly four years [g] (M).

To

[g] AGATH. SCHOLAST. l. iv. p. 137 ZONAR. A. C. 340. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 143.

(M) In this note we are to render a reason for our departing in the text from all authorities, in making the successor of *Sapor* neither his brother nor his son, but his kinsman only; and this we shall do as briefly as is consistent with the readers satisfaction. For, first, we will shew, that he could not be the brother of *Sapor*; secondly, we will shew, that he could not be his son; and, thirdly, we will reconcile our conjecture to history. If this *Artaxerxes* had been the brother of *Sapor*, he must have been older, or younger; if older, why was he not king before him? or how came so cunning and so cruel a prince, as the *Romans* make *Sapor* to be, to spare an elder brother during a reign of seventy years? Younger he could not be, since *Sapor* himself was a posthumous son (35). If he had been the son of *Sapor*, then, the historian says, he had three elder brothers, of whom *Hormisdas* escaped to the *Romans*, in the twenty fourth year of the reign of *Sapor*, and he was the second son; how then could this be, especially if, as the *Greek* historians say, *Hormisdas* was married? It remains, that we account for the expression of *Agathias*, who expressly affirms *Artaxerxes* to have been the brother of *Sapor*; for we have set the credit of *Agathias* too high to be unhinged by a slight criticism. We say then, that *Agathias*, writing after the *Persian* records, retained the word *brother*, which the *Persians*, as other oriental nations do, used only in a large sense; and therefore this does not contradict, but confirm, our conjecture, that *Artaxerxes* was the near kinsman of *Sapor*, and no more. The reason of our introducing this notion into our text was, the desire we had to make the history clear, plain, and consistent, which this account does. As to the story of the tent, we

(35) *Agath Scholast. l.* iv.

Sapor III. Year of Christ, 385.

To him succeeded his son *Sapor*, the third of that name, who reigned five years; but what he did in that space, we find not in any *Greek* author, probably because, adhering to the peace made with his grandfather, he troubled not the *Roman* empire, then governed by *Theodosius the Great* [h].

Varanes IV. Year of Christ, 390

Varanes, or, as the *Greeks* write it, *Vararanes*, the fourth of that name, succeeded his father *Sapor*. He is also known by the surname of *Cerma Saa*, of which we have little or no account as to its meaning. Elsewhere, however, this difficulty will be cleared up, and the title shewn to be *Kerman Shâh*, which province of *Kerman* was in his reign added to the *Persian* empire. He also maintained the peace with the *Romans*, being otherwise employed; and therefore the *Greek* historians say very little of him, any more than of his predecessors, tho' he reigned eleven years [i].

Isdigertes. Year of Christ, 401.

Isdigertes succeeded *Varanes*, a monarch deservedly renowned for his many great virtues. He was cotemporary with *Arcadius* emperor of the east, with whom he lived not only in terms of peace, but of friendship; insomuch, that at his death the emperor *Arcadius* declared him protector of his son *Theodosius* the second, and of the *Roman* empire. Of this when *Isdigertes* was informed, he sent *Antiochus*, one of his eunuchs, a person of great wisdom and experience, to take care of his pupil's education, and by him declared to the senate of *Constantinople*, that he would turn the whole force of the *Persian* monarchy upon whomsoever should attempt to disturb the young prince's administration, whereby the empire was preserved, during a minority, in perfect quiet. As the young *Theodosius* grew up, the ties of friendship became stronger between the two empires, and embassies

[h] Agath. Scholast. ubi supra. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi supra. [i] Agath. Scholast. ubi supra. Gregor. Abul Phar. dynast. vii. p. 146.

find it in *Zonaras* (36), as we found the story of *Marsyas* in *Zosimus* (37; and we take them both for fictions. Truth is always uniform, and therefore, as far as these stories are consistent with each other, and with common sense, we acknowledge them to be true; but, where they differ from these, we crave leave to differ from them. In all probability the fact was, that the family of *Hormisdas* settled at *Constantinople*, and that *Artaxerxes* was the next of the blood royal resident in *Persia*, and in a capacity of succeeding to the crown; for, as we shall see hereafter, the *Persians* were not scrupulous in setting aside young children.

(36) *A. C.* 340. (37) *Lib.* ii, iii.

were

were more frequent than in former times (N). Amongst other ministers whom *Theodosius* made use of, *Marathas*, a

(N) This fact is doubted of by *Agathias*, and he assures us, was not doubted of by him only, but by many of the learned in his time; the reason of which, he says, was the silence of cotemporary authors, and the story's being traced no higher than the writings of *Procopius* (38). We have, however, made no doubt of inserting this as a fact in our text, and we hope to give the reader satisfaction for so doing in this note. As to *Procopius*, if he was alone, he would be an inconteſtable witness; for he did not live at any great distance, neither was he one who reported things upon trust. We find this in the introduction to his history, and he says expressly, that *Arcadius*'s will was sent to *Isdigertes*, and that the nomination of this prince to the tutelage of young *Theodosius* preserved the empire in peace (39). All the *Greek* writers own, that, in the space of twenty one years, which this *Persian* king reigned, he never attempted any thing against the *Romans*; but, on the contrary, lived with *Theodosius* in the strictest amity all his days, which seems to be a strong presumption in favour of this account. *Zonaras*, in his history, relates this fact without the least sign of diffidence or suspicion (40). *Cedrenus* doth the same with this additional circumstance, that the emperor *Arcadius* bequeathed the *Persian* king a great sum of money for his trouble (41). As to *Antiochus*, all authors agree, that he was the first governor of *Theodosius*, and that, for a time, the empire was swayed by his counsels (42). The reason *Agathias* doubted the fact, seems to be his zeal for the *Roman* glory, which, he thought, was tarnished by the choice *Arcadius* made of a barbarian for the tutor of his son. *Procopius* informs us, that it was the high reputation of *Isdigertes* for wisdom and probity, which induced *Arcadius* to make choice of him; and for this he commends him (43). Yet *Agathias* himself yields a higher compliment to *Isdigertes* than *Procopius*; for if, without being his tutor, that monarch abstained from any attempts upon his dominions, merely because *Theodosius* was a child, he was one of the most generous princes that ever lived, and deserved the confidence of all the princes his cotemporaries. The truth seems to be, that *Procopius*, as a man of business, a courtier, and a soldier, was free from prejudice; whereas *Agathias*, who was a downright scholar, and lived in an age when it was fashionable to hate the *Persians*, could not let a story so much to their honour pass, without intimating a doubt about it (44).

(38) *Agath Scholast. l.* iv. *p.* 136. (39) *Procop. de bell. Persic l* i. *c.* 2. *p.* 8. (40) *A. C.* 423. (41) *Hist. comp. p.* 320. (42) *Sozomen. hist. eccl. l* ix. *Evagr. hist eccl. l* i. *Cedren. ubi supra.* (43) *Procop ubi supra.* (44) *Agath. Scholast. ubi supra.*

Meſopotamian biſhop, was one, a perſon equally remarkable for the innocence of his life, and for the winning pleaſantry of his converſation. His ſtay in *Perſia* quite altered the ſtate of the chriſtian church in that country; for whereas before they were looked upon not only as heretics, but as very bad ſubjects, on account of their inclination to the *Roman* emperors, who were of their own religion, *Marathas* ſo fully informed him of the true doctrines of the chriſtian faith, that he began to entertain juſt ideas of the innocency and loyalty of its profeſſors. This alarmed the *Perſian* prieſts, and they inſtantly began to form ſchemes for the deſtruction of ſo wiſe and good a man. He had, it ſeems, by his prayers cured the king of a fixed and inveterate head-ach, which induced that monarch to reverence him greatly, and for his ſake his religion, without forſaking, however, his own. To drive the biſhop from court, and to revive in the king's mind his antient diſlike to the chriſtians, the *Perſian magi* contrived a very whimſical expedient, which yet had well nigh effected their purpoſe, ridiculous as it was. They let down a man into a pit behind the ſacred fire in the king's oratory, and having covered the perſon placed therein with carpets, they directed him, when the king came to worſhip, to ſpeak the following words in a ſhrill voice; *Impious and ungrateful prince, I will chaſe thee from thy throne, if thou baniſh not that chriſtian, whom thou believeſt to be acceptable to God.* *Iſdigertes* was mightily ſurprized when he firſt heard this; but more ſo, when he heard it conſtantly repeated as often as he went to his devotions. At length he determined to ſend back *Marathas*, but with the utmoſt civility, as well in reſpect to his maſter as to himſelf; but when he came to break it to the biſhop, that prelate penetrated the contrivance, and adviſed the king, when he next heard the voice, to order certain perſons to dig in the place whence it came. *Iſdigertes* did ſo; the man was diſcovered, the fraud detected, and the *magi* decimated. The king moreover granted hereupon free leave to the chriſtians to build churches throughout his dominions, where-ever they thought fit, and freed them in all reſpects from the penal laws enacted againſt them by his predeceſſors [k].

Chriſtians highly favoured by him.

Marathas returned after this to *Conſtantinople*, and was employed a ſecond time in an embaſſy to *Perſia*. The *magi*, hearing of his coming, had recourſe to new frauds; but the king eaſily ſaw through theſe without aſſiſtance. They were therefore ſo far from preventing his giving a favourable re-

[k] Socrat. hiſt. eccleſ. l. vii. c. 8

ception

ception to the biſhop, that they engaged him to treat this prelate with ſtill greater marks of favour than he had given him before. *Marathas* had not been long in *Perſia* before a new opportunity offered for raiſing his credit with the king. The prince of *Perſia* was thought to be poſſeſſed. This pious prelate, aſſiſted by *Abdas*, whom he had conſecrated biſhop in *Perſia*, joined their prayers to God for the prince's recovery; which ſoon after happened, to the joy of the whole court, and to the honour of the chriſtian religion. *Iſdigertes* governed in the whole twenty one years, and, during that ſpace, lived in perfect peace and friendſhip with the *Romans*, as alſo with the chriſtians in his own dominions, whom he treated not only with lenity, but indulgence [1].

Varanes, or *Vararanes* the fifth, ſucceeded his father *Iſdigertes*, and ſeems, notwithſtanding what the *Greek* writers affirm, to have had, in his own diſpoſition, a great tenderneſs for the chriſtians. He had not, however, been long upon the throne, before he found himſelf provoked to ſuch a degree, as conſtrained him to lay aſide all indulgence, and openly to perſecute them. Thus it came to paſs: *Abdas* the *Perſian* prelate, in a high and unwarrantable fit of zeal, burnt a fire-temple to the ground. The king ſent for him, and, having a great reſpect for his perſon, reproved him gently, and adviſed him to rebuild it; which he abſolutely refuſed to do. The chriſtian writers univerſally condemn the raſhneſs of the firſt act, and the prelate's conſtancy in the ſecond. However, the *magi* reſented this matter ſo warmly, and, by their clamour, ſo incenſed the people, that the king was obliged to proceed to extremities, to order all the chriſtian churches to be demoliſhed, and to put the biſhop *Abdas* to death. After this a furious perſecution began on the old ſuppoſition, that ſuch as differ in religion from their prince cannot be loyal to his government. As for perſons of quality, they were deprived of their places, had their eſtates confiſcated, but were indulged in life and liberty, in hopes of their coming over. *Hormiſdas*, a man deſcended of the antient race of *Achemenes*, after being ſtripped of his fortune, was reduced to keep camels for his bread. Another nobleman had his wife taken from him, and given to his ſlave; but theſe methods wrought no converſions. The meaner ſort of people were ſtill in a worſe way; they were delivered over to the mercy of the prieſts, and conſequently were

Varanes V. Year of Chriſt, 421.

[1] AGATH. SCHOLAST. l. iv. p. 137. PAUL. DIACON. l. xvi. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynaſt. vii p. 140.

ſubjected

ſubjected to an inexpreſſible variety of deaths and torments [m].

War breaks out with the Romans.

These things quickly occaſioned differences to ariſe between the *Perſian* and *Roman* monarchs, eſpecially as reaſons of ſtate concurred with theſe religious jars. *Theodoſius*, in the days of *Iſdigertes*, had lent a certain number of miners, who were to be employed in working anew ſome ſilver and gold mines, which had been long neglected in *Perſia*. Theſe miners *Varanes* refuſed to ſend home; and therefore as well on this account, as becauſe multitudes of chriſtians fled out of *Perſia* into the dominions of *Theodoſius*, both parties began to prepare for war. The king of *Perſia* made choice of one *Narſes* for his general, and ſent him to his frontiers, where he expected to have found a numerous army; but he was miſtaken; the troops were not come to the place of rendezvous; and, before they could be aſſembled, the *Roman* general *Ardaburius* marching through *Armenia*, fell into *Azazene*, a *Perſian* province, and began to waſte it with fire and ſword. *Narſes* no ſooner received this news, than he inſtantly marched to give him battle with the forces he had about him. The conſequence was, that the *Perſian* was worſted; but, being an able captain, made a good retreat. He ſaw, that it was now impoſſible to prevent the deſtruction of *Azazene* by force; and therefore, returning back to the place of rendezvous, whither by this time the *Perſian* troops were come, he, at the head of a very numerous army, made an irruption into *Meſopotamia*, a *Roman* province, which obliged the *Roman* general quickly to return, and as quickly to block up *Niſibis*, the principal fortreſs which the *Perſians* had on that ſide. *Narſes* finding himſelf diſappointed, for he conceived that the *Romans* would immediately have given him battle a ſecond time, reſolved, if it was poſſible, to provoke them to fight. With this view he ſent a meſſage to *Ardaburius*, telling him, That if he would appoint a day, he would be ready to meet him in the field. But *Ardaburius* wiſely anſwered, That the *Romans* fought when they pleaſed themſelves, and not when their enemies thought it for their advantage. *Varanes*, in the mean time, had ſollicited the *Saracens* to break with the *Romans*; and they very readily complied, their captain *Alamundarus* being naturally an enemy to the *Romans*. This man, having raiſed a prodigious army, promiſed the *Perſian* king to perform wonders, at leaſt to reduce *Antioch* and *Syria* under his power; neither

[m] Theodoret. hiſt eccleſ. l. v. c. 39. Socrat. hiſt eccleſ. l. vii. c. 20. Evagr. l. i. c. 19.

me in-

meant he to perform leſs than he promiſed, for, paſſing the *Euphrates*, he broke, like a torrent, into the *Roman* province; but beginning to plunder without mercy, the people recovered their ſpirits, and, joining the *Roman* army, fell upon *Alamundarus* in his march, and cut to pieces a hundred thouſand men, which forced the remainder of the *Saracens* to fly with ſhame into their own country. When this news reached the ear of the *Perſian* monarch, with this further circumſtance, that *Niſibis* was ſo cloſely preſſed, that it could not long hold out, he determined to put all things to the riſque, and to march to the relief of that city with the whole force of *Perſia*. This reſolution once taken, *Varanes* inſtantly put it in execution, directing all his troops in the frontier provinces to rendezvous at a certain time, and marched immediately with an army he had collected from the nine provinces of *Perſia*, together with his elephants, that his preſence might influence all the neceſſary preparations. His deſign ſucceeded perfectly well; for by that time he entered *Meſopotamia*, all his generals were arrived; ſo that he advanced towards *Niſibis* with a prodigious army. The *Romans*, hearing of his approach, the number of elephants he brought with him, and his mighty ſtrength in cavalry, were ſeized with a ſudden panic, and, without ſtaying for his coming, raiſed the ſiege, and fled. This was highly pleaſing to *Varanes*, who, thinking now the worſt was over, retired to his capital, and left his generals to manage the war. Herein he acted incautiouſly and unhappily; for the *Romans* recovering their ſpirits, defeated the *Perſians* in a pitched battle, repulſed the *Saracens* a ſecond time, and, under the command of *Ardaburius*, beat the *Perſian* forces, with the ſlaughter not only of a great number of men, but of ſeven generals. However, *Varanes* continued the war, and being himſelf a prince of great firmneſs and much military ſkill, he found means to make even victories diſadvantageous to the *Romans*; for, by keeping a court on the frontiers, repairing his armies by conſtant ſupplies, and preſerving his magazines in good order, he kept the enemy ſtill on the defenſive; and as they found it difficult to recruit, all actions that were bloody were favourable to the *Perſians*, tho' they were beaten. The emperor *Theodoſius*, perfectly ſenſible of the ſituation of things, ſent *Helion*, a perſon of great diſtinction, with a large body of troops, to reinforce his army, directing him to enter into a negotiation with *Varanes*, and to conclude a peace, if poſſible. *Helion* purſuing his inſtructions, and finding the *Roman* army intrenched, ſent *Maximin*, the collegue of *Ardaburius*, to offer *Varanes* peace, on certain conditions.

Varanes,

Varanes, ordered *Maximin* to be conducted to the tent of one of his principal officers, and, in the mean time, held a council of war, wherein it was resolved immediately to attack the *Romans* in their camp; and, in case they were repulsed, to accept the terms offered by *Maximin*. There was in the *Persian* army a corps of troops, distinguished by the title of *immortal*, because their number was continually kept up to ten thousand men, by draughts out of other corps. This body of troops took upon themselves this dangerous piece of service, which, however, they reckoned would prove the less so, if they could take the *Romans* unprovided. In order to this they divided themselves, and while five thousand attacked the intrenchments, the other five thousand formed behind a hill, waiting there for an opportunity to attack the *Romans* in flank. But their enterprize miscarried; for *Procopius*, a *Roman* general, observing the troops that were formed behind the hill, marched round with a great body of forces, and getting between them and those who attacked the *Roman* camp, charged them on all sides with incredible fury; so that the victory was quickly determined on the side of the *Romans*, with a prodigious slaughter of the *Persian* soldiery. *Varanes* then condescended to hear *Maximin*; and when that officer had explained to him his master's demands, he told him, That, for his sake, he would be content to make peace on those terms, and put an end to the severities exercised upon the christians. An accident, however, happened, which carried this matter much farther, and contributed more than the peace between the two empires to the re-establishment of christianity in *Persia*. It was this: When the province of *Azazene* was ravaged by the *Romans* in the beginning of the war, seven thousand *Persians* were brought prisoners to the city of *Amida*, where they fell into extreme want. *Acasius*, bishop of that place, having assembled his clergy, represented to them in the most pathetic terms the misery of these unhappy prisoners. He then observed, that as the Almighty preferred mercy to sacrifice, so he would certainly be better pleased with the relief of these his creatures, than with being served in gold and silver vessels in their churches. The clergy entertained this motion not only with readiness, but with applause, sold all the consecrated vessels, and having maintained the *Persians* during the war, sent the whole seven thousand home, at the conclusion of the peace, with money in their pockets. *Varanes* was so much astonished at this, that he sent to invite the bishop to his capital, where he received him with the utmost reverence, and did the christians many



favours at his request. After this, *Varanes* enjoyed peace as long as he lived; and, having reigned twenty years, died, beloved and honoured by his subjects [n].

To *Varanes* the fifth succeeded *Varanes* the sixth, or, as he is called by some authors, *Isdigertes*. It is not probable, that he ever broke the peace made by his father with the *Romans*; inasmuch as we meet with nothing concerning him in any of the *Greek* historians, further than that he was cotemporary with *Theodosius* the second, and his successor *Martianus*, and that he reigned seventeen years and four months [o]. Varanes VI. Year of Christ 442.

Perozes succeeded his father *Varanes*, or *Isdigertes*. He was a prince of a restless and turbulent spirit, and could not bear that the *Hunns*, who at this time began to be terrible, as well to his subjects as those of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, should incroach, as they daily did, upon his dominions. Those he had to do with were distinguished by the name of *Euthalites* or *white Hunns*, and were much more civilized than the rest, as living in cities, and under a certain form of government; which the rest of their nation did not. To rid himself of those neighbours, *Perozes* marched at the head of a great army, after having carefully settled the affairs of his empire, and done all that in him lay to secure its peace in his absence. *Gonza* was the capital of the nation he attacked, and lay directly north of *Persia*. *Perozes* marched strait thither, hoping to put an end to the war by a general action. But the *Euthalites*, or *Nephalites*, as some authors call them, were wiser. They knew that a wasted country was not lost; and therefore retiring continually, they drew *Perozes* and his army so far into their territories, as to cut off their retreat, and, at the same time, to hinder them from receiving provisions. The distress of the *Persians* was so great, and the soldiers were so enfeebled and dispirited, that they were constrained to accept any conditions that were offered them. The king of the *Euthalites*, being informed of their condition, sent to acquaint *Perozes*, that if he had a mind to deliver himself and his army, he might do it upon these terms, *viz. swearing never to invade the* Euthalites, *and coming to do homage to him as his lord.* To the first of these *Perozes* readily yielded; but the last seemed intolerable. At last the magi, who were about his person, proposed to him an expedient, which removed all difficulties. This expedient was, that he should go pay his compliments to the king of the *Euthalites* at sun-rising, when his prostrating himself would be under- Perozes. Year of Christ 458.

[n] SOCRAT. hist. eccles. l. vii. c. 17—21. ZONAR. hist Rom. A C. 435. AGATH. hist. l. iv. p. 137. [o] AGATH. ubi supra.

stood by that king as an act of submission; but by himself would be conceived to be no more than an act of reverence to the sun. This expedient was approved and carried instantly into execution. The king of the *Euthalites* was satisfied, and *Peroses*, with the remainder of his army, returned back into *Persia*. As soon as he had a little settled his affairs, and had leisure to look about him, the *Persian* monarch, unmindful of his oath, provided for a second expedition against the *Hunns*. He took, however, more prudent measures than before; that is, he not only raised a very numerous army, but he likewise took care to be well furnished with provisions. He also settled his domestic concerns in the best manner possible; and leaving the prince his son regent of the kingdom, he began his march a second time towards the northern frontiers of his empire. The *Euthalites* supposing, as they very well might, that *Peroses* would expect to penetrate, as he did before, into the heart of their country, carried off their effects, but concealed their forces behind certain mountains, from whence issuing suddenly on all sides of the *Persian* army, they totally routed it, and, at their leisure, killed or made prisoners almost all the soldiers of whom it was composed, amongst whom *Peroses* himself perished, when he had worn the *Persian* diadem twenty years [P] (O).

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[P] Procop. de bell. Persic. l. i c. 24. p. 10 Agath. hist. l. iv. p. 138. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 355.

(O) The story of *Peroses* is related at large by *Procopius*, in the beginning of his memoirs of the *Persian* war. He informs us, that, in his first expedition, the *Persian* monarch carried with him a certain *Roman* embassador, whose name was *Eusebius*, a discreet person, and one equally beloved by the king and by his nobility. Him therefore, when the *Persian* generals had discovered the miserable situation they were in, they made choice of to break the matter to *Peroses*, that, before it was too late, some method might be taken, to extricate them out of their misfortunes. *Eusebius* having artfully drawn the king into a discourse of the presence of mind necessary in great distresses, and being desired to speak his mind freely of the state they were now in, he told *Peroses* this story: *A lion once saw a kid tied at a distance, and pressed by hunger, leaped at it with all his force; but, falling short of his prey, he dropped into a pit, which had been prepared for him, and out of which all his force could not deliver him.* *Peroses* easily comprehended the drift of this fable, and, by the advice of his magi, acted as the reader hath been told above. In his second expedition, *Peroses* wanted such an adviser, otherwise he had not fallen as he did. The enemy,

WHEN the *Persians* had received advice of the disastrous death of their king, they made choice of his brother *Obalas*, or, as he is usually called by the *Greek* writers, *Valens*, not caring to trust so young a person as *Cavades* then was, with the reins of government, tho' his father had left him regent. This *Valens* proved an excellent prince, tender, compassionate, just, affable, and desirous of assuaging, as far as he might, the misery of his country, almost wholly subjected by the *Euthalites*, to whom, for two years, he paid tribute, and with whom, for two others, he held war. At length, worn out with cares, he died, after a short and troublesome reign of four years, the less regretted by his subjects, on account of his being a man peaceably disposed, and therefore very unfit to restore the ancient lustre of the kingdom [p] (P). Valens. Year of Christ, 482.

Cavades,

[p] CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 356. AGATH. hist. l. iv. p. 138.

my, it seems, having timely notice of his intention, spent many months in digging a vast ditch in the midst of a plain, and in removing all the earth which was thrown out of it In the middle they left a narrow neck of land, and having covered this mighty ditch with hurdles, they strewed these with mold, and covered them with grass plots. This done, they drew all their forces, on the approach of *Perozes*, into a line of battle before the ditch, and, as the *Persian* troops advanced, they drew off in close order cross the neck of land. The *Persian* cavalry following them with great fury, pushed each other into the ditch, and so became a sacrifice to this incensed people. *Perozes* is said to have had no less than thirty sons grown up to man's estate, who all perished with him here, *Cavades* being left at home, on account of his youth, and that the kingdom might be preserved to the immediate offspring of *Perozes* (45).

(P) There cannot be any thing more perplexed that the accounts given us by the *Greek* writers of these *white Hunns*, who, for a time, so terribly distressed the *Persians* *Procopius*, who speaks more at large of them than any other writer, calls them *Ephthalites*, and says, they inhabited a country to the north of of *Persia*. Their chief city, according to him, was *Gorgo*, on the very frontiers of *Persia* (46). *Agathias* calls these people *Nephthalites*. They are generally agreed to have been the same people, who, in other ancient authors, are called *Indoscythæ* (47). All this will gave the reader but very little, if any, light at all. From

(45) *Procop. de bell. Persic. l.* i. *c.* 3 *p.* 9. *Agath Scholast l.* iv. *p.* 137. *Cedren hist. comp. p* 355, 356. (46) *De bell. Persic l.* i. *c.* 3. (47) *Agath. Scholast l.* iv.

Cavades, Year of Chriſt 486.

Cavades, or, as he it frequently called, *Cabades*, aſcended the throne on the demiſe of his uncle. He was a prince of a high ſpirit; one who loved war, and underſtood it; ready to undertake any thing for the extending of his dominion, and jealous to the laſt degree of his authority, and the glory of the *Perſian* name. At firſt theſe qualities were extremely uſeful to his ſubjects; for, in all probability, had they not been governed by ſo warlike and enterprizing a prince, theyhad never recovered theirindependency,but had ſunk under the weight of thoſe continual invaſions made upon them by the *Euthalites*, whom no tribute could content, nor treaties reſtrain. Againſt theſe enemies *Cavades* ſet himſelf with great reſolution; and, making uſe of the ſame policy which they had done towards his father, drew them, by ſmall bodies, in hopes of plunder, far into his country, and, in their return, cut them off. When, by this means, they were cured of their practice of invading, he turned his arms upon them; but warily, ſuſtaining one body of troops by another, that by a third; wintering ſometimes in their country, till at laſt he quite broke their ſpirits, and obliged them to own him for their ſovereign, whom they thought to have had for their ſubject. This war finiſhed, *Cavades*, from being terrible to his enemies, became no leſs ſo to his ſubjects. His enterpriſing, reſtleſs genius, incapable of brooking any reſtraints, put him upon altering the conſtitution of his kingdom, and depriving all the nobility of thoſe privileges and prerogatives, which they had enjoyed under his predeceſſors. He likewiſe became intolerably proud, would ſcarce allow any of them to enter his preſence, or adviſe

the *Oriental* hiſtorians we learn, that their true name was *Haiathalites*, and that they poſſeſſed a large tract of country between the *Indies* and *Perſia*, till they began to make incroachments on the country laſt mentioned, after they had made choice of *Balkh* for their metropolis (48). This is plain and intelligible to every man that is acquainted with the *Oriental* geography; and we ſhall make the whole hiſtory of this war much more uniform and perſpicious, when we come to ſpeak of it from the memoirs of the *Eaſtern* writers. At preſent this is ſufficient to demonſtrate the great utility of theſe compariſons, deſpiſed only by ſuch as either cannot, or are unwilling to be at the pains neceſsary to ſuch an undertaking.

(48) *Mirkhond. ſect.* 31

him

him in his affairs; but acted with ſuch an arbitrary fierceneſs, as would have given a very bad colour to his proceedings, had they been really juſt in themſelves. At length he puſhed his extravagancy ſo far, as to publiſh an edict, whereby all the women in the empire were declared common to all the men therein. This the *Perſian* nobility thought too much to be endured; and therefore they inſtantly aſſembled, ſeized on the perſon of the king, depoſed him, and caſt him into priſon, ſuppoſing that leſs than this could not ſecure themſelves in ſafety, or the kingdom in peace. This happened after he had reigned eleven years, and appears to have been as total a revolution as ever happened in any kingdom, there being ſcarce any who adhered to the depoſed prince; and thoſe that did were conſtrained to be ſilent, for his ſake, as well as for their own[r].

Zambades, whom ſome call *Blaſes*, others *Lamaſes*, and who is by ſome ſaid to have been the ſon, by others the brother, of *Peroſes*, conſequently the uncle or brother of *Cavades*, was elected king in his ſtead. The firſt thing the new king did was, to aſſemble a general council of the nobility, in which he deſired they would conſider and determine what ſhould be done with *Cavades*. The people had before declared, that they conſidered the perſon of their prince as ſacred; however, the council were very much divided, eſpecially when *Guſanaſtades*, who was poſſeſſed of the higheſt office in the kingdom, drew a little knife out of his pocket, with which he was wont to pare his nails; and when he had made them take notice of the ſmallneſs of its blade, *This*, ſaid he, *properly applied now, will do what twenty thouſand men will not be able to do, if you let this opportunity ſlip*. At laſt it was unanimouſly determined, that the king ſhould, for his unworthy adminiſtration of the government, ſuffer perpetual impriſonment, and be for ever forgotten by his people, whoſe allegiance from thenceforwards was to be transferred to *Zambades*. This prince had indeed all the properties neceſſary to give luſtre to a crown juſtly attained. He was equally wiſe and indulgent, deſirous of reſtoring order, and of making the people happy; he applied himſelf with great induſtry to remedy thoſe evils, which had taken birth from his predeceſſor's conduct and example. But while he was thus employed a new ſtorm aroſe, which, after throwing the whole kingdom into violent convulſi-

Zambades. Year of Chriſt 497.

[r] AGATH. hiſt. lib. iv. p. 139. PROCOP. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. c. 5. p. 16. CEDREN. hiſt. comp. p. 356. THEOPHYLACT. hiſt. p. 19.

ons,

ons, at length produced a second revolution. Thus it happened [f].

The deposed king escapes.

The keeper of the castle, in which *Cavades* was imprisoned, became enamoured of his queen, who alone remained attached to him in all his misfortunes, and who failed not to bring him necessaries with her own hands, though she was not permitted to see him. With much ado, however, she procured leave to write to him, and having acquainted him with the situation of things, *Cavades* by letter directed her to sooth the passion of his goaler, in order to get admittance to him. This the lady did so effectually, that she had access to her husband when she pleased, and thereby an opportunity of acquainting him that he had still one friend left, who was ready to undertake any thing for his service. The name of this man was *Seoses*, a person of quality, who had a great number of dependents, among whom he collected a troop fit to attend the king where-ever he should think fit, when he should be once safely out of the castle. The care of this the queen took upon herself; for staying, as she often did, late in the evening, she dressed the king in her cloaths, wherein he went out, and having put on his, remained in his stead. As she pretended to be sick, and not to leave her bed for some days, the cheat was not discovered, so that *Cavades* had time enough given him to save himself, which he did in the company of *Seoses* and his friends, who conducted him quite through *Persia* into the territories of the *Euthalites*, whose king received him with great honour, and readily granted him his protection. As for the queen, there is nothing said of her fate with certainty; however, historians intimate, that more of resentment than of pity was shewn in the treatment towards her. As for *Cavades*, the king of the *Euthalites* entertained him splendidly, treated him as his good friend and ally, and gave him his daughter in marriage. After this the *Persian* king began to hold correspondence with some of the nobility, and finding or believing he found in his people a propensity to receive him once more as their sovereign, he persuaded his father-in-law to furnish him with an army; and this favour being readily accorded to him, he no sooner saw the troops in a readiness, than he put himself at their head, and marched directly into *Persia* [t].

Cavades restored. Year of Christ 501.

Cavades entered first into the province, of which *Gusanasfades*, who had threatened his life, was governor; where he

[f] Agath. Procop. Cedren. Theoph. ubi supra.

[t] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 6. Agath. Cedren. ubi supra.

he instantly caused proclamation to be made, that this man, as a rebel, stood deprived of his charge, and that himself would instantly confer it on him, who should first pay his duty to him on a day assigned. His friends represented to the king, that this was innovating the established laws, which fixed the governments of provinces in certain houses. *Cavades*, however, affected to remain firm; but at the day conferred the office of governor upon *Adergunabades*, a young nobleman next of kin to the deprived governor, who, as it was concerted, paid his compliments to him first. After this he proceeded to the capital of *Persia*, and repossessed himself of the throne, almost as easily as he had been ejected. His conduct upon this extraordinary change in his affairs was suitable to the fierceness of his temper. *Zambades* he deprived of sight and imprisoned; after he had for four years worn the royal title. *Gusanastades* he put to death; and that his restoration might be adorned with one act of generosity amidst so much severity, he erected a new office for his friend *Scoses*, whom he made lieutenant general of his kingdom [u].

Invades the Roman provinces.

IT was not long before the king of the *Euthalites* pressed his son-in-law to repay the great sums of money he had lent him. *Cavades* found he had it not in his power to comply with his demand, and therefore desired *Anastasius*, then emperor of the east, to accommodate him with the sum he wanted, offering to pay interest for it, which was refused. *Cavades* readily conceiving that there was now no way to avoid breaking with his father-in-law, but by making war upon the *Romans*, chose this as the lesser evil of the two; and, having a considerable body of forces about him, made a sudden irruption into *Armenia*, preventing, by the quickness of his march, the very report of his expedition. By this method he answered his purpose; for the inhabitants having no time to withdraw their effects, he raised excessive contributions; after which he besieged *Amida*, the principal fortress in those parts, in form. As the province had for many years enjoyed a profound peace, the city was wholly unprovided either of garison or of magazines; however, the citizens refused to open their gates, and prepared to make an obstinate defence. *Cavades*, who delighted in war, and who understood it perfectly well, practised all the methods then in use for reducing

[u] PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 6. p. 19. AGATH. Hist. lib. iv. p. 139. CEDREN. H. C. p. 336. THEOPHYLACT. lib. iv. p. 100.

fortified

fortified places, but in vain; at length, however, when he and his principal commanders were almost in despair, a tower was surprized by the supine negligence of certain monks, on the eightieth day from the commencement of the siege. At first *Cavades* suffered his soldiers to put the inhabitants to the sword. A citizen thereupon told him, it was unworthy of a hero to put those to death who were unable to resist, *Why then*, said the king, *did you pretend to treat me as an enemy? Because*, said the citizen, *It was the will of God to deliver* Amida, *not to your will, but to your valour*. *Cavades*, charmed with this compliment, ordered the citizens to be spared. Some time afterwards he restored to them their privileges, directed the walls and public buildings to be repaired, and leaving therein *Glones*, a *Persian* nobleman, with a garison of a thousand men, he treated it afterwards rather as a benefactor than a conqueror [x].

Defeats several Roman generals.

As soon as the news of this invasion reached *Rome*, the emperor took the necessary precautions for assembling an army, which was accordingly done; and orders were given them to march to the frontiers with all imaginable expedition. The *Greek* writers tell us, that there never were better forces sent against the *Persians*, than this army was composed of, or generals of greater reputation. *Cavades* on his side took the field early, and being informed that the *Roman* officers differed among themselves, and had divided their forces into several independent corps, he resolved to attack them as speedily as he could. He first fell upon *Ariobindus*, who, on the approach of the *Persians*, shamefully abandoned his camp, and fled to an adjacent city. Eight hundred *Euthalites*, who were the forlorn hope of *Cavades*'s army, in their next march fell in with a considerable body of *Roman* troops, commanded by *Hypatius*, and were by them intirely cut to pieces on the side of a river, the stream of which they dyed with their blood. It was not long before the *Persian* monarch arrived on its banks, where guessing by the colour of the water what had happened, he immediately conceived, that he should find the *Romans* secure and unprovided. Whereupon, instead of making a halt, he pushed on with his cavalry; and, as he conjectured, finding the *Romans* eating, drinking, and washing themselves in the river, he severely revenged the death of his friends, by putting almost this whole body of *Romans* to death without any resistance [y].

[x] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 7. p. 20. Cedren. H. C. p. 169. [y] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 8.

Upon

UPON the heels of this victory, he received advice of the *Hunns* having broken into the northern provinces of his empire; upon which he was obliged to return with his whole army into *Persia*, whence he happily expelled those barbarous invaders. While *Cavades* was thus employed, things on the frontiers went not altogether so well, tho' not at all less honourably for the *Persians*. After the departure of the army, the *Romans* in several bodies drew nearer to *Amida*, in order to straighten its garison, and to prevent its receiving provisions. They likewise found means to betray *Glones* the *Persian* commander into an ambuscade, wherein himself and two hundred horse were cut to pieces. This was not only a very unfortunate accident for the garison, in point of the loss they sustained of their governor and a fifth part of their forces, but it was also fatal in its consequences, by reason of its restraining them from making any excursions, in order to fill their magazines. The command devolved upon the son of *Glones*, a young man but an excellent officer, and one who acquired a greater reputation by losing this city, than his master had done by gaining it. After a long blockade, in which, though the *Romans* did little, the *Persians* suffered much, being constrained to feed on the vilest and most nauseous things to satisfy their hunger, while the provisions in their magazines remained untouched, in order to serve another purpose, hopes of succour being lost, the governor entered into a treaty with the *Romans* for the delivery of the city. During this treaty large distributions were made from the magazines; whence the *Roman* officers conceiving that the besieged had still plenty of provisions, they agreed to let the garison march out, and to carry with them all that they had, giving also to the governor a vast sum of money for surrendering a place, which in a few days must have fallen into their hands, with all that was in it. Some time after a truce for seven years was concluded between the *Romans* and *Persians*, and hostages given on both sides for its being duly kept, which afforded *Cavades* leisure to pursue his wars against the *Hunns* [2] (Q).

Makes an advantageous peace.

IN

[2] PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib i. c. 9. p. 38. CEDREN. H. C. p. 170. AGATH. hist. lib. iv. p. 139.

(Q) While *Cavades* made use of the peace subsisting between him and the *Romans* to carry on war in his opposite frontier, in order effectually to quell the barbarous nations inhabiting on that side, the *Greek* writers tell us, that there happened an event, which effectually reconciled this prince to the christians, to whom hitherto he had

Proposes the adoption of his son to the emperor.

In these he had his usual success; yet all his foreign victories could not secure to him peace or tranquillity in his family. He had three sons, *Caoses Zames*, and *Chosroes*, the last of whom he designed for his successor. *Caoses* the eldest is said to have been a prince of merit; neither are we told why his father at first disliked him. But so it was, that, conceiving against him a most violent hatred, he resolved to deprive him of the succession. *Zames* had the misfortune to be blind of an eye, on which account, by the laws of *Persia*, he was incapable of reigning. *Chosroes* very much resembled his father in temper, fierce, warlike, and ambitious; he was continually contriving great things, and addressed himself with as much diligence to atchieve them, as with facility he had planned them in his head: On this young prince *Cavades* reposed his hopes, and being desirous to establish him in a more glorious situation than any of his predecessors, he entered into a negotiation with *Justin*, who had succeeded *Anastasius* in the empire, in order to induce him to adopt *Chosroes*. At first this motion was well entertained at *Constantinople*, but by degrees the emperor was persuaded that it might be injurious to his family and his subjects, which determined him against it. However, commissioners met on both sides, to treat of a lasting peace, and to settle the boundaries of the two empires. For this important business, *Cavades* made choice of *Sesoses*, whom he had raised to the principal offices in his kingdom, and *Mebodes*, a military officer of great experience. On the other hand, the emperor not only been averse, but even an open enemy. Of this remarkable event we have the following account. *Cavades* came with his army before a certain castle on the frontiers of *India*, called *Tzudader*. This was filled with immense riches of all sorts, and kept by a garison, not of men, but of evil spirits. *Cavades* employed to no purpose his own magi, the priests of the *Jews*, and other religious persons, in exorcising this infernal guard. At length the christian bishop undertook and effected what the king desired; for he expelled the dæmons, and delivered the castle, with all its riches, to *Cavades*. Henceforwards the christian bishops had access to the king, and, when their presence was necessary, were called to council, instead of the *Jewish* and *Manichean* priests, who till then had enjoyed his favour. There is such an air of fable in this relation, that we could not think of inserting it in our text; and yet, as it is to be found in more than one *Greek* author, we did not think fit to pass it over in silence (49).

(49) *Cedren. hist. compend. p.* 362.

Justin.

Juſtin ſent *Hypatius*, the nephew of his predeceſſor, and *Rufinus*, a man of great quality. After frequent conferences, diſputes aroſe; and it being propoſed to adopt *Choſroes* in a new and particular manner as a barbarian, that prince conceived ſuch a diſpleaſure thereat, as induced him to manifeſt an irreconcileable hatred to the *Romans*. The conferences being broken off, *Mebodes*, at their return to court, charged *Seſoſes* with having contributed to the miſcarriage of their negotiation. He was likewiſe accuſed for burying his wife contrary to the law of *Perſia*, whereby all dead bodies were expoſed to the fowls of the air. On theſe pretences he was tried, and adjudged worthy of death. *Cavades* expreſſed a mighty ſorrow for his friend, but was grown ſo tender of the laws, that he would not hinder their courſe. In this manner died *Seſoſes*, and with him that high office, which had been created on purpoſe to gratify his pretenſions [a].

Juſtinian having ſucceeded *Juſtin* in the empire of the eaſt, purſued alſo his politics, in cauſing all the frontiers towards *Perſia* to be ſurveyed, the old fortreſſes repaired, and new ones erected, as the ſituation of the country required. With this view he ſent inſtructions to thoſe who commanded on the frontiers of *Meſopotamia* to fortify *Mindone*, the neareſt place in the *Roman* territories to *Niſibis*; and a body of troops, under the command of *Cutzes* and *Buzes* brothers, were ſent to protect the workmen. The *Perſians*, who could not look but with an evil eye on the progreſs of this ſtructure, juſt in their neighbourhood, took a proper opportunity, when the *Roman* forces did not obſerve exact diſcipline, to fall upon them; and, after defeating, cut moſt of them to pieces, together with many of the workmen, demoliſhed the place, and ſent the priſoners into *Perſia*, where *Cavades* employed them in his buildings. This ſtroke opened a new war, for the carrying on of which the *Perſians* took the field with a very numerous army under the command of *Peroſes*, who had under him ſeveral generals of reputation. On the other hand, *Beliſarius* had the command of the *Roman* forces. After ſome preparatory motions, the armies came to a general engagement, in which, after a very obſtinate reſiſtance, the *Perſians* were defeated with very great ſlaughter. Yet the *Romans* gained little ground by this victory; for the *Perſian* generals, being ſupplied with freſh forces, continued to keep the field; only they contented themſelves with light excur-

with the Romans afreſh.

[a] PROCOP. de bell Perſic. lib. i. c. 11 p. 30. CEDREN. ATH. ubi ſupra. EVAGR. lib. iv. c. 12.

sions, and did not pretend to give the *Romans* battle a second time [b].

Carries on the war with indifferent success.

IN *Armenia* things went no better; for *Mermeroes*, who commanded the *Persian* forces in chief, was twice defeated by *Doritheus* the *Roman* general. Two castles, and certain districts dependent upon them, fell also under the power of the *Romans*, and in these districts were the gold mines belonging to the king of *Persia*. The *Tzani*, a free and barbarous people, were the chief occasion of these losses; for they now embraced the party of the *Romans*, and, in consequence thereof, possessed themselves of the gold which belonged to the *Persian* king; at which the *Romans* were not ill pleased, and *Cavades* was constrained to be content, his forces not being numerous enough to reduce them; besides, his generals, *Narses* and *Aratius*, deserted, and, with all their families, and much wealth, retired to *Constantinople*. This situation of things did not at all discourage *Cavades*, who, when *Rufinus*, the *Roman* embassador, came to treat with him of peace, adhered to his first demands; and when the embassador had his audience of leave, insinuated to him, that if ever he departed from them, it must be in consideration of a large sum of money. To restore the lustre of his arms, he set several new armies on foot, disgraced *Peroses*, and gave the command of the army, which he intended to send into the *Roman* territories, to *Azarethas*, a very valiant man, and who well understood the duty of his charge. This general made an irruption into the country bordering on the *Euphrates*, and, finding himself superior in force to *Belisarius*, wasted all before him with fire and sword. The *Roman* soldiery saw this with indignation, and, notwithstanding the visible disparity of numbers and other disadvantages, clamorously urged *Belisarius* to give the enemy battle; he declined it as long as he could; but at length, by the near approach of the enemy, and the obstinacy of his own troops, was forced to fight. The *Persian* general knew exactly the advantages he had, and improved them to the utmost, so that the *Romans* were defeated with very great slaughter. However, *Belisarius*, with the remains of his army, so well covered the country, that the *Persians* were not able to take any place of importance; for which *Azarethas* on his return to court, notwithstanding his victory, fell into disgrace [c].

[b] PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib. i c. 13. p. 36. CEDREN. ubi supra EVAGR. lib. IV c. 13. [c] PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 15 p. 43. EVAGR. ubi supra.

THE

THE war still continued, *Mermeroes* had the command of the *Persian* army given him; and as *Belisarius* was recalled in order to be employed against the *Vandals*, he found it not so difficult a matter to deal with his successors; for, after deceiving the *Roman* generals by certain marches and counter-marches, he at last invested the city of *Martyropolis*, a place of the last importance to the *Roman* empire, and in sight of their armies carried on the siege in form. *Sittas*, who commanded for the emperor *Justinian*, finding that himself and his collegues were able to do little good by force, began with better success to practise some of the frauds of war; for having found a person fit for his purpose, and having thoroughly taught him his lesson, he sent him into the *Persian* army, where coming privately to *Mermeroes*, he acquainted him, that the *Massagetæ*, whom *Cavades* had hired to fall into the *Roman* territories, had accepted a sum of money from *Justinian*, and were on the point of invading *Persia*. This greatly intimidated *Mermeroes*, engaged him first to turn his siege into a blockade, and afterwards to consent to a truce with the *Romans*; which was the reason that the *Massagetæ*, who remained firm to the *Persian* interest, made only a short incursion, and returned without doing much good to themselves, or hurt to the *Romans* [d].

Makes another peace.

IN the mean time *Cavades*, who was oppressed with years, and whose activity had drawn upon him in his declining age many infirmities, began to feel the approach of death (R). Upon

Provides for the succession of his younger son.

[d] PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 16. p. 47.

(R) It is evident from this part of the *Persian* history, which is more entertaining and fuller of events, than the foregoing, that this people were at this time not only numerous and warlike, but prudent also and polite. The *Roman* authors, for so after the oriental custom we call those who treat of the *Roman* empire, are not fond of owning this; but affect to attribute all the success of the *Persians* to their vast armies, their sudden incursions, and the little respect which their monarchs had to treaties and to oaths. One thing, however, is certain, that the *Roman* emperors paid constantly certain subsidies to the *Persian* kings; and this seems to be a very strong proof of the prowess of those monarchs, since it was not the custom of those times to pay subsidies for nothing. This was one of the great causes of the wars which so frequently happened between these empires. As often as the *Roman* empire was in disorder, or had a pacific prince upon the throne, the *Persian* received these subsidies; but when the *Romans* were in a good condition, or a martial prince was at their head, then they were stopped,

Upon this he sent for *Mebodes*, his confident and minister, to whom, having explained the reasons why he desired to have *Chosroes* for his successor, he put his will, which contained the same things, into his hands, conjuring him to use his utmost endeavours to see it executed; which *Mebodes* then solemnly promised, and afterwards punctually performed. Thus died *Cavades*, after reigning thirty years from the time of his restoration, forty one in the whole, and forty five, if we take in the time of his imprisonment and exile. As soon as he was expired *Caoses*, his eldest son, took upon him the title of king; but *Mebodes* interposed, representing that the crown of *Persia* was never to be taken by stealth; that an assembly of the nobles was necessary to recognize his title, and that until this was done, his subjects could not lawfully obey him. Upon this an assembly was called, but whether by *Caoses* or *Mebodes*, does not appear. In this assembly the will of the king was produced and read, and such a regard was paid by the nobility to his memory, that the claim of *Caoses* was set aside, and *Chosroes*, in virtue of his father's designation, declared monarch of *Persia*[c] (S).

[c] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 21. p. 65. Agath. lib. iv. p. 140. Cedren. p. 369.

ed, and of course the *Persians* began their incursions, till either they were beaten by the *Roman* armies, or bought off again with *Roman* money. On the other hand, it must be owned, that when ambitious and turbulent princes wore the *Persian* diadem, scarce any thing could content them. They knew well, that the *Constantinopolitan* empire cou'd not for any length of time support a war with *Persia*, because of the immense expence to which it was put, by keeping a great army on the frontiers. Whenever therefore one of these princes wanted money, he began a war, and as soon as the *Romans* would come up to his price, he sold them a peace. Hitherto we have explained the *Persian* history and chronology; we intend this note as a key to their politics.

(S) Most of the *Greek* histo ians are silent as to the reasons which induced *Cavades* so vehemently to oppose the succession of his eldest son. It appears from what *Procopius* says, that it was not any sudden fit of anger, or the effect of the peevishness of old age, but a settled resolution, which he had taken many years before (50) We are obliged to *Theophanes* for unravelling in some measure this mystery, since from him we learn, that *Cavades* was jealous of the *Zaiches*, who were in great favour with this son, and who were supposed to have drawn him to their party; for which great numbers of them, together with their bishop, suffered death

(50) *De bell. Persic. lib.* i.

(51).

(51). We are likewiſe told elſewhere, that theſe heretics, having once drawn *Caoſes* to favour them, were next very impatient to hoiſt him to the throne, even before the death of his father; which intrigues of theirs were fatal to them and to him. To them, in drawing on a perſecution, which they might otherwiſe have avoided: To him, in that it deprived him of his birth right, as well as that of his father's affection. It is very probable, that theſe ſchemes were chiefly in the heads of the *Manichees* and their prieſts, and that *Caoſes* had very little, if any, knowledge of them; for if it had been otherwiſe, it will be difficult to aſſign a cauſe why he eſcaped, or at leaſt how he came to remain ſtill in the kingdom, nay even at court, and in a condition to appear as a competitor with *Choſroes* on the death of his father. It has alſo the appearance of reaſon, that the true ground of rejecting him and of exalting *Choſroes* was, the diffidence the nobility might have of him as to his religion. For it appears from the hiſtory of *Agathias*, that the magi had not only a great influence in all affairs civil and eccleſiaſtical, but that in the recognition of kings eſpecially, they had a ſort of negative voice. *Agathias*, and indeed all the *Greek* writers, cenſure this influence in terms that ſhew that they did not underſtand it (52). The *Perſian* magi did not interfere as clergymen, but as men of learning and experience. Politics was with them a ſcience, not learned, as amongſt us, by a long obſervance of events, but by contemplation of certain maxims, and by acquiring a ſkill of applying theſe to the management of public affairs. It is not our buſineſs here to enter into any farther detail of this matter, which we mentioned only to prevent the readers being tinged with the prejudice of the *Greeks*. He that would be further acquainted with this curious ſubject, may conſult the learned book of the preſident *Briſſon*; as alſo the no leſs learned and curious treatiſe of the celebrated lord *Bacon*, written in imitation of the magical policy of the *Perſians*.

(51) *Theophan. chronograph. p.* 145, 146. *Cedren. hiſt. comp. p.* 308. (52) *Hiſt. lib.* iv.

A N

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The end of the tenth Volume.

AN

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

VOL. XI.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ κατιδόντι, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἰυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



DUBLIN:
Printed by EDWARD BATE, for the EDITORS:
M,DCC,XLV.

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AN

Univerſal Hiſtory.

CHAP. XIII.

SECT. I.

Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Perſians *from their recovering the empire from the* Parthians, *to their being ſubdued by the* Arabs.

CHOSROES, being ſettled on the *Perſian* throne, Choſroes quickly received an embaſſy from *Juſtinian*, compoſed of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, at the head of whom was *Ruſinus*. The intent of this embaſſy was not only to compliment the king on his acceſſion, but alſo to treat of peace. *Choſroes*, who was a prince of quick parts, received the firſt kindly, and entered readily into the ſecond; but when they came to adjuſt the articles of the peace, then it was he diſcovered his true intentions, by inſiſting, that a ſum of money ſhould be given him; that the pretenſions of the *Perſians* and *Romans* ſhould be thoroughly canvaſſed and finally ſettled; all places taken on either ſide reſtored, and this peace declared to be perpetual. II. Year of Chriſt 532.

perpetual. Some delays happened in the negotiations, and a report being ſpread that *Juſtinian* had put *Ruſinus* to death, who, at the requeſt of the *Perſian* king, had returned to *Conſtantinople* for inſtructions, *Choſroes* inſtantly took the field with a mighty army, which ſtruck ſuch a terror, that the inhabitants began to retire from the villages in all the frontier provinces, ſuppoſing that the war would become more bloody than ever. But, before *Choſroes* proceeded to hoſtilities, *Ruſinus* arrived and perfected the treaty; whereupon the *Perſians* retired, and the inhabitants of the frontier provinces returned to their habitations [f].

Diſcovers and defeats a conſpiracy againſt him.

THE morning of this great prince's reign, like that of his father, was not only darkened with flying clouds, but its luſtre in danger of being totally obſcured. The *Perſian* nobles, perceiving that *Choſroes* had much in him of the ſame ſpirit which had made *Cavades* terrible to his ſubjects, when he aſcended the throne, determined amongſt themſelves to procure their own ſafety at the expence of the king's, by depoſing him, and ſetting up in his ſtead one more tractable. This was *Zames* the brother of *Choſroes*. The law incapacitated him from being king, but they had a ſalvo for that; he had a ſon whoſe name was *Cavades*, who was extremely like his grandfather; him they intended to proclaim king, and to veſt the regal authority in *Zames*, as his tutor and protector. Into this ſcheme, when it was communicated to *Zames*, he readily came, and promiſed the conſpirators, to act in all things according to their counſels. As *Choſroes* made it a rule throughout his life to ſpare no money for intelligence, ſo it was not long before he was informed of all theſe machinations. He ſuffered them, however, to go on, that he might by this means diſcover who were, and who were not, devoted to his ſervice; for as he had the troops intirely at his devotion, and knew every ſtep his enemies took, he was not in any great pain for his own ſafety. When things grew ripe for execution, he ſeized the conſpirators at once, and had no ſooner ſeized them, than he put them to death. His executions were as wide as the conſpiracy; he had no idea of reconciling traitors; but every man, who had the leaſt ſhare therein, or the leaſt knowledge thereof, paid for it with his life [g].

The hiſtory of Cavades the younger.

THE young *Cavades* alone eſcaped, and eſcaped only by accident. He was not in the king's power immediately, be-

[f] Procop. de bell. Perſic lib. i. c. 22, 23. [g] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. prop. fin.

ing

ing brought up by *Adergudunbades*, to whom therefore *Choſroes* diſpatched orders to put him out of the way. This extremely grieved the good old man, who had educated him as carefully as if he had been his own ſon; but the royal orders and the royal ſafety were things not to be trifled with. But when he came to acquaint his wife with the command he had received from court, ſhe, who had nurſed *Cavades*, forgot all concerns, but for his ſafety; and as her huſband was naturally inclined to pity the unfortunate child, ſhe prevailed upon him to think of concealing the youth in their houſe, and to diſpatch a meſſenger to court to inform *Choſroes* that his orders had been exactly complied with. This was happily executed for *Cavades*, who thereby eſcaped a death he no way deſerved. It was no leſs prudently conducted by his wife and generous protector, who intruſted none with the ſecret, but his eldeſt ſon and an old ſervant. In proceſs of time, when *Cavades* was grown to years of diſcretion, *Adergudunbades* furniſhed him with a conſiderable ſum of money, adviſed him to retire out of *Perſia*, and to be careful of his ſafety, and his own. Sometime afterwards *Varrhames*, this nobleman's eldeſt ſon, diſcovered this ſecret to *Choſroes*, and produced the ſervant who was privy to it. The king, who was then employed in an expedition againſt the *Hunns*, ſent inſtantly for *Adergudunbades* to attend him. That excellent man, being now far in years, fell through weakneſs from his horſe, as he haſtened to attend *Choſroes*, and broke his thigh. The king, being informed of it, ordered him to be ſent to a certain caſtle, under pretence of taking care of his cure, but in truth to have him privately murdered; which was done, and his office given to his ſon *Varrhames* (T). As for *Cavades*, he retired to *Conſtantino-*

ple,

T) This conſpiracy againſt *Choſroes* was an event remarkably fortunate to him, if we conſider it in a political light. It gave him an opportunity of freeing himſelf from all who were diſaffected to him, and he uſed it without reſerve, ſparing not his own uncle, who had been in the number of the conſpirators. But the moſt cruel of all his actions was, the putting to death this old general, who had been the faithful ſervant of his father, and who had ſubdued twelve barbarous nations, and made them tributaries to the *Perſians*. There, ſeems, however, to have been ſome juſtice in giving to his ſon *Varrhames* the government which *Adergudunbades* had poſſeſſed. But it is to be obſerved that the *Perſians* were extremely ſtrict in two of their maxims, *viz.* in puniſhing treaſon without mercy, and in preſerving governments in the hands

ple, where he was treated by the emperor *Justinian* with all the respect due to his birth [b]. We have digressed a little, in order to follow so remarkable a transaction to its close; let us now return to the thread of our history.

Chosroes *resolves to make war upon the* Romans.

As a peace with the *Romans* was at first very convenient to *Chosroes*, so he very faithfully observed it; and when he was informed of the victories obtained by *Belisarius* in *Africa*, he sent embassadors to congratulate *Justinian* thereupon; and, by way of raillery, directed them to tell the emperor, that he had a right to share the spoils of his enemies, since, had he not been at peace with *Persia*, he could not have had either forces or leisure to make those conquests in *Africa*. *Justinian* received these embassadors kindly, assured them of his great affection for their master, and on hearing his message, presented *Chosroes* with a considerable sum of money. But this fair correspondence did not last long. The *Saracens*, encouraged by the *Persian* king, made several incursions into the *Roman* territories; of which when *Justinian* by his embassadors made loud complaints, *Chosroes* returned for answer, that he

[b] Procop. ubi supra,

of one family, so long as they continued faithful to their sovereigns. These customs are so opposite to ours, that of course we have an indifferent opinion of them; but if it be considered, that in the east the slightest disaffection, if disregarded, ripens presently into a general revolt, fatal alike to the person and government of the reigning prince, the reason of this conduct will be no more a secret, nor can we with any colour of justice deny, that it is full as justifiable as many of our political maxims. As to the other, it is generally supposed, that it arose thus: The *Persian* empire though extremely wide in extent, being no more than an aggregate body of little principalities, some united to it for the sake of protection, and others, after long wars, by capitulations; their princes who were formerly independent, by this means became only governors for the *Persian* monarchs, but hereditary governors, with most of their old prerogatives, which in case of treason, however, were forfeited; and this it was which made the children of governors so many checks upon their fathers, as appears, not only in the instance of *Varrhames*, but in what we have heretofore read in the conduct of *Cavades*, who by the same policy drew a nobleman to sacrifice his parent to the preservation of the family interest. We cannot pretend to justify such extraordinary transactions. All we have to do is, to account for them; and this, we hope, is effectually done (53).

(53) *Procop. de bell. Persic. lib.* i. *Theophan. Cedren.* &c.

believed

believed what they alledged was not altogether without foundation; but that he could scarce believe his brother *Justinian* took this amiss, because they were arts of empire himself had taught him, having practised, not only on the *Saracens*, but the *Hunns*, to invade *Persia*, as he could prove by his own letters; so that he had only turned his own weapons upon him, as he was obliged to do to preserve his subjects. For a time, however, he suffered himself to be pacified, yet not without making the necessary preparations for carrying on the war whenever he thought fit; to this he was principally excited by *Vittiges* king of the *Goths*, who sent an embassy on purpose to represent the formidable power of *Justinian*, and how much it was the interest of *Chosroes*, as well as himself, to see it reduced. On the heels of this came an application from the *Arsacidæ*, or petty princes of *Armenia*. They set forth abundance of grievances under which they laboured from the *Roman* power; they painted the methods taken by *Justinian* for attaining universal empire in the strongest light, and besought *Chosroes* to consider not so much their case as his own. This determined the *Persian* monarch to break the peace, and to fall upon *Justinian* before he was at leisure to fall upon him. The season of the year did not permit this resolution to be executed as soon as it was formed; but it influenced *Chosroes* to assemble such an army as might be able to act in the beginning of the spring, notwithstanding he was advised of the death of *Vittiges*, and the absolute ruin of his kingdom. *Justinian*, being informed of the preparations made in *Persia*, found himself under a necessity of providing for the worst; yet, not willing to have recourse immediately to arms, he wrote letters to *Chosroes*, wherein he described at large the bad consequences, which would attend a hasty and unjust breach of the peace subsisting between them. To which letters *Chosroes*, being already fixed in his resolution, returned no answer; but went on with his military preparations, as openly and as vigorously, as if there had been a war declared [1].

His great success in his first war.

IN the beginning of the spring, *Chosroes*, at the head of a great army, entered the *Roman* territories. He did not, as it was generally expected he would, fall into *Mesopotamia*; but, on the contrary, made the provinces of *Syria* and *Cilicia* the seat of the war. The first place of consequence

[1] PROCOP. de bell. Persic. l. ii. anecdot. l. i. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 149. ZONAR. annal. l. xiv. p. 67. EVAGR. l. iv. c. 17. JORNAND. de regn. success. in vita Justinian.

which

which he reduced was *Sura*, ſeated on the *Euphrates*, a place of great ſtrength, rich, and populous; yet *Choſroes* quickly maſtered it, rather by fraud than force, and treated the inhabitants very indifferently, notwithſtanding that he married a woman from among the priſoners taken there, for whoſe ſake it might have been expected he would have better treated her country. From hence he moved on, uſing ſeverity where any reſiſtance provoked him, and uſing great clemency towards the inhabitants of ſuch places as readily ſubmitted, impoſing, however, heavy contributions upon all. At length finding no *Roman* army in the field, he proceeded to *Antioch*, and encamped in its neighbourhood, on the banks of the river *Orontes*. Thence he ſent to acquaint the *Antiochians*, that, if they paid him a large ſum of money, he would ſpare them, and retire from before their city. As it was very ſtrong, its fortifications newly repaired, and a numerous gariſon in it, the mob were ſo elate, that they not only rejected the *Perſian* monarch's propoſition, but alſo mal-treated thoſe he ſent, and threw out unmannerly and impudent ſpeeches againſt *Choſroes* and his family. This irritated him ſo far, that, quite contrary to his intention, he inveſted the place, and, againſt the ordinary rules of war, and even the dictates of reaſon, ſtormed the city, before the walls were at all battered, making uſe of machines to raiſe his ſoldiers againſt them. This was a raſh and deſperate attempt, and notwithſtanding the preſence of *Choſroes*, who did all that man could do to encourage his ſoldiers, they were beaten off with a miſerable ſlaughter. When they returned to the charge, a worſe accident happened; for the beſieged, encouraged by their former ſucceſs, attacked thoſe who had the keeping of the machines, and having cut the ropes and chains which held them, precipitated them and all who were upon them from the top of the walls over the craggy mountains, on which they were erected, into the diſtant plain underneath. This proved the deſtruction of the city; for the dreadful noiſe of the rolling machines, and the horrid cries of the dying ſoldiers, being heard in the city, and the cauſe not known, the gariſon cauſed the gates to be thrown open, ſuppoſing the walls on the other ſide had fallen down, and, without ſtaying for better information, haſtily riding over women and children, they abandoned the place. Thoſe on the walls ſeeing this apprehended that the *Perſians* had made ſome other attack, and, thereupon quitted their poſt to retire into the market-place. *Choſroes* did not neglect ſo fair an opportunity; but, drawing freſh forces out of his camp, ſcaled the undefended walls, and,

after

after a bloody ſtruggle in the market-place, inflicted all the ſeverities that could be expected from an incenſed enemy on the miſerable inhabitants of *Antioch*. Soon after this, and while the *Perſian* army ſtill remained at *Antioch*, came embaſſadors from *Juſtinian*, to expoſtulate with *Choſroes* on this breach of peace, and to treat of an accommodation. The *Perſian* monarch received them with much civility; he heard them patiently, and ſeemed to pay a great regard to what they ſaid. When they had done ſpeaking, he began to anſwer them with tears in his eyes; he made a more pathetic deſcription of the miſeries induced by the war, than they had done: he declared it was with the utmoſt reluctance he had taken arms; that he was, in a manner, compelled to it by the nobility of *Perſia*, who could no longer ſee, with patience, *Juſtinian* ſtirring up enemies againſt them on every ſide, and encouraging his ſubjects to treat them, on all occaſions, with outrageous contempt. He delivered all this with ſuch a ſolemn ſadneſs in his countenance, with ſuch vehement geſtures, and with expreſſions ſo calculated to ſtir the paſſions, that the embaſſadors were quite confounded, openly confeſſing, that the eloquence of *Choſroes* was more dreadful to the *Romans* than his arms. In the end, however, he began to intimate, that a conſiderable ſum of money in hand, and an annual tribute would ſend him back into *Perſia*, and fix the peace between the empires. As the embaſſadors demurred a little upon this, *Choſroes*, to quicken them, burnt the city of *Antioch* to the ground, and not long after concluded a peace very advantageous to himſelf, as well as very ignominious to the *Romans*. However, he did not even keep this; but, burning with a miſtaken deſire of accumulating wealth, went on taking city after city, and raiſing contributions where-ever he came. He did not indeed pretend to keep, but, on the contrary, ſlighted all the places he took, after he had extorted what he could from the inhabitants; but, by this means, he alarmed and terrified the *Romans*, raiſed the courage of the *Perſians*, and filled his coffers. The laſt city he beſieged was *Dara*, a place of mighty importance, and which he was very deſirous of having in his power; but whether he intended to keep or demoliſh it is uncertain. The citizens, however, weighing within themſelves the treatment which other people had received from the *Perſians*, and conſidering alſo the ſtrength and advantageous ſituation of the place, determined to defend themſelves to the utmoſt; in which they ſucceeded ſo well, that *Choſroes*, finding his troops fatigued, his forces diminiſhed, and the ſeaſon far advanced, raiſed the ſiege,

and

and returned, loaded with wealth, into his own territories [k].

Drives the Romans *out of* Colchis.

As he had now anſwered all the ends he propoſed in the war, he was well enough inclined to let peace take place; to which end he endeavoured to renew the negotiations, and to eſtabliſh things on the plan of the treaty he had concluded. But *Juſtinian*, by this time, had quite altered his opinion; and having recalled *Beliſarius*, determined to make the *Perſians* feel the weight of the *Roman* power, ſince, without it, there ſeemed no probability of preſerving peace for any length of time (V). The ſeat of the war was now ſuddenly tranſferred

[k] Procop. de bell. Perſic. l. ii. Evagr. l. iv. c. 25. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 371. Theophan. chronograph. p 152. Zonar. annal. l. xiv. p. 68.

(V) The hiſtory of all theſe wars, treaties and diſputes between the *Romans* and *Perſians*, are to be found at large in *Procopius*, who wrote expreſly or this topic, who had himſelf a perfect knowledge of all theſe tranſactions, and as little partiality for his countrymen, as is to be found in any *Greek* writer. From thence we might indeed have taken much more than we have done; but then this part of our hiſtory would have exceeded its natural ſize; for it is one thing to uſe memoirs, and another to tranſcribe them; and therefore we have endeavoured to reduce what we have taken from *Procopius* within ſuch bounds as might ſuit it to this hiſtory. In this note, however, we ſhall attempt to explain ſome particulars in the text, which need illuſtration. We have followed *Procopius* cautiouſly in what he ſays of the diſſimulation and inſatiable ambition of *Choſroes*, and for this reaſon. We find in all the *Greek* hiſtorians, and in *Procopius* himſelf, that the *Perſian* king pretended to be compelled to act in the manner he did, by the formidable power of *Juſtinian*, and by the attempts he had made to the prejudice of his empire, both in his own days, and thoſe of his father. Now, if this charge was true, either in whole, or in part, then was *Choſroes* more or leſs culpable in his conduct. But though *Procopius*, in his memoirs of the *Perſian* war, ſeems generally to excuſe the emperor his maſter; yet, in his anecdotes, he plainly confeſſes, that *Juſtinian* was a prince boundleſs in his ambition, and who acted under no very ſtrict ties of conſcience; yet, as this piece hath the air of a ſatire, we ought not to give full credit to it, but rather believe on the whole that each of theſe princes had in different qualities; that there were faults on both ſides, and that their ſubjects ſuffered through the reſtleſs and unquiet tempers of their governors. As to the complaints of the *Armenian* princes, they were, in all probability, pretty well founded; but, in order to diſcover this, we muſt remember who theſe princes were. In the

ferred to *Colchis*, much to the diſadvantage of the *Romans*, and yet intirely through their own management. This region was at that time inhabited by the *Lazi*, a rude and barbarous people; but who had notwithſtanding, for a long courſe of years, adhered ſteadily to the *Roman* intereſt. This they did merely out of choice, the *Romans* having never ſubdued them; for the princes of this country obſerving, that by the ſituation of their dominions, they ſhould, ſome time or other, be reduced, either under the power of the *Perſian* kings, or of the emperors of *Conſtantinople*, conceived it to be alike for their own and their ſubjects good, to demand the protection of the latter; which was readily granted them, without prejudice, however, to their liberties; for they were neither charged with any taxes, nor obliged to admit any new magiſtrates as a conquered people. The emperor of the eaſt, however, on the death of any of their princes, appointed his ſucceſſor, and thereby manifeſted a kind of ſuperiority, rather honourable than of any great conſequence. But the emperor *Juſtinian*, having thoroughly conſidered the importance of that diſtrict which thoſe people inhabited, and which, as it lay upon what is called the *Black-ſea*, was a kind of frontier to his empire, and, at the ſame time, covered his metropolis; moved therefore with the apprehenſion of the conſequences that might follow, if this nation ſhould, at any time, prove unfaithful, he reſolved to make ſome further proviſion for his ſecurity on that ſide. To this end he recommended it to one *Tzibus*, whom he named a prince of the *Lazi*, to build a city, well fortified and ſecured by a ſtrong citadel, on the ſhore of the *Euxine ſea*, that it might be a check on the *Lazi*, if they ſhould be at any time inclined to revolt. This commiſſion *Tzibus* very faithfully executed, his countrymen aſſiſting him to the utmoſt of their power, rejoicing to behold ſo large and fine a city built in their country at the expence of the *Romans*; but when they found to what end it was erected, and ſaw that *Tzibus* had received into it a *Ro-*

the foregoing period, we have ſhewn how the *Arſacidæ*, after loſing the *Parthian* empire, came to be contented with ſmall principalities in *Armenia*, where they ſometimes pretended to be independent, ſometimes ſubmitted to the *Perſians*, and ſometimes again choſe the emperors of *Conſtantinople* for their protectors; no wonder then, that they were ſeldom perfectly eaſy, or that under ſo ambitious a prince as *Juſtinian*, they were anxious for thoſe ſhadows of ſovereignty, which they ſtill preſerved (54).

(54) *Procop. Evagr. Theophan Zonar. &c.*

man gariſon, they began to be quite of another opinion; and thus all the pains and expence employed about this city and fortreſs, turned to no other account than producing that very effect, which they were erected to prevent; for the *Lazi* inſtantly diſpatched their deputies into *Perſia*, to invite *Choſroes* to their aſſiſtance. This they did in the name of *Gabazes*, the greateſt of their princes, who beſought him to take under his protection a free people, whom *Juſtinian* was about to enſlave. There wanted not much entreaty to induce ſo enterprizing a monarch to undertake an expedition ſo viſibly for his ſervice. He therefore cloſed ſpeedily with the propoſal of the deputies; and having given out, that the *Hunns* were about to invade the frontiers of his kingdom, he ſuddenly aſſembled a great army, with which he marched towards *Iberia*; but, turning ſhort when it was leaſt expected, he entered *Colchis*, through a thick, and, till then, impenetrable foreſt, which he cauſed to be cut down before him. As ſoon as he deſcended into the plain country, *Gabazes* met and paid his compliments to him, acknowledged him for his ſovereign, and joining his army with a conſiderable reinforcement, they marched together towards *Petra*. *Tzibus*, with the *Roman* gariſon, made at firſt a gallant defence; but finding at laſt, that the place would be infallibly taken, they made their eſcape by ſea, and left to the enemy not only the city and fortreſs, but alſo all the treaſures and valuable merchandize, which had been laid up therein [1].

Beliſarius checks his ſucceſs.

While *Choſroes* was victorious on this ſide, the *Roman* general *Beliſarius* aſſembled an army, and laid ſiege to *Niſibis*; but to little purpoſe, for *Nabades*, the *Perſian* governor, made ſo firm a defence and ſo many vigorous ſallies, that *Beliſarius* was, in a ſhort time, obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and, to conſole himſelf for that misfortune, to march farther into *Perſia*, where ravaging the country, taking ſome inconſiderable places, and carrying off ſome ſpoil, he ſent advice to *Conſtantinople*, that he had triumphed over the *Perſians*, tho' in fact, his expedition was rather honourable than advantageous, the enemy having no army in the field. As ſoon as *Choſroes* had intelligence of this incurſion, he made all imaginable haſte back again into *Perſia* with his army, that he might, early the next year, be ready to return the *Romans* this favour, by an irruption into their dominions. This he accordingly performed, and having waſted a great part of the

[1] Procop. ubi ſupra. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 372. Theophan. chronog. ubi ſupra. Zonar. ubi ſupra.

frontier

frontier country, and raiſed vaſt contributions, he at laſt entered *Comagene*, intending to march from thence into *Paleſtine*, there to ſack and plunder the city of *Jeruſalem*. And in this deſign, if we conſider the terror and confuſion of the *Romans*, we muſt allow that he had a fair proſpect of ſucceſs; but *Beliſarius*, having, with incredible diligence, poſted quite a-thwart the empire to the banks of the *Euphrates*, there unexpectedly aſſembled an army, which checked the progreſs of *Choſroes*, and forced him to have recourſe to his old method of negotiating, ſince nothing was to be got by force. Another reaſon concurred to drive *Choſroes* home into *Perſia*; for the peſtilence, which had waſted *Egypt*, paſſing over into *Aſia*, made ſuch a havock in the *Roman* territories, that the *Perſian* king retired haſtily out of *Aſſyria*, and directed his march towards the north. At firſt the *Romans* conceived, they were intirely rid of this formidable enemy; but it quickly appeared, that their hopes were vain; for having recruited his army in the northern provinces, he began to diſcover his true deſign, which was to fall into *Armenia*. *Juſtinian*, being informed of this, ordered an army to aſſemble on that ſide, and ſent likewiſe embaſſadors to endeavour, by all means, to engage *Choſroes* to think of peace [m].

His general Nabades *beats the* Romans *under* Narſes.

IN the mean time, *Narſes*, being appointed general of the *Roman* forces, and finding the *Perſians* not yet in the field, determined to make himſelf maſter of *Anglon*, a little town, but of great ſtrength; in which *Nabades*, a *Perſian* general, had taken up his quarters, with four thouſand men. Full of this conqueſt, he marched, againſt the advice of many of his officers, with the utmoſt diligence to reach the place. When he drew near it, he ſent out parties to make priſoners; and theſe reporting that *Nabades* was retired, *Narſes*, reproaching his officers with timidity, puſhed on to take poſſeſſion of the place. The van-guard of the *Roman* army conſiſted of a body of the *Heruli*, lightly armed. Theſe entering the ſkirts of *Anglon*, and perceiving the *Perſian* troops regularly drawn up and ready to charge them, broke, even before they were attacked, and fled. The *Perſians* made the beſt uſe of this advantage, following them cloſe at the heels; and charging the *Roman* forces vigorouſly, diſordered them alſo, and ſoon after compelled them to a plain flight, in which numbers were ſlain, and more would have been ſlain, if the *Perſians* had

[m] PROCOP. de bell. Perſic l. ii. CEDREN. hiſt. compend. p. 372. THEOPHAN chronograph. p. 186. ZONAR. l. xiv. p. 68. GLYCAS. ann. l. iv. p. 267. EVAGR. hiſt. eccleſ. l. iv. c. 26.

not been apprehensive of the ill consequences that might attend their pursuing them too far. With this action ended that campaign; for *Chosroes*, having changed his views, did not endeavour to penetrate any farther on that side; and the *Romans*, taught by their misfortunes, forbore also the siege of this place [n].

Chosroes *shamefully repulsed at* Edessa.

The next year *Chosroes* made his fourth expedition into the *Roman* territories, and, if we may credit *Procopius*, upon a very extraordinary account. He had, in his first expedition, besieged the city of *Edessa*, and, tho' he had taken much stronger and more considerable places, was constrained to raise that siege. This was said to be owing to the particular favour of Jesus Christ to that city, whose letter to their prince *Abgarus* was inscribed over the principal gate of the place. This report so irritated *Chosroes*, that he made this expedition, not so much against the *Romans*, or against *Justinian*, as against the God of the christians, who had been said to have driven him from *Edessa*. His army was very numerous; and it is certain, that tho' he might have done many things more for his glory, and the advantage of the *Persian* empire, yet he chose, after ravaging the open country, to encamp in the neighbourhood of *Edessa*. In that camp, however, having either formed some new project, or doubting of the event of this, he sent deputies to demand of the inhabitants of *Edessa* a large sum of money; which if immediately paid him, he offered to turn his arms another way. But as what he demanded was not in their power to yield unto, *Chosroes* was forced to carry his first design into execution, tho' now against his will. We have, in the memoirs of *Procopius*, a long and circumstantial account of this siege, which was by far the warmest that any *Roman* city had sustained; and, after all, tho' it was not either succoured or relieved, the vigorous defence made by its citizens so diminished the *Persian* army, that, as the season advanced, *Chosroes* lost all hopes, and was compelled, notwithstanding the boast he had made, of turning *Edessa* into sheep-cotes, and placing all its inhabitants in the heart of *Persia*, shamefully to raise the siege, and retire into own dominions (X). Thither he was quickly followed

[n] Procop. de bell. Persic. l. ii.

(X) As to the miracle whichwas wrought at the siege of *Edessa*, it makes a great figure, as well in the memoirs of *Procopius*, as in the writings of ecclesiastical historians. As it is a fact which very nearly concerns the *Persian* history, we might justly have been censured

followed by the *Roman* embaſſadors, whom, as he had often done before, he drew into an inſidious treaty, more deſtructive to their maſter than an open war [o].

[o] PROCOP. de bell. Perſic. l. ii. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 186. CEDREN. hiſt. comp. p. 372. EVAGR. hiſt. eccleſ. l. iv. c. 27.

ſured with want of exactneſs, had we omitted it; and therefore we choſe to give it place in a note, in which we ſhall relate it, as we find it recorded in the hiſtory of *Evagrius*. There was an old report, that Chriſt had promiſed to *Abgarus* king of *Edeſſa*, that that city ſhould be inexpugnable. It is true, that no ſuch promiſe appears in the letter, ſaid to have been written by Chriſt to *Abgarus*, and which is printed at large in the hiſtory of *Euſebius*; but, notwithſtanding that, the report ſpread of this prophecy was believed, and ſome extraordinary deliverances which the city had met with contributed to keep up its credit. To deſtroy this report, and thereby to wound, as he apprehended, the honour of the chriſtian religion, *Choſroes* ſat down before this place. When all the attempts he had made to induce the people to ſurrender had failed, and his forces had been repulſed in ſeveral aſſaults, he at length determined to enter upon a laborious and troubleſome undertaking; which he did, however, the more patiently, becauſe he made no queſtion that by it he ſhould effect his purpoſe. He ordered his ſoldiers to cut down a vaſt quantity of timber, with which he began to erect a mount over againſt the town-walls; to which when it was become equal in height, his view was, by the help of engines, to make a bridge of communication, over which he might paſs as great a part of his army as he pleaſed into the place. The inhabitants of *Edeſſa*, perceiving the drift of this deſign, inſtantly began to undermine the new raiſed work, in hopes they might be able to ſet it on fire; but when they had done this, they found their labour loſt, not being able to make the fire burn for want of air, a circumſtance they had not before conſidered. This put them to their wits, and at laſt they bethought themſelves of the miraculous print of our Saviour's face, which he ſent to their king *Abgarus*, and was preſerved in their church. This they brought into their mine, poured water over it, and then this water upon the fire and the wood, which inſtantly lighted and burnt intenſely. Then, to prevent the enemy from apprehending whence the ſmoke came, they threw all ſorts of fireworks from the walls. After three days, however, the *Perſians* perceived, that the very heart of their mount was conſumed. *Choſroes* ordered water to be poured upon it in vaſt quantities; but when it was obſerved, that, inſtead of ſlackening, it increaſed the fire, as much as if ſo much oyl had been thrown thereon, he in deſpair ſuffered the mount to burn on; and, having ſent away his baggage, demoliſhed his works and raiſed the ſiege (55)

(55) *Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. l.* iv. *c.* 27. *Cedren. hiſt. compend p.* 372.

THINK,

The Colchian *war concluded by a general peace.*

Things, however, did not remain long in this situation: *Chosroes* was too stirring a prince to indulge his neighbours with much quiet. He had discovered, that his new subjects the *Lazi* were become already disaffected; and, upon examining the reasons, he found cause to apprehend, that their discontents were such as could never be removed. The country they inhabited stood in need of corn, of salt, and of wine. With these, on account of the badness of the roads, they could not well be furnished from *Persia*; whereas the *Romans* easily supplied them by sea, and at a moderate price, which preserved an intimacy between the nations. On the other hand, the *Lazi*, who were zealous christians, endeavoured to convert the *Persians* who dwelt among them; by which means they became obnoxious to the magi, who did not fail to insinuate, that difference in religion would everlastingly hinder them from being good subjects to the *Persian* crown. *Chosroes* thereupon formed a project of transporting them from their own country of *Colchis* into the heart of *Persia*, and to settle a colony of *Persians* in their stead. Previous, however, to the execution of this grand project, he determined to build a navy in the port of *Petra*, which might be able to guard the coasts, and prevent too strict an intercourse between the *Lazi* and the inhabitants of the *Roman* provinces; but knowing that this could not be accomplished, if the people were timely apprised thereof, he caused great quantities of timber to be sent to *Petra*, under pretence of repairing the fortifications, and constructing military machines. However, *Gubazes* king of the *Lazi*, taking offence at these preparations, and doubting the safety of his person, besought the protection of the *Romans*. This was quickly afforded him, and the emperor *Justinian* immediately dispatched a considerable army to his relief. This army was commanded by *Dagisthæus*, a young man very indifferently skilled in the art of war. *Gubazes* kept his word; for as soon as the *Roman* forces appeared he joined them, and compelled the *Persians* to shut themselves up in *Petra*, the only fortified place in the kingdom. The reduction of this place therefore was the sole point in question; for this once effected, the war was at an end. *Gubazes* quickly invested it on one side, as the *Romans* did on the other, to whom *Gubazes* most pathetically recommended the custody of the streights called *Chisuræ*, through which only the *Persians*, if they sent an army, could enter, if they attempted the relief of *Petra*. The *Roman* general, having viewed these difficult passages, conceived them to be so strong in their nature, that he left but a hundred men to guard

guard them. As soon as *Chosroes* was informed of this strange turn in his affairs, and that *Petra* was blocked up, he ordered *Mermeroes*, one of the best officers in *Persia*, to march with an army to its relief. This took up a great deal of time, and in this space the *Persian* garison was reduced to the last extremity; nay, the *Romans* actually entered the city, and might have taken it, if the governor of the citadel had not drawn them into a treaty for rendering that fortress, at the same time with the city, into their hands. *Mermeroes* from the time he entered *Colchis* with his army, directed his march according to his own private intelligence, avoiding any correspondence with the *Lazi*, who pretended to be in the *Persian* interest; so that he arrived at the mouth of the *Chisuræ* before he was at all expected; and finding how small a guard the *Roman* general had left there, he caused it to be attacked again and again, till, with the loss of a thousand men, he carried the pass, and then, without halting, marched directly to *Petra*. There he found, of five thousand men, only nine hundred remaining, and of these three hundred and fifty disabled. The dead bodies they had piled up against the narrow walls of the citadel, that the *Romans* might not be acquainted with their loss, and from thence be encouraged to storm the place. The *Romans* conceived that this was but a slight reprieve, the walls being every-where broken, and the place, as it were, in ruins; *Mermeroes*, however, repaired it in the best manner he was able, and when he had so done and left a fresh garison in it, he withdrew his troops from thence, having made a truce with the *Lazi*, though the *Roman* forces still continued the war. When the place was put into a state of defence, *Mermeroes* drew his troops towards *Iberia*, whence he hoped to receive such supplies of provisions, as might be necessary for the occasions of his own army, as well as of *Petra*. Here incamping with a rapid river behind him, he conceived his forces to be in safety. But it so happened, that *Gubazes* devised a method of passing this river, and having informed the *Romans* thereof, and also furnished them with bridges, they fell upon the *Persian* army, and made a dreadful slaughter. *Mermeroes*, however, repaired this mistake, by incamping more cautiously for the future, and so kept the war alive, notwithstanding the great disadvantages he laboured under. It would oblige us to carry this history into an extraordinary length, if we should relate all that passed in this *Colchian* war, of which we have very large memoirs in *Procopius* and *Agathias*. We shall content ourselves therefore with observing, that in the end the *Romans* were successful,

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by reason of their having the empire of the sea, which enabled them to supply their armies with provisions and recruits, as often as they stood in need of them; whereas the *Persians* were obliged to make long and fatiguing marches by land, and to bring all their provisions in carriages. *Mermeroes*, so long as he lived, preserved the superiority of the *Persian* power, and a little before his death gave the *Romans* a signal defeat; but his successor *Nachoraganus*, a rash and haughty general, fell as far short of him in his performances, as in his boasting promises he surpassed him. His ill conduct was one of the great causes of the success of the *Romans*; and therefore *Chosroes*, on his return into *Persia*, ordered him to be flayed alive; and, perceiving that his affairs were in a declining condition on this side, resolved to make peace with the *Romans*. With this view he sent an embassador to the court of *Justinian*, who received him graciously, and entered readily into a treaty with his master, whereby it was provided, that each party should keep what they were possessed of in *Colchis* at the time of its conclusion; and thus the *Lazi* were deprived of their liberties, by calling in their too powerful neighbours, *Gubazes* having been assassinated some time before, who was extremely careful of his subjects, and who, in all the changes of his fortune, constantly sought their good [P] (Y).

Towards

[P] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. ii. Agath. Scholast. lib. iii, iv. Cedren. &c.

(Y) The history of the *Colchian* war hath, as we noted in the text, employed the pens of many eminent writers. *Procopius*, in the second book of his memoirs of the wars with the *Persians*, enters into a long detail of the causes, why the *Constantinopolitan* emperors on the one hand, and the *Persian* monarchs on the other, were so solicitous to maintain themselves in the possession of this country. He also prosecutes the account of the military expeditions on both sides, till such time as *Mermeroes* was first obliged to retire into *Iberia* (56). *Agathias*, who continued the history of *Procopius*, resumes the thread here, and describes at large all that happened afterwards in this country, till the conclusion of the peace between the *Romans* and the *Persians*. To him we owe the character of the *Persian* general before-mentioned. *Mermeroes*, says he, was of all the *Persian* officers the most distinguished for his thorough understanding of the art of war. He died full of years and glory, after having for a long space of time intirely lost

(56) *Ap. histor. Byzant. Vol I.*

the

TOWARDS the end of the reign of *Justinian*, *Chosroes* fell sick of a dangerous distemper; and, depending more on the skill of the *Roman* physicians than his own, he requested that some should be sent him from *Constantinople*, which demand of his was readily complied with. On the accession, however, of the emperor *Justin*, new troubles arose. The inhabitants of the *Greater Armenia*, who were subjects to the king of *Persia*, were by this time become generally christians; and therefore rather inclined to put themselves under the protection of the *Romans*, to which *Justin* rashly consented; and having privately encouraged them to revolt, the *Armenians*, under the command of *Varanes*, one of their petty princes, suddenly took arms, and, having murdered all the *Persians* amongst them, declared themselves allies and dependents of the emperor of *Constantinople*. *Chosroes* immediately complained of this, and the emperor *Justin* pretended to colour his conduct by his zeal for the christian religion; and, being deceived by the intelligence which the bishop of *Nisibis* sent him, gave orders to his general *Marcian* to enter the *Persian* territories with an army, and to lay siege to that city, which was accordingly done. The *Persian* governor,

Chosroes makes war on the Romans afresh with success.

the use of his limbs, so that he was carried up and down in a litter; yet was he so dreadful to the *Romans*, that they never thought themselves in any security, while he was at the head of the *Persian* troops (57) The curious reader, who will take the pains of perusing the authors I have mentioned, will plainly perceive, that the art of war was at this time extremely well understood, as it appears also the art of negotiating must have been, since the conferences for bringing this treaty of partition to a conclusion afforded matter for the fourth book of *Menander*'s history of embassies. Of this we have yet an abstract remaining, wherein the principal arguments made use of on both sides, the characters of the *Roman* and *Persian* plenipotentiaries are elegantly described, and the heads of the treaty, which consisted of ten articles, are briefly set down; but yet with such clearness, as demonstrates the skill of the politicians in those times, not to have been inferior to those who have been most famous for this kind of science in succeeding ages (58). We should have inserted some quotations from these valuable pieces, if we had not been apprehensive of extending the history of this period too far; but we could not avoid writing this note, to shew the carelessness of the former writers of the *Persian* history, who have slipped over all these things, as if the accounts of them had been buried in utter oblivion.

(57) *Agath. Scolast. hist lib. iii. & iv.* (58) *Menand. Protect ap hist. Byzant. Vol. I.*

incensed at the folly and rashness of the action, did not so much as shut the gates, but contented himself with relieving the guards at them twice a day, the *Roman* army being scarce numerous enough to invest the place. In the mean time *Chosroes* passed the *Euphrates*, and marched directly towards *Nisibis*, having first made a great detachment under *Adarmanes*, who laid waste the *Roman* provinces with fire and sword. The *Roman* army before *Nisibis* being dissatisfied with the emperor's measures, and his changing their commander, suddenly, and without any reason given, broke up, and retired the best way they could; whereupon *Chosroes*, finding no body in the field to resist him, took and sacked all the great cities in *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, and gave the plunder to his soldiers. He also besieged and reduced *Dara*, a fortress that had always been a curb upon his subjects, and in the fortifying of which the emperor *Justinian* had expended vast sums. Into this place he put a great garison, knowing its importance, and resolving to make use of it for a barrier against its old masters (Z). But while he was meditating new exploits, *Trajan*,

(Z) We are obliged to *Evagrius* for the history of this war, which he seems to have written very candidly, since it is plain enough from his relation, that hostilities were begun by the emperor *Justin* without any just grounds, and that, notwithstanding the complaints of *Chosroes*, he refused to desist from the measures he had taken to gratify his ambition. There is, however, just cause to believe, that he was a little disordered in his senses, even before this war. During the time it was carried on, nothing could be more wild than his conduct He fancied all the little advantages that were gained, before the *Persians* well knew that the *Romans* were their enemies, so many victories. He commanded his general to lay siege to *Nisibis* with a small army, badly furnished with provisions; and being informed by the bishop of *Antioch*, that his affairs in the east took a very bad turn, he dispatched *Acaces*, an ignorant and assuming man, to demand of his general the keys of *Nisibis*, as if fortune had been subject to his commands. This man executing the orders of his master with the same temper, that is, with the same stupidity with which he gave them, the consequence was, that the army were afraid to trust either their new general or their distracted emperor, and therefore retired the best way they could. *John* the son of *Timostrates* yielded up *Dara*, either through fear, or from a worse motive; and *Chosroes*, as soon as he was master of it, put part of the inhabitants to the sword, made the rest prisoners, and, having disposed of every thing as he thought fit in the place, put a strong garison therein, it being held the best fortress in all that part of the world. *Chosroes* also treated all the frontier provinces in the empire with great severity,

Trajan, a senator of *Rome*, presented to him letters from the empress *Sophia*, her husband *Justin* being run mad. In these letters the empress pathetically described the misery of the *Roman* empire, beseeching *Chosroes* to remember the kindness of former emperors, particularly the sending him physicians, the incertainty of all worldly greatness, and the little glory that would result to him from conquests, made from a *headless nation*, and a *helpless woman*. *Chosroes*, having read the letters, immediately withdrew with his troops from the frontiers of the *Roman* empire, consenting to a truce for three years, *Armenia*, however, being excluded [q].

Refuses to make a peace, and is miserably beaten.

THIS respite was very favourable to the *Romans*, who quickly saw their affairs absolutely re-established by the diligence and prosperous success of *Tiberius*, the successor of *Justin*. He was not only an active and vigilant prince, and one of a martial disposition, but a person well skilled in the art of war, and a horse officer of great experience. The first thing he did was to put the cavalry into better order than they had ever been before, knowing that the eastern provinces of the empire were better defended by them than by foot; and as he found the treasury full, through the extortions of his predecessors, it was no hard matter to make quick levies, especially for one so well acquainted with discipline. *Chosroes*, who had not the least suspicion of these mighty changes, prepared early the next spring to enter *Armenia*, resolving to penetrate *Cappadocia*, and to make himself master of *Cæsarea*, and such other cities in those parts as were of any consideration. The *Roman* emperor, foreseeing the consequences of such an irruption, sent embassadors to persuade *Chosroes* from this expedition, and to engage him to make a solid and lasting peace; but at the same time that he sent these embassadors, he dispatched *Justinian* with directions to assemble all the forces in the eastern provinces, in order, if it was necessary, to repel force by force. When the *Roman* embassadors came into the camp of *Chosroes*, he was so far from

[q] AGATH. SCHOLAST. lib iv. p. 140. THEOPAN. chronogr. p. 208. EVAGR. hist. eccles. lib. iv. c. 7—13.

verity, assigning the emperor's breach of faith for a reason; for, it seems, he could not bear with patience that sort of behaviour from others, which he was himself but too apt to exercise This, however, was the last fortunate campaign he made, and indeed his conquests therein were of very great importance (59).

(59) Evagr. hist. ecclesiast lib. iv. c. 7—13.

receiving them as he was wont, that he refused to give them any audience, commanding them to follow him to *Cæsarea*, where he should be at leisure to hear them. Not long after he was informed, that the *Roman* army was at no great distance, and that they designed to give him battle. He looked upon this as an act of rashness in them, and as an accident favourable to himself; and therefore continued his march with the utmost expedition, that he might not lose this advantage. But when he drew near them, and saw their cavalry extremely numerous, disposed in excellent order, and the soldiers eager to engage, he fetched a deep sigh, shewing, by the heaviness of his countenance, how very much his mind was affected by this disappointment. On this account therefore he would, in all probability, have retired into some convenient camp, instead of fighting immediately; if *Curtius* a *Scythian*, who commanded the right wing of the *Roman* army, had not charged the left of the *Persians*, where *Chosroes* was in person. The combat was sharp and bloody, but in the end the *Persians* were beaten, the royal treasure and the *sacred fire*, before which the king worshipped, taken in his sight. In all probability things would have gone still worse, had not the night come on, which gave the *Persians* an opportunity of retiring. The next night, or rather evening, *Chosroes* having intelligence that the *Romans* were encamped in two separate bodies, he fell upon one of them at midnight, routed them effectually with a prodigious slaughter, and, having taken and set a village on fire that was behind their camp, he marched directly to the *Euphrates*, that, by repassing that river, he might winter in his own dominions. But *Justinian* the *Roman* general, penetrating his design, followed him so closely, that he was himself forced to pass the river on an elephant, and many of those who were immediately about him were drowned. After this the *Romans* wintered for the first time in the *Persian* provinces, and *Chosroes*, retiring to *Seleucia*, was so much affected therewith, that he broke his heart, when he had reigned forty eight years. This is the account which most of the *Greek* writers have given us, and the collectors of general history have followed them without scruple; yet there is just reason to believe, that this narration is wide of the truth, and therefore we take the liberty of subjoining what we apprehend comes nearer it[r]. *Chosroes* did indeed die of discontent,

[r] Agath. Scholast. lib. iv. p. 140. Evagr. hist. eccles. lib v. c. 15. Cedren. hist. compend. p. 393. Theophan. chronogr p. 207, 208.

but

but not ſo haſtily as moſt of the *Greek* writers aſſert; on the contrary, he lingered on till the following ſpring, and actually ſaw a treaty brought to a concluſion, which he had begun with the emperor *Tiberius*, ſo that he had a proſpect of leaving his kingdom in peace. Of this he was the more deſirous, on account of the mighty diſorders occaſioned by the depredations daily committed by the *Roman* veſſels in the *Caſpian* ſea, as alſo from the mutinous behaviour of his ſoldiers, and the general diſcontent of the *Perſians*, too prone to murmur when fortune was againſt their princes (A). *Choſroes*, as

(A) We have more than once obſerved, that the *Greek* writers are exceſſively partial, and we have more than once commended *Agathias Scholaſticus* for digreſſing from the cuſtom of his country in this particular. However, with regard to *Choſroes*, who was his cotemporary, and with whoſe character he had many and great opportunities of being fully acquainted, he is at leaſt as faulty as any of the *Greek* writers; and, with a ſort of abſurd malice, firſt relates the excellent things ſaid of that monarch, by thoſe who were perfectly well acquainted with him, and then endeavours to deſtroy their characters, as well as that of *Choſroes*, by a number of weak, as well as ill-natured reflections (60); *Procopius*, who had ſtill better opportunities of knowing the true character of this prince than *Agathias* could have, treated him in a quite different manner; for he every-where magnifies his abilities, though he ſometimes bears hard upon his morals (61). According to *Procopius*, *Choſroes* was a very wiſe, but a very ambitious prince; according to *Agathias*, he was very fortunate and very vain-glorious. That the latter was not his true character, may be made appear from facts. His conduct towards the *Roman* embaſſadors, his harangues, his letters, but, above all, his ſucceſs againſt the emperor *Juſtinian*, are ſo many inconteſtable proofs of his ſkill in the art of reigning. As to his knowledge of war, *Agathias* himſelf confeſſes it in theſe words: In the field no man knew better than *Choſroes* how to contrive; nor did any officer execute his orders with greater alacrity, than *Choſroes* did his own projects; and, what was very wonderful, his activity did not forſake him even in his old age; but he was as quick, or rather quicker, in his laſt campaign, than in his firſt. It was not his reputation, as a ſoldier, that offended *Agathias*; but he could not bear, that a barbarous prince ſhould be cried up for a philoſopher, and a man of letters. This, we ſhall elſewhere ſhew, was, however, a tribute juſtly due to the merit of *Choſroes*; and when we do ſhew this, it will unqueſtionably prove, that we were not too raſh in cenſuring the veracity of the *Greek* writers. The eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians fall not at

(60) *Agath. Scolaſt. lib. ii, iii, iv.* (61) *De bell Perſic & in anecdot.*

all

as he had lived, ſo he died like a great prince, after enacting that none of his ſucceſſors ſhould expoſe their perſons in any general engagement againſt the *Romans*, and after giving his ſon the moſt wholeſome inſtructions for the government of his people, for the management of foreign wars, and for the conduct of himſelf[f].

Hormiſdas II.

Hormiſdas ſucceeded his father in his dominions, but had neither his abilities nor his fortune. Haſty in his temper, haughty in his behaviour, cruel in his diſpoſition, obſtinate in all things, he no ſooner put on the diadem, than he proclaimed himſelf unworthy of it. He was always addicted to a ſilly curioſity as to future events, and his diviners having ſuggeſted to him that his ſubjects were not well affected, he began to conceive ſuſpicions of moſt of the great men in the kingdom, and to treat them as if ſuſpicion and conviction was with him the ſame thing. As to foreign princes, he kept no meaſures with them at all; he never notified his ſucceſſion to the emperor *Tiberius*, but left him to learn it from common fame. When that monarch ſent embaſſadors to compliment him and to renew the peace, he treated them diſdainfully, and refuſed to grant their requeſt, unleſs he had a ſum of money given him by way of tribute. A demand conſidering the circumſtances of things, moſt unreaſonable, and which therefore opened afreſh thoſe wounds which had been lately healed up, and equally diſpoſed both *Romans* and *Perſians* to enter on a new war, and which in the end proved very diſadvantagious to both (B). At firſt the military operations

[f] Theophylact. lib. iii. c. 16. See the hiſtory of this reign in the next ſection.

all ſhort in this reſpect of the authors of civil hiſtory. In the preſent caſe particularly *Evagrius* tells us, that *Choſroes* died miſerably, over born by ſorrow and grief, and covered with infamy, by making the law taken notice of in the text (62)

(B) It is to *Theophylact* we owe the account given in the text of the character of *Hormiſdas*, and his conduct in the beginning of his reign. This author was an *Egyptian* by birth, a man of letters, and one who propoſed to write of things, which either himſelf was well acquainted with, or of which he had an authentic account from thoſe who were perfectly well acquainted with them. He begins his memoirs with the ſucceſſion of the emperor *Maurice*, by virtue of his predeceſſor's nomination, and conſequently a good

(62) *Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. lib. v. c.* 15.

deal

operations were not of any great consequence; an action happened near the river *Nymphium*, in which neither party had any great advantage. The *Persians* soon after besieged a fortress called *Aphumum*, and the *Romans* invested another fortress called *Acbas*, which siege, however, was raised by the *Persian* general *Cardariganus*. But when the *Roman* army had received the recruits from *Constantinople*, and *Philipicus*, whom the emperor *Maurice* sent to command, arrived on the frontiers, the *Persians* were obliged to withdraw into the mountains, and leave the open country at the mercy of the enemy. *Philippicus* gratified his soldiers with the plunder of all the places he could take; but the thirst of spoil having drawn them too far into the *Persian* dominions, they were in the utmost danger of being vanquished, without so much as seeing an enemy, for want of water. This prompted them to a very extraordinary action, *viz.* putting

deal later than the times of which we are now speaking. But in the latter end of his third book, he goes back to the succession of *Hormisdas*, that the remaining part of his history might be rendered clear and perspicuous; which it would not have been, if the death of *Chosroes*, and the character and succession of his son, had not been made known to his readers. He assures us, that *Hormisdas* was at once the most ambitious and the most cruel prince that ever held a sceptre; that he loaded his subjects with taxes, at the same time that he had no mercy on their persons? that the severities he was drawn into by his wizzards, were not only excessive in their nature, but also spread incredibly wide, since he massacred thousands upon his foolish suspicions (63). *Evagrius* the ecclesiastical historian, who was cotemporary with *Hormisdas*, though he mentions him often in his history, doth not enter so particularly into his character, but contents himself with saying, that he was the most unjust king the *Persians* ever had; and that, not content with exhausting their fortunes, he invented new tortures to imbitter the deaths of such as he suspected (64). *Theophylact* gives us likewise the character of *Varamus*, whose rebellion proved so fatal to *Hormisdas*. He observes, that he was a man of great quality, had served for many years in the army, was most successful in his expeditions against the *Turks*, and by his wisdom and valour rose so high in the favour of this very prince, that he not only continued him general in chief of his troops, but promoted him also to the office of *mayor of the palace* (65). These particulars would have swelled the text of the history too much, and yet are of too great consequence to be totally omitted; wherefore we have placed them here.

(63) *Theophylact. hist lib. iii. c.* 17 *p* 85. (64) *Evagr. hist eccles. lib. vi. c.* 16. (65) *Theophylact. lib. iii. cap ult.*

all

all the men and women they had made prisoners to the sword, reserving only the children, whom they intended to sell for slaves; but they died in the march, and thereby escaped miseries worse than death. After this *Philippicus* was more cautious, and though he plundered other provinces, yet he took care not to march far from cities. The next year he had the command again, and defeated *Cardarigganus* in a pitched battle, from which he escaped with a handful of men, rather through the inadvertency of the *Romans*, than any courage or conduct of his own; and with these he fled to *Dara*, but the citizens shut their gates upon him, and the *Romans* at the close of the campaign again made incursions into *Persia*, burnt the villages, and plundered the people. The next spring the *Persians* gained some advantages, upon which *Philippicus* was removed and *Comentiolus* sent to command in his place, who managed the war rather worse. At length *Philippicus* was sent to restore the ancient *Roman* discipline; but the army was so far corrupted, that they refused to obey their general; and having chosen *Germanus* against his will to command them, they threw off all regard to the orders sent them from *Constantinople*. The *Persians* receiving news of this, attempted to take *Martyropolis*; but the *Romans*, under the command of *Germanus*, having penetrated their design, marched directly and gave them battle, whereby they saved the city for that time. However, it soon after fell into the hands of *Mebodes* the *Persian* general; for he having an intelligence with *Sittas*, an architect in the place, by his advice sent four hundred men thither, who pretended to desert from the *Persian* army, and were thereupon readily admitted. These men, by the direction of him who received them, surprised the place; and the *Romans* making a quick march to recover it, were engaged, and beaten by *Mebodes*; whereupon *Philippicus* was again removed, and *Comentiolus* was once more trusted with the army. This man quickly lost his reputation; for coming to a battle with the *Persians*, he fled at the very beginning of it; but *Heraclius*, who commanded under him, managed things so well, that the *Persians* were intirely defeated with the loss of *Aphraates* and *Nadades*, two of their best generals [1].

He has his impudence confirmed at last.

In the mean time, the *Persians* were engaged in war with the *Turks*, now first mentioned by the *Greek* writers, and under the conduct of *Varames* had been very successful.

[1] Theophylact. lib. i, ii, iii. Evagr. lib. v. c. 20. Theophan. chronogr p. 217. Cedren. hist. com. p. 390. Zonar. annal. tib. xiv p. 74

To

To him therefore orders were ſent to paſs the river *Araxes*, and to fall on the *Roman* territories on that ſide. To oppoſe him, the emperor ſent *Romanus*; but before he could aſſemble an army ſufficient to take the field, *Varamus* had done a great deal of miſchief. At length, however, *Romanus* found himſelf in a condition to give the *Perſians* battle, which he accordingly did; for *Varamus*, preſuming on his former ſucceſs, deſired nothing more ardently than an engagement. This proved fatal to his maſter's affairs; for the *Perſian* cavalry being defeated, *Varamus*, with all his ſkill, had much ado to make an indifferent retreat. As ſoon as *Hormiſdas* received advice of this diſaſter, he gave a ſignal proof of his ſmall capacity for government. He ſent to *Varamus*, inſtead of a veſt of honour, a woman's garment, and threatened the troops with decimation; this inflamed their general, and united them to this intereſt. The iſſue of this buſineſs was, that *Varamus* wrote a letter to his maſter, in which he uſed always the feminine gender, as if he had been writing to a female ſlave, and prepared at the ſame time to treat him worſe. *Hormiſdas*, who began to ſee his error, ſent *Sarames*, a man of great quality to take upon him the command of the army, ordering him to pacify the ſoldiers at any rate, and to ſend him *Varamus* in chains. This *Sarames* would have done, but as ſoon as he arrived in the camp and had declared the nature of his commiſſion, *Varamus* ordered him to be thrown down from his elephant, and by provoking the beaſt, cauſed it to trample him to pieces. He ſpent the winter preparing for the execution of his purpoſes, and at the ſame time took all the care he could to hinder the progreſs of the *Roman* arms. The gariſon of *Niſibis*, declared for him, and the malecontents began every-where to commit ſuch diſorders, that when *Hormiſdas* was informed of them, and ſaw how unable he was to repreſs them, he began almoſt to loſe his wits, breaking out into ſuch furious fits of paſſion, as frighted all who were near him, and contributed no leſs to increaſe his misfortunes, than the arts of his enemies. *Pherocanes* commanded the troops which were ſtill faithful, and he ſeemed inclined to attempt the reducing *Varamus* to his duty by force; but when the two armies were near each other, *Varamus* ſent deputies to harangue the king's army, and to inform them, that his revolt, far from having any tendency, to the deſtruction of the *Perſian* empire, had no other motive than its conſervation; that *Hormiſdas* was no longer worthy to rule them; and that he ſought only

to bring about ſuch a revolution, as the ill conduct of that prince had made neceſſary for the ſafety of the ſtate. The general himſelf made no anſwer to theſe repreſentations; but the army, eaſily debauched from its duty, began viſibly to waver; ſo that in the night, *Zoanab*, who was of the guard to the general, fearing that he would head the defection, ſtabbed him in his tent, and gave the plunder of it to the ſoldiers [u].

Which occaſions his being depoſed and murdered.

Hormiſdas having intelligence of this fact, and not knowing what conſequences it might have, retired out of *Perſia Proper* to *Cteſiphon*, where he kept his court. The people in the mean time revolted in all the royal cities, and plundered the palaces, which afforded the nobility an opportunity of reſcuing their relations from priſon; and amongſt thoſe, who were at this time releaſed, was a perſon of the royal blood, whom *Hormiſdas* for a ſlight offence had loaded with chains, named *Bindoes*. This man making all the haſte he could to the troops formerly commanded by *Pherotanes*, was by them readily received for their chief. In three days they reached *Cteſiphon*, whither they no ſooner came, than *Bindoes*, well attended, entered the royal palace, and forced themſelves into the preſence of the king. It was after dinner, and *Hormiſdas* was ſitting in the hall, clad in his robes of ſtate and with his tiara on his head. As ſoon as he ſaw *Bindoes*, he aſked him, how he eſcaped out of priſon, and wherefore he came thither? He anſwered by a torrent of injurious language, upbraiding his maſter with his ill conduct, and exciting all who were preſent to reject him from being their king. *Hormiſdas* ordered ſome of his ſervants, who were preſent, to ſeize *Bindoes*; but they were afraid to execute his commands. On the other hand, *Bindoes* taking the king by the arm, drew him out of his chair, took the tiara from off his head, and ordered ſome of his ſoldiers to conduct him to priſon; which they did without the leaſt reluctance, though he was their prince. In the midſt of this tumult, *Choſroes* the ſon of *Hormiſdas* made his eſcape out of the palace, being apprehenſive that his own life was not ſafe; but *Bindoes* having intelligence where he was, diſpatched a perſon to aſſure him, that he was ſo far from having any intentions againſt his perſon, that his deſign was to ſet him upon the throne. Upon this *Choſroes* returned, and they took their meaſures together; but while they were conſulting, *Hormiſ-*

[u] Theophylact. lib. iv. Evagr. lib. vi. c. 14. Theophan. chronogr. p. 221. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 396.

das

das ſent a meſſage from his priſon, requeſting, that a great council of the nobility might be called, and that he might have the liberty of ſpeaking to them freely. When the *Perſian* lords were acquainted with this demand, they inſtantly aſſembled at the palace, and then ordered, that *Hormiſdas* ſhould be brought from his priſon, and have liberty given him to ſay what he pleaſed. The king, after looking ſeveral times round on the aſſembly, made a long and vehement ſpeech, in which he deplored his own calamity much, but the miſery of the people more, inveighing bitterly againſt the authors of this anarchy and confuſion, exhorting them to ſave the ſtate from that deſtruction with which it was threatened, and to beware of eſtabliſhing a tyranny, while they endeavoured to avoid it. He then adjured them not to think of making *Choſroes* his ſucceſſor, becauſe he knew him to be of a haughty, turbulent, and cruel nature, prone to all ſorts of vices, and equally careleſs of his own honour and the public good. His other ſon, however, he recommended as a young prince of a mild and docible nature, one who was inclined to think right, and to do well. Laſtly, he entered into a detail of the ſervices he had himſelf rendered his country, in ſubduing many provinces, and in reducing ſeveral of their barbarous neighbours ſo low as to pay them tribute. When he had finiſhed all he had to ſay, *Bindoes* made a long inſulting anſwer, exhorted the people to have no regard to his words, but to act in ſuch a manner as might beſt inſure their own ſafety. This language ſuited well the genius of the people, ever prone either to ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion, or to licentious inſolence; they followed implicitly the directions of their leader, who cauſed the young prince *Hormiſdas* had recommended to be murdered in his preſence, and afterwards to be cut to pieces. Then they ſacrificed the unhappy woman his mother in the ſame manner; and that fortune might never reſtore *Hormiſdas* to his former dignity, they ordered his eyes to be put out with a hot iron. All which was performed with the ſame ready barbarity with which it was directed. This end had the reign of *Hormiſdas*, when it had continued one and twenty years * (C).

Choſroes,

* THEOPHYLACT. lib. iv. c. 6. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 223. EVAGR. lib. vi. c. 16. CEDREN. hiſt. comp p. 397.

(C) It is impoſſible to read this part of the *Perſian* hiſtory without emotion. One may ſafely number this among thoſe extraordinary revolutions, which appear but rarely in the records of nations;

Choſroes II. Year of Chriſt, 589.

Choſroes, as ſoon as theſe objects of popular cruelty were removed, was ſeated on his father's throne; whence riſing up, he came and ſtood under a golden arch, according to the *Perſian* cuſtom, and having received the homage of the principal perſons preſent, the reſt with loud acclamations celebrated the acceſſion of their new king, and made vows for his felicity. At firſt he treated his father with the utmoſt lenity, ſent him diet from his table, ordered him proper attendants, gave him rich wines, and provided for him many amuſements; but this prevailing nothing over the ſpirit of *Hormiſdas*, who continued to reproach his ſon with his barbarity, and unnatu-

and when they do, ſtrike the judicious reader with an amazement mixed with horror. The *Greek* hiſtorian, *Theophylact*, relates the whole of this extraordinary tranſaction very circumſtantially, and inſerts at large the ſpeeches of *Hormiſdas* and *Bindoes* (66). One would be apt to think from the many rhetorical turns which are in them both, but in that of the king's eſpecially, that they were not genuine; but when we find the reſt of the *Greek* writers, and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, the oriental hiſtorians, putting the ſame words into the ſame perſons mouths, one is conſtrained to baniſh ſuſpicion, and to admit, that one of the moſt excellent harangues that was perhaps ever compoſed, flowed from the mouth of a *Perſian* prince, in a ſituation, when eloquence would have been leaſt expected. But there ſeems to be ſomething fatal in diſtreſſing majeſty, and that the divine character of kings, like the eſſential qualities of gold, appear moſt clearly from the ſevereſt trials The ſpeech of *Hormiſdas*, too long to be tranſcribed, but faithfully abridged in the text, proved a ſort of prophecy; for after this ſedition the reader will perceive the *Perſians* were never quiet. *Choſroes* was indeed juſt ſuch a king as his father foreſaw he would be, and the people ſuffered from his ill conduct much greater evils, than they had ever felt under the unfortunate prince his father. Authors do not agree about the manner in which *Hormiſdas* was put to death Some ſay, that he earneſtly deſired it himſelf, rather than to have his eyes burnt out with a hot iron, which was thought neceſſary to prevent his eſcaping, as *Cavades* had done (67). Theſe add, that his ſon, provoked by his reproaches, ordered him to be beat to death (68). Others affirm, that *Hormiſdas* refuſing food, *Choſroes* directed him to be ſlain 69. However it was, the people deteſted the cruelty of their new king, and he had the mortification to ſee himſelf abandoned by thoſe who had lately ſaluted him with the loudeſt acclamations. It is probable, that his reſentment for this continued with him as long as he reigned.

(66) *Theophylact. hiſt. lib.* iv. *c.* 3, 4. *chronogr. p.* 223. *Theophylact. ubi ſupra.* *comp p.* 396 *Zonar. annal lib.* xiv. *p* 75.

(67) *Theophan.*

(68) *Cedren. hiſt.*

(69) *See an account of his death in the next period.*

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ral baseness, *Chosroes*, doubting what effect his reproaches might have, caused him to be cudgelled to death. Then, supposing himself firmly seated on the throne, he gave sumptuous entertainments, and distributed most profusely the royal treasures amongst those he thought most capable of assisting him; mighty largesses he likewise bestowed upon the people, and ordered the prison doors to be every-where set open, that the fame of his lenity and liberality might effectually secure the hearts of his subjects. On the sixth day after his accession, he wrote letters to *Varamus*, and sent him also magnificent presents, exhorting him to come speedily and pay his duty to him, promising him, in case he did so, to make him the second man in his kingdom. *Varamus* refused his presents, and in a haughty letter, at the head of which, among a multitude of other titles, he called himself *the friend of God*, *the glorious conqueror*, and *the scourge of tyrants*, he rejected his proposal, ordered him to lay down the crown, to come immediately and pay his respects to him, on which condition he should have a government given him. *Chosroes* having exhibited these letters to his council, they were extremely provoked, and gave it as their opinions, that he ought to be punished. *Chosroes*, however, wrote again to him, signifying his apprehension that his secretary had imposed upon him, and written rather his own dreams than what was dictated to him by *Varamus*, exhorting him by his future conduct to redeem his credit, and not to persist in his design of making his country a field of blood. *Varamus*, however, prepared for war, and *Chosroes*, since it could not be avoided, advanced to meet him. They faced each other near *Nisibis*, the city being in the power of the king, while *Varamus* encamped before it. Here a negotiation was begun, but it proved ineffectual; and *Chosroes*, suspecting some of the nobility about him, put them to death without hesitation, which created him many more enemies than it delivered him from; so that shortly after, when *Varamus* attacked the suburbs, and put part of the army quartered therein to the sword, the rest presently joined him, and shewed a strong disposition to treat *Chosroes* as ill as they had done his father; to avoid which, he fled, as privately as possible, exceedingly dejected under his misfortune, and the more so, because he had scarce any friends to share it with him. His women, menial servants, and a few of his guards, about thirty persons in the whole, fled with him, they knew not where; sometimes he had

thoughts

thoughts of retiring among the *Scythians*, at others he hoped to hide himself in the mountains [y].

Flies into the Roman *territories.*

At length, committing himself and his affairs wholly to providence, he came as it were by accident to a frontier post in the *Roman* dominions, and that too far in the night. *Probus*, who commanded there for the emperor, received him, and all who were with him, kindly and courteously, permitting the king to write immediately to the *Roman* general, who as readily consented to his sending an express with his letters to the emperor. In these he besought *Mauritius*, who then possessed the imperial dignity, to assist him against his rebellious subjects, preserving in the midst of a most pathetic supplication all the dignity of a king. While *Chosroes* was in this distress, *Varanus* entered the city of *Ctesiphon* in great splendor. *Bindoes* he seized and threw into prison, treating all such as had shewn any affection to the royal family with great severity; but towards the rest of the *Persians*, he affected the greatest humanity, and a superabundant condescension. He did not fail, however to issue his orders for apprehending *Chosroes*, if it was possible; and when he found that all his caution in this respect was vain and fruitless, he turned his thoughts to the securing of the frontier garisons, and the most considerable cities in *Persia*, in which he had better success. He likewise gave great feasts, and very bountifully bestowed that treasure he had so easily obtained; yet in the midst of all this pomp and splendor, he saw with concern, that the nobility were greatly dissatisfied, and the people not to be relied on. He could not, however, either extinguish or contain the violent desire he had to be a king. On a religious festival therefore, when of course there was a grand assembly of the nobility at the palace, he took upon him to use the royal ornaments and furniture with all the state of a monarch, though he forbore the title with reluctance. The *Persian* nobility seeing clearly what he intended, and disdaining to become the subjects of one born their equal, they began to cabal together, in order to concert measures for emancipating themselves and their country, and for restoring the antient lustre of the *Persian* empire. In their conferences upon this subject, it was unanimously agreed, that *Bindoes* was the most proper person to conduct an affair of this kind; and therefore they immediately delivered him out of prison, and acknowledged him for their

[y] Theophylact. lib. iv. c. 7. Theophan. chronogr. ubi supra. Evagr. lib. vi. Cedren. hist. comp. ubi supra.

chief.

chief. By his advice they came to a resolution to attack *Varamus* in the palace in the dead time of the night. This they performed with great courage; but *Varamus* and his attendants defending themselves gallantly, the engagement was very obstinate, and at last the nobility were vanquished, many of them being slain upon the spot, and the rest thrown to the elephants; only *Bindoes*, with a few who fought about his person, escaped, and, marching towards *Media*, endeavoured to raise forces for *Chosroes* [z].

He enters Persia in conjunction with the Romans.

AFTER this victory, *Varamus* thought fit to send embassadors to court the friendship of the *Roman* emperor *Mauritius*; but they were sent back without answer, the emperor having already made a treaty with *Chosroes*, and ordered the governors of his frontier provinces to furnish him with whatever might be necessary for his restoration. These timely supplies had a proper effect; for the *Persians*, seeing their king now in a condition to protect them, began almost every-where to acknowledge him, and to open their gates to receive his forces. Among the rest, *Nisibis* submitted to the king, and *Martyropolis* was recovered by the *Romans*, to whom likewise *Chosroes* himself delivered *Sittas* the architect, who had betrayed the place to his father *Hormisdas*, for which traiterous act he was now burnt alive. On the other hand, *Varamus* continued to raise forces, chusing rather to hazard all things, in order to make himself a prince, than to descend again to the condition of a private man. The christian writers suggest, that *Chosroes*, during his distress, seemed to abandon the religion of the magi; and not only worshipped God after the christian manner, but also vowed to dedicate a cross of pure gold in the church of a certain martyr, in case he proved victorious against his enemy. *Zadesprates*, one of *Varamus*'s commanders, having attempted to enter the quarters of one of the lords who had declared for *Chosroes*, was defeated and put to death, and his head, and the spoils of his army, sent to the king. The same fate had *Anathonus* very shortly after, of which *Chosroes* advised the emperor his protector by *Sarames*, one of the principal lords of his party; by whom likewise he signified, that *Comentiolus* was very backward in assisting him in the recovery of his dominions; whereupon the emperor sent an order, forbidding that general to meddle any more in the king of *Persia*'s affairs, appoint-

[z] THEOPHANES chronogr. p 223. EVAGR. hist. eccles. lib. vi. c. 17. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 397. ZONAR. annal. lib. xiv. p. 77. GLYC. annal p. 274.

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ing at the ſame time *Narſes* to have the command of the *Roman* auxiliaries, deſtined to the ſervice of the *Perſian* king [a].

Beats the rebels, and ſettles himſelf on the throne.

This was very grateful to *Choſroes*, who early the next ſpring, with his own forces, and thoſe lent him by the emperor, under the command of *Narſes*, marched into *Perſia* with an intent to decide the war at once. Moſt of the frontier places on his approach rendered to *Choſroes*, as did the great and ſtrong city *Dara*, formerly the chief bulwark of the *Romans* on this ſide. *Choſroes*, in teſtimony of his ſincere gratitude, and cordial affection towards the emperor *Mauritius*, determined to deliver it into his hands. About the ſame time, the *Perſian* king received from his protector a tiara, richly ſet with jewels, golden houſhold utenſils of all ſorts, and a choſen guard to attend upon his perſon. When the emperor learned that *Dara* was given up to him, he was ſo well pleaſed with the conduct of *Choſroes*, that he honoured him with the title of his ſon. In the mean time the *Perſians*, in great multitudes, quitted the ſervice of *Varamus*, and went to ſerve under the banners of their prince, who now ſought to bring *Varamus* to a battle. Before this could be brought to paſs, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened, and among the reſt one, in which *Beyzacius*, a great officer in the army of *Varamus*, was taken priſoner; and, after his noſe and ears were cut off, brought to their king by the *Perſians*, by whoſe command he was ſoon after put to death. A ſhort ſpace after, *Seleucia* and moſt of the great cities near the river *Euphrates*, ſubmitted to the king, and *Varamus* was forced to retire and to avoid fighting. His army conſiſted of about forty thouſand men, whereas the *Romans* and *Perſians* under the command of *Choſroes* were upwards of ſixty thouſand. The former, however, often attempted to fall upon the latter in the night, but were prevented through the vigilance of the *Roman* officers; ſometimes alſo they preſented themſelves in the field by day, ſo diſpoſed as if they intended immediately to give battle; and, after haraſſing and fatiguing the confederates, withdrew at laſt into their camp. The *Roman* officers all this time had much ado, to reſtrain the ardor of *Choſroes*, who was always for attacking the enemy, though on diſadvantageous terms. At laſt, however, an opportunity offered, and the *Roman* officers conſenting, he attacked the army of

[a] Zonar. annal. ubi ſupra. Theophylact. lib. v. c. 1. Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. lib. vii. c. 19. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 397. Theophan. chronogr. p. 224.

Varamus,

Varamus, defeated it, and took six thousand prisoners, most of whom he ordered to be put to the sword, or to be thrown to his elephants. The very tent of *Varamus* was taken with all his golden furniture, which the *Romans* presented to *Chosroes*, who, on the other hand, attributed all his success to them, and chose a thousand of them for his body guard, and in every other respect did all he could to testify his gratitude towards them. *Chosroes* likewise took this opportunity to send to the church of *Sergius* the martyr the golden cross, set with jewels, which he had vowed, and with it one taken away by *Chosroes* the son of *Cavades*, together with a letter, which is still extant in the history written by *Theophylact* (D). *Chosroes*

(D) *Evagrius*, the ecclesiastical historian, assures us, that *Chosroes* sent back to *Gregory*, bishop of *Antioch*, a cross of gold inriched with precious stones, which had been taken out of the church of *Sergius* the martyr by his grandfather *Chosroes*, and that he also sent therewith another cross of gold with the following inscription: "It fell out, that when I *Chosroes*, king of kings, son of *Hormisdas*, was obliged by the criminal infidelity of the accursed *Varamus*, and certain troops of horse who adhered to him, to fly for safety to the *Romans*, and that I sent some troops of my cavalry to the city of *Carcas*, under the command of a certain officer, to traverse the designs of the accursed *Zadespras*, who was come from *Nisibis* with an intent to debauch the troops I had in that city from my service, I having heard that the most celebrated martyr *Sergius* granted to every one, who sought his protection, whatsoever on their parts was desired, besought him on the seventh day of *January*, in the first year of my reign, to grant me victory against *Zadespras*, promising, that in case my troops either killed that rebel, or took him alive, that I would give to his church a cross of gold, inriched with precious stones. On the ninth day of the month of *February* the troops of horse I had dispatched against him returned, and presented me with the head of *Zadespras*. Having obtained my petition, and being willing to give the most public, as well as sincere, marks of gratitude and thankfulness, I have sent to his church this cross, which I caused to be made on purpose, together with one given by the emperor *Justinian*, and taken by my grandfather *Chosroes* the son of *Cavades*, which I found depolited among my treasures" (70). There is another pompous inscription in the history cited below; but this is sufficient to shew the hypocrisy of *Chosroes*, who afterwards declared himself the open enemy of Christ and of christians, not only by persecuting them in his own do-

(70) *Evagr. hist. eccles. lib vi. c. 21.*

roes alſo married a chriſtian woman, whoſe name was *Sira*, and honoured her with the title of queen, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the *Perſian* laws, ſhewing on all occaſions ſuch favour to the chriſtians, that many were of opinion he himſelf was that way inclined; though, in a few years after, he gave the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations, not only of his zealous attachment to the religion of his anceſtors, but of his peculiar averſion to the faith of Chriſt [b].

Alters his conduct intirely.

From the moment he was ſettled on his throne, he laid aſide the foreign cuſtoms he had hitherto made uſe of to ingratiate himſelf with the *Romans*, and put on the ſtate and behaviour of a *Perſian* prince, as if he had never experienced what adverſity was. The *Roman* general *Narſes* intimated to him, before he left his dominions, the vaſt obligations he was under to the emperor *Maurice*, and to the *Roman* people, whoſe power that general highly magnified, and ſpoke of them as lords of the univerſe. *Choſroes* modeſtly anſwered, that he was very ſenſible of the kindneſs ſhewed him by the emperor; but as to the *Roman* power, he predicted ſo exactly its declenſion and deſtruction, that the *Greek* writers will needs have it *Choſroes* was a great aſtrologer, and drew his knowledge of future events from the ſkill he had in that ſcience. As to his own ſubjects, *Choſroes* treated them with great rigour, or, as others phraſe it, with unreaſonable ſeverity; he proſecuted without mercy all ſuch as had any ſhare either in the favour, or in the government, while *Varamus* held the ſupreme power. By this method he quite extinguiſhed that faction, and, by reſtoring the antient *Perſian* conſtitution, he aggrandized himſelf ſo as to become terrible to his neighbours; whence it came to paſs, that the barbarous prince, with whom *Varamus* had ſheltered himſelf, and who had at firſt thoughts of lending him troops to invade *Perſia*, began to grow ſo apprehenſive of the vengeance of *Choſroes*, that he ordered his competitor to be poiſoned [c].

[b] Theophylact. lib. v. c. 5. Theophan. chronogr. p. 225. Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ lib vi. c. 21. Zonar. annal. ubi ſupra. Cedren. hiſt comp. 404. Glycas. annal. ubi ſupra. [c] Zonar. annal. lib. xiv. p. 80. Theophylact. lib. v. c. 7. Theophan. chronogr p 243. Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. lib. vi. c. 23. Cedren. hiſt. comp. ubi ſupra.

minions, but by endeavouring to oblige the *Greeks* to quit that religion, the principles of which induced them to ſet him upon the throne of his fathers. We ſhall hereafter ſee, that he had reaſon to ſay with the emperor *Julian*, *Vicisti ô Galilæe!*

When

WHEN the *Persian* monarch found all things quiet at home, and himself at leisure to lay hold of any advantages that might offer, he began to threaten the *Roman* provinces on account of the excursions made by the *Saracens* into his dominions, by the encouragement, as he pretended, of the *Roman* generals, who commanded on the frontiers. When the emperor *Maurice*, whose affairs were already in disorder, was informed of this, he sent embassadors to *Chosroes* to set this matter in a true light, and to prevent, if possible, a war on this side, which he knew, as things were circumstanced, could not but be fatal to the empire. On the arrival of the *Roman* embassadors, *Chosroes* treated them but indifferently, suffering them to remain a long time at court without an audience. At last, he who was at the head of the embassy, took an opportunity of speaking to the king, and, after a short recapitulation of the favours done him by the *Romans*, he proceeded to shew the weakness of the grounds *Chosroes* pretended to have for making war, and the injustice of such a proceeding towards his benefactor; which free representation so affected *Chosroes*, that, far from taking it amiss, he told the embassador, whatever causes he might have for the measures he meant to take, he would for the present lay aside his resentment for his sake; and thus for this time war was prevented [d].

It with difficulty hindered from making war on the Romans.

IT was not long, however, before a fresh opportunity offered for the gratifying the ambition of the *Persian*. This was the murder of *Maurice* the emperor by *Phocas*, an impiety which filled the *Roman* empire with bloodshed and confusion, and gave at the same time *Chosroes* a fair opportunity of taking arms, under colour of revenging the death of his protector and father; for so he was wont to call the emperor *Maurice*. In vain did *Phocas*, by his embassador *Bilius*, endeavour to appease him with large presents and larger promises; he regarded neither; but having sent a rude answer to *Phocas*'s letters by a messenger of his own, threw the embassador into prison, making all the preparations possible for entering speedily the *Roman* frontiers. At first he gave out, that he had no other view than revenging the murder of *Maurice*, and restoring the empire to his family; but this soon appeared to be only a pretence, since the king refused to send assistance to *Narses*, who at this time had taken arms against *Phocas*. The true intent with which *Chosroes* made war was,

Invades the Roman *territories.*

[d] THEOPHYLACT. lib. viii. c. 1. GLYC. annal. p. 276. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p 244. CEDREN. hist. comp. ubi supra ZONAR. annal. ubi supra.

the enlarging his own dominions, while the *Romans* were divided, and in no condition to reſiſt him. In his firſt campaign he met with ſome trouble, the *Roman* troops endeavouring to make the beſt defence they could; but, their general being ſlain, and themſelves indifferently ſupplied, he at length triumphed over them, and laid all the frontiers under contribution. In the ſeventeenth year of his reign, he continued the war, and reduced ſeveral fortreſſes. The next year he recovered the ſtrong city of *Dara*, plundered all *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*, and carried off ſuch immenſe riches, that no computation could be made of them. In his nineteenth year he paſſed the *Euphrates*; ravaged *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, and part of *Phœnicia*, waſting all places, wherever he came, with fire and ſword. The year following, his general *Cardaregas* waſted *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, defeated the *Roman* army with a great ſlaughter, and then, meeting no oppoſition, deſtroyed *Galatia*, *Paphlagonia*, and all the country as far as *Chalcedon*, burning cities, and putting people to death without any reſpect to ſex or age [e].

Makes a rapid conqueſt of its principal provinces.

In the two and twentieth year of his reign, *Choſroes* took *Apamea* and *Edeſſa*, and blocked up *Antioch*. This induced the *Romans* to hazard a battle, though they were much inferior in ſtrength; wherein they were ſo totally defeated, that it is ſaid the *Perſians* ſcarce left any to mourn the death of their companions. The year following he took *Cæſarea*, and carried away myriads of people into captivity. *Syria* had in the next campaign the ſame fate that *Cappadocia* felt in this. In his twenty fifth year, *Choſroes* made himſelf maſter of *Damaſcus*, to which city the emperor *Heraclius* ſent embaſſadors, beſeeching him to have mercy upon his ſubjects, and ſupplicating a peace on any terms he would impoſe; but *Choſroes* would not afford his embaſſador ſo much as an anſwer. The year following he conquered *Judæa*, took and plundered the city of *Jeruſalem*, carried away the croſs on which Chriſt ſuffered, and the patriarch *Zacharias*, into *Perſia*. In this campaign he ſold ninety thouſand chriſtians for ſlaves to the *Jews* in his dominions, who, out of their wonted humanity, cut every one of their throats. Theſe vaſt conqueſts ſerved only to increaſe the ambition of the *Perſian*, and to ſwell his imagination with mighty ideas of his own power; inſomuch,

[e] Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 410. Zonar. annal. ubi ſupra. Theophylact. lib. viii. c. 3. Glyc. annal. ubi ſupra. Theophan. chronogr. p. 245.

that

that, in the twenty ſeventh year of his reign, he made an expedition into *Egypt*, aad having divided his forces, with one part of his army he took *Alexandria*, and ſubdued all the country towards *Libya*, while the other was employed in the reduction of the *Upper Egypt*; wherein he puſhed his conqueſts to the very frontiers of *Ethiopia*; adding thus the empire of *Afric* to that of *Aſia*, executing in the ſpace of a few years what all his anceſtors from *Artaxerxes* had been ſo long endeavouring at in vain. The year following, he once more turned his forces againſt the *Conſtantinopolitan* empire, and that with ſuch ſucceſs, that he reduced the city of *Chalcedon*, which he had long blocked up. The remaining part of that year, and all the next, was employed in thoroughly ſubduing and regulating in all reſpects the government of the conquered provinces. As for the emperor *Heraclius*, incapable of reſiſting, and at the ſame time extremely afflicted at the ſight of the horrible cruelties every-where practiſed by the *Perſians*, he reſolved once more to make an effort towards obtaining peace. With this view he ſent deputies to *Choſroes*, with inſtructions to lay before him the miſerable condition of *Aſia*, the deplorable conſequences of continuing the war any longer, and the earneſt deſire that himſelf had to purchaſe quiet upon any terms. To all this *Choſroes* made a very ſhort and plain anſwer; that he would never ſpare the ſubjects of *Heraclius*, or grant him peace, till he and they abjured their crucified God, and embraced the religion of the *Perſians* f.

Forces the emperor Heraclius to take up arms.

IN the thirty firſt year of his reign, *Choſroes* beſieged and reduced the city of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, and prepared againſt the next year to carry his conqueſts farther. Indeed, there was no probability that any check could be put to them, the emperor being ſo embaraſſed in *Europe* by other barbarous enemies, that he was only able to lament, without having it at all in his power to remedy the miſchiefs ſuffered by his ſubjects in *Aſia*. Yet when things were come to this extremity, and nothing could be more apparent, than that *Choſroes* intended the utter deſtruction of his monarchy, *Heraclius* determined to put all to the hazard, and, having granted his enemies in *Europe* what terms they thought fit, began to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for turning the whole of his force, ſuch as it was, upon the *Perſians*. This happened in the thirty ſecond year of the reign of *Choſroes*, who, far

f GLYC. annal. ubi ſupra. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 246. ZONAR. annal. lib. xiv. p. 84. CEDREN. hiſt. comp. p. 413. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. hiſt. dynaſt. p. 157.

from

from being displeased, rejoiced at this news, believing that it would afford him the opportunity he had so long sought of conquering all the *Roman* dominions, without appearing to make war on an unarmed and defenceless people. After *Easter*, in the succeeding year, the emperor *Heraclius* marched with all his forces towards the frontiers of his empire. *Sarbanazas* at that time commanded the *Persian* forces, and lay incamped in *Armenia*, where he was every day committing new outrages, having nothing else in view but the amassing money, and plundering the helpless inhabitants of what little they had left. On the approach of the *Roman* army the *Persian* general sent out spies to discover its strength; and on their report that it was very numerous, and that the emperor *Heraclius* had inflamed his men with a sort of religious enthusiasm, he thought it expedient to recal his parties, and to intrench his forces on the summit of a hill, where they could not be attacked, but at a great disadvantage. This he did, supposing that the emperor could not long keep the field, especially in that season. But in this he was mistaken, as he was afterwards in his notion of breaking through the *Roman* army, which he attempted in the night, but without success. At last, weary of being besieged, he determined at all events to fight. This resolution once taken, he divided his army into three bodies, and attacked the *Roman* camp in as many different places. *Heraclius*, who had previous intelligence of what the *Persian* general intended, suffered the *Persians* to prevail in every one of their attempts. By this means he effectually divided them, and then falling upon the rear of each corps, cut the far greatest part of them to pieces. This victory was so far from making *Heraclius* elate, that it served only to encourage him to make new propositions of peace and friendship to the *Persians*, which were received, as all the former were, that is, with the utmost contempt and indignation [g].

Loses all his former conquests.

Chosroes, to repair the mistakes of his former general, appointed *Sais*, a noble *Persian*, to command in chief a more numerous army, than that which had been defeated the last spring; and to make all things secure, when the season for action drew on, *Sarbanazas* was sent again to the army, with a considerable reinforcement; nay, the king himself went thither soon after in person. However, *Heraclius* did not

[g] Zonar. annal. ubi supra. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 414. Theophan. chronogr. p. 253. Glyc. annal. ubi supra. Gregor. Abul-Phar. hist. dynast. p. 258.

fail

fail preſſing as hard upon this army, as he did upon that which he had defeated in *Armenia*; and the *Perſians*, wearied with long ſervice, and corrupted through their neglect of diſcipline, gave ſuch evident tokens of timidity, when the enemy drew near, and had ſkirmiſhed againſt them with ſome ſucceſs, that *Choſroes* thought it high time to provide for the ſafety of his perſon; which he did by leaving the army, and thereby increaſed the general conſternation ſo much, that the *Perſians* were quickly after totally defeated (E). It is ſaid,

(E) There cannot at firſt ſight be any thing more ſurpriſing, than this ſudden extinction of the *Perſian* power in leſs than twenty years, after it had been carried to a greater height by *Choſroes* the ſecond, than it had ever attained ſince the demiſe of *Alexander the Great*. A little attention, however, to the facts preceding this deſtruction of the *Perſian* empire, will lead us to a ſatisfactory account of its cauſes. From the death of *Choſroes the Great* the minds of the people had never been thoroughly ſettled. At the very beginning of the reign of *Hormiſdas*, they were prejudiced againſt his government by the ſtrange meaſures he took, and the infamous company of diviners, ſorcerers, and necromancers, that he kept about him. During the time that *Varamus* was at the head of affairs, who, by the way, is by ſome authors reckoned one of the kings of *Perſia*, things went ſtill in a worſe channel. His title to the crown was very indifferent; and therefore, to ſupport it, he firſt laviſhed immenſe ſums among the nobles; but finding this method unſucceſsful, he had recourſe to its contrary; that is to ſay, he oppreſſed the nobility, and turned the ſtreams of his bounty on the loweſt ſort of people. This anſwered his purpoſe better; but it made the condition of the *Perſians* much worſe, by ſpreading the poiſon of corruption through the maſs of the people. The ſeverity of *Choſroes*, or rather his cruelty, kept up a conſtant ſpirit of diſaffection, which all his numerous coniqueſts could not allay; though theſe ſerved to waſte his veteran troops, and to exhauſt *Perſia* of able men, to ſuch a degree, that it was with great difficulty, and not without having recourſe to the harſheſt methods, that he ſet armies on foot, ſufficient to ſtruggle with the *Romans*, as he did; and yet theſe ſtruggles put the laſt hand to the exhauſting of *Perſia*, and left it in a deplorable condition, when *Siroes* came to the crown. If that prince had lived, he would, in all probability, have reſtored the luſtre of the *Perſian* diadem. As it was, he only procured recruits, by the exchange of priſoners, ſufficient to keep up ſuch an army, as enabled his general to deſtroy his family, and to ſeal the ruin of his empire. The laſt monarch had viſibly no force capable of oppoſing the mighty armies of the *Saracens*; therefore we muſt look on the battles he fought as the laſt efforts of a languiſhing people. From whence it follows, that tho' they might be briſk and vigorous, yet they could not be either laſting or effectual.

that

that no less than fifty thousand persons were taken prisoners by *Heraclius*, who, when he found it impracticable to maintain them, first distributed amongst them all that could be possibly spared them, and then gave them their liberties, whereby he gained great reputation. *Chosroes* now found it necessary to exert his utmost strength, and having in the winter gathered as great a number of forces as he possibly could, he sent them under the command of *Sarablagas* and *Perozites*, two of his best general officers, into *Albania*. He likewise took care to recruit his other army in *Armenia*, and when he understood that the emperor *Heraclius* was determined to penetrate into the *Persian* dominions, he sent orders to his forces in *Armenia* to advance behind the *Romans*, as they prest upon the grand army in *Albania*. This scheme, as it was well contrived, so it was also faithfully and exactly executed; insomuch, that the emperor found himself in the deepest distress, and in all probability would have perished with all his army, if the *Persian* generals had not been jealous of each other, which tempted them to engage the *Romans* separately; an act of rashness so apparent, that it revived the drooping courage of *Heraclius*'s soldiers, and was the chief cause of gaining such a victory, as left not a *Persian* officer of distinction at liberty; so that *Heraclius* was forced to release one of his prisoners to carry the news of the defeat. After this the inhabitants of *Albania* rose upon the *Persians*, so that they were obliged totally to abandon *Albania*, where the *Romans* wintered [h].

Makes new efforts to no purpose.

The two succeeding years the war was carried on in the same way, and with the same success; that is to say, *Chosroes* made prodigious efforts, which yet were altogether ineffectual, or rather served to increase the power and reputation of *Heraclius*, who was alike successful in pitched battles and in long and painful expeditions. For his soldiers flushed with conquests, and fully persuaded that victory attended them on account of the justice of their cause, and the strictness of their discipline, made no scruple of undertaking whatever the emperor commanded. In this manner he penetrated into *Assyria*, passed the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, after routing several times the *Persian* armies, which endeavoured to obstruct his passage. In the mean time, *Chosroes* abated nothing either of his cruelty, or of his haughtiness. The christian churches he plundered throughout his dominions, and compelled

[h] Theophan. chronogr. p. 263. Gregor. Abul-Phar. histor. dynast. viii. p. 158. Cedren. Zonar. &c.

all

all ſuch of his ſubjects as had embraced the faith to profeſs themſelves *Neſtorians*. He exhauſted likewiſe all his provinces, in order to form new armies to oppoſe *Heraclius*, who defeated them as ſoon as he met them in the field, proceeding ſo rapidly in his conqueſts, that *Choſroes* ſaw himſelf obliged to abandon two of his palaces, burning the rich furniture he could not carry away, and with his wives and concubines to fly firſt to *Cteſiphon*, and then to *Seleucia*. There he received intelligence, that his general *Sarbarus* correſponded with the *Romans*; which, tho' a calumny, he eaſily gave into, and, in conſequence thereof, diſpatched orders to his collegue then before *Chalcedon* to put him to death, and to march his army back into *Perſia*. The courier, who carried this order, being taken by the emperor's party, they opened his letters, and having read them, ſent them to the general, who was intended to be cut off. He, by interpolating theſe orders, ſignified the pleaſure of *Choſroes*, that four hundred officers of diſtinction ſhould be put to death with him, and then cauſed them to be delivered to his collegue. On reading theſe diſpatches, the whole army was in a tumult, and great numbers began openly to cry out, that *Choſroes* was unworthy to reign. Among theſe *Gundabunas*, a principal officer, made the greateſt figure; who, to ſecure himſelf from the reſentment of ſo blood-thirſty a prince, retired with a conſiderable body of men to the camp of the emperor, where he remained in ſafety [1].

Attempts to alter the ſucceſſion, and is depoſed.

AGE, fatigue, and ſorrow, having by this time much weakened *Choſroes*, he began to think of ſettling the ſucceſſion; but, as he had ever acted on very odd principles, ſo now, out of ſome pique to his eldeſt ſon *Siroes*, he determined to transfer the crown to *Merdaſas*, the youngeſt of his ſons. This ſcheme of his could not be long kept a ſecret, and therefore, as ſoon as it reached the ears of *Siroes*, he immediately projected to hinder it from being carried into execution. With this view he entered into a correſpondence with *Gundabunas*, who, as was obſerved, remained in the emperor's camp with a body of *Perſian* troops. The iſſue of this negotiation was, that application was made to the emperor *Heraclius* to increaſe the forces under the command of *Gundabunas*, by ſetting at liberty the *Perſian* priſoners, on a promiſe, that *Siroes* would inſtantly put himſelf at the head of that army, and march againſt his father. This propoſition

[1] THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 264. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. ubi ſupra. ZONAR. &c.

was no ſooner made than accepted; and, as all the parties concerned therein were alike intereſted in its ſpeedy execution, all things were quickly ready, and *Siroes* in a condition to perform his part of the agreement, which he did very effectually. As for *Choſroes*, his tyranny had rendered him ſo hateful, that, as he wanted an army to ſupport him; he was not only diſappointed in its fidelity, but alſo found himſelf ſo deſtitute of friends, that to eſcape appeared as impracticable as to reſiſt. In a word, he was ſeized by his own ſoldiers, impriſoned, and depoſed by his own ſon, when he had reigned thirty nine years. We ſhall quickly ſee, that theſe were but the beginnings of his misfortunes [k].

Siroes, Year of Chriſt 626.

Siroes, having aſſumed the regal dignity during the lifetime of his father, and while he was a priſoner, as his father had done in prejudice to his grandfather *Hormiſdas*, began inſtantly to endeavour the rectifying thoſe miſcarriages, which had brought the flouriſhing kingdom of *Perſia* into ſo miſerable a condition. In the firſt place, he ordered his father ſhould have his legs, arms, and neck, loaded with chains, and that he ſhould be expoſed in the dungeon where he lay, to all the ſcoffs and inſults of an incenſed unthinking populace. Theſe, forgetting the indelible majeſty of kings, upbraided him with his inſatiable avarice, reproached him with his preſent abject condition, telling him, that, as he had acted like the common enemy of mankind, and the peculiar curſe of the *Perſian* people; he now juſtly taſted that bitter cup, of which he had made whole nations drink, and was deſervedly degraded from a throne to a dungeon, who, while he ſat on his throne, had filled all the dungeons in his dominions. Five days he languiſhed in this miſerable way, having only bread and water allowed him for a ſubſiſtance; then his beloved ſon *Merdaſas*, whom he would have raiſed to the throne in prejudice to *Siroes*, was put to death before his face, together with his other ſons. After all this, and ſuſtaining a freſh load of indignities, *Siroes* gave orders, that he ſhould be ſhot with arrows, and left to expire of his wounds [l]. Of all theſe ſeverities, as well as of the cruel death of his father, *Siroes* adviſed the emperor *Heraclius* by letter, deſiring his friendſhip, and that the league between their empires might be perpetual. As a proof of his ſincerity in all his promiſes, he ſet the patriarch of *Jeruſa-*

[k] Theophan. chronogr. p. 272. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi ſupra. Cedren. Glyc. &c. [l] Theophanes chronogr. ubi ſupra. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi ſupra. Cedren. Zonar. &c.

lem;

lem, *Zacharias*, at liberty, and ſent him, together with the holy croſs, back into *Paleſtine*, well attended and with rich preſents. On the other hand, *Heraclius* received the *Perſian* ambaſſadors with great kindneſs, and readily embraced the peace offered him by their maſter. The next year, in conſequence of this league, all the *Perſians*, who were priſoners in any part of the *Roman* dominions, were ſet at liberty; and, notwithſtanding they were many thouſands in number, yet, in their return to their own country, no ill accident happened; ſo ſoon were thoſe nations reconciled, who were inveterate enemies ſo long. But as there is not any thing ſo precarious as human happineſs, while on the one hand the *Romans*, and on the other the *Perſians*, promiſed themſelves nothing but peace, plenty, and mutual good offices, from the union which ſubſiſted between their princes; all their hopes were blaſted by the death of *Siroes*, when he had reigned little more than a year, and had ſcarce effaced, by his mildneſs towards his ſubjects, the terror ariſing from his unnatural treatment of his father [m].

Ardeſer the ſon of *Siroes*, according to the *Greek* writers, ſucceeded his father. They might as well have called him *Artaxerxes*, ſince the name they give him is only a corruption of that *Perſian* appellation, which the antient *Greeks*, to accommodate it to their own way of ſpeaking, changed into *Artaxerxes*. We may be indulged this criticiſm on names, where we have little to ſay of things. This hapleſs prince was but ſeven years old when he was ſet upon a throne, where he remained but ſeven months, before he was barbarouſly murdered by the command of *Sarbarazas*, who had commanded the armies of *Choſroes* his grandfather. This ambitious man had ſtill the chief command of the troops when *Siroes* died. He thereupon pretended a right of being conſulted, before the ſon of his maſter was exalted to the throne of his anceſtors; and on this ſlight foundation rebelled againſt the child, ſlew him, and ſeated himſelf in his place [n].

Ardeſer, *or* Arheſyr, Year of Chriſt 627.

Sarbarazas, or, as ſome authors call him, *Sarbaras*, having ſeized the diadem ſtained with blood, found himſelf immediately involved in new crimes to keep it on his head. An oppoſite faction had ſet up *Bornarim*, a prince of the blood-royal, who for ſix or ſeven months had the ſhadow of royalty, and then loſt it, together with his life, leaving the throne once

Sarbarazas *and* Bornarim. Year of Chriſt 628.

[m] THEOPHAN. chronogr. p 273. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. ubi ſupra. GLYC. &c.

[n] THEOPHAN. chronogr. ubi ſupra. ZONAR. CEDREN. GLYC. &c.

more empty to this *Sarbarazas*. He held it now about six months, but always in fear, the friends of the royal family, and especially a sister of the deceased *Artaxerxes*, endeavouring, all that in their power lay, to disturb his reign. These contrivances broke at last out into several insurrections, till the flame of civil war catched almost every province in the kingdom, and all *Persia* began to swim with the blood of its inhabitants. This opened the eyes of the nobility, who now clearly saw that peace could never be restored *whilst this* usurper lived. They therefore made choice of the nephew of *Siroes*, the son of the only one of his brothers, who escaped his rage, when he put his father to death; and having once determined to raise this young prince to the throne, they opened him a passage to it by the death of *Sarbarazas*, the implacable enemy of his family [o].

Isdigertes, Year of Christ 630.

Hormisdas, or as most writers call him *Isdigertes*, was by this means raised to the regal dignity, as well by the free election of the people, as in consequence of his right of descent. He did not, however, enjoy the kingdom long, I may say, scarce at all, in quiet; for by the time that the domestic stirs of the late factions in *Persia* were thoroughly quelled, he found a new and most formidable enemy ready to over-run his country. These were the *Saracens* under the conduct of the successors of *Mohammed*. We shall elsewhere treat expressly of these people, their religion, government, and exploits. At present, we shall only remark on such circumstances of their affairs, as have a connection with their conquest of *Persia*, concerning which we have very different accounts from the several *Greek* writers, who have mentioned it. Some report, that the emperor *Heraclius* had a great body of *Saracens* in his army, when he invaded the *Persian* dominions; and that after the peace was made, they, on their return home, inflamed their countrymen with a desire of making themselves masters of so pleasant a country, as this of *Persia* was represented to be. Others affirm, that *Mohammed* himself, when he was thoroughly settled in his principality, made an irruption into *Persia* in the days of *Chosroes*; but that this monarch, with the assistance of the *Turks*, totally defeated the *Saracen* army, after a very long and very obstinate engagement, which so far broke their spirits, that they did not renew the war till now. But the general opinion is, that the *Saracens* did not invade *Persia* till after the reduction of *Jerusalem*, and that then the war lat-

[o] Theophan. chronogr. p. 275. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi supra.

ed

ed ſome time, and with variety of ſucceſs. Some authors repreſent *Hormiſdas*, or *Iſdigertes*, as an effeminate and indolent prince, while others again aſſert, that he defended his country with the utmoſt intrepidity, till after various defeats the ſpirits of the *Perſians* were intirely broken; nay, ſome ſay, that he was himſelf killed in the field. However, there appears to be no juſt cauſe for cenſuring either the courage or conduct of this prince, unleſs it was criminal in him to be unfortunate. He was the laſt of the line of *Artaxerxes*, who ſat upon the *Perſian* throne; and with him fell that empire, which had ſubſiſted with ſo much glory for upwards of four hundred years [p] (F).

THE total ſubverſion of ſo great a monarchy in ſo ſhort a ſpace muſt appear ſomewhat wonderful in our eyes, who are accuſtomed to ſee provinces defended for a much longer time, than was taken up by the *Saracens* in the conqueſt of *Perſia*; but we ought to conſider, that the ſucceſſors of *Mohammed* led vaſt armies of a needy ſtarving people, who fought for

[p] THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 278. CEDREN. ZONAR. &c.

(F) As, at the opening of this period, we endeavoured in a note to point out the advantages the reader would receive from the method purſued therein, ſo we judged it neceſſary to cloſe it, by briefly exhibiting a view of thoſe deficiencies, which have made the following ſection, not only expedient, but neceſſary. In the firſt place, as we have confined ourſelves therein to the materials furniſhed us by the *Greek* authors, the reader muſt neceſſarily obſerve many wide chaſms in the narration, occaſioned either by the ignorance or careleſſneſs of the *Greek* hiſtorians, as to ſuch affairs of their neighbours as did not immediately concern themſelves. Secondly, the judicious peruſer muſt have obſerved very imperfect accounts of very important tranſactions, and, not a few, which carry in themſelves the ſtrongeſt appearances of falſhood. Theſe defects flow from the ſame cauſe, and there was a neceſſity of ſuffering this part of the hiſtory to appear in this dreſs, that the reader might know in what light the *Greek* writers ſet theſe tranſactions. Thirdly, the proper names, titles of honour, wars, and conqueſts of the *Perſians*, are ſo disfigured by the miſtakes of the authors, from whom we were obliged to take our accounts, that, if we had publiſhed them alone, they muſt have tended, rather to the propagating of error, than of knowledge; ſince it is better to know nothing, than to apprehend we know what we know not. All theſe deficiencies, miſrepreſentations, and miſtakes will be ſupplied and corrected in the following hiſtory; which will effectually demonſtrate the great uſe of ſtudying the oriental writers, hitherto much neglected, and, which is ſtranger, ſtill deſpiſed amongſt us.

new

new habitations, and who eaſily ſettled themſelves in the countries they ſubdued. In this empire of *Perſia* eſpecially, they had no ſooner defeated *Iſdigertes*, than they began immediately to canton out his dominions, and to make as exact a ſurvey of them, as *the Conqueror* did of our country, when he framed what we call the doom's-day book; ſuch a record, and for the ſame purpoſes, being taken here. Beſides, the *Perſian* prince, as the beſt authors aſſure us, though he laid aſide the enſigns of majeſty, after the great defeat he had received, yet he ſheltered himſelf in one of the diſtant provinces of his empire, and died there about the year 640 or 642. As to the condition of the native *Perſians* ſince, we need not wonder that it hath been always very abject and depreſſed, ſince nothing can be more viſible, than that it hath been the chief maxim amongſt all *Mohammedan* conquerors, without exception, to break the ſpirits, and exhauſt the ſubſtance of the natives of all the countries which fall under their dominion. This they were particularly led to do in *Perſia*, on account of the difference in religion between them and the natives. At this time the *Saracens* were not only rude and barbarous, but a furious and enthuſiaſtic people; they were therefore incapable of diſtinguiſhing the true doctrines of the magian ſect, or of reclaiming, by gentle means, thoſe whom they conceived to be idolaters. They therefore perſecuted the natives through a miſguided zeal, and, having ſtamped on them opprobious names, tranſmitted to their poſterity the ſame brutal diſpoſition which they had exerciſed themſelves, as will be ſhewn in the following, and in ſeveral other ſections.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of the Perſians, *from their recovering the empire, to their being ſubdued by the* Arabs.

According to the oriental hiſtorians.

THE wide difference there is between the hiſtories of eaſtern nations, as written by *European* authors and by their own, obliged us originally to diſtinguiſh the hiſtory of *Perſia* into two ſections; the firſt, according to the former; the ſecond, conſonant to the memoir

memoirs furniſhed us by the latter. When we laſt treated of this ſubject from the oriental authors, we ended with the conqueſt of the *Perſian* dominions by *Eſcander*, or *Alexander the Great* [a]. In order therefore to connect this period with that, it is neceſſary, previous to our account of the kings, who ſucceeded *Ardſhir-Babegan* or *Artaxares*, to ſpeak of thoſe who reigned in the intermediate ſpace, between the death of *Alexander* and the acceſſion of the before-mentioned *Artaxares*. The former part of our hiſtory contained the ſucceſſion of the *Perſian* kings of the two firſt dynaſties, and the third dynaſty is called by the oriental writers *Molouk-al-Thaouaif*, i. e. *The kings of the nations*. In order to have a juſt idea of the ſenſe and meaning of this term, we muſt obſerve, that the word *Molouk* ſignifies *kings*, and that all the oriental hiſtorians aſſure us, there were in the courts of the antient kings of *Perſia Aulad-Molouk-Fars*, i. e. *Children of the Perſian kings*, or *princes of the blood*, who were honoured with the chief governments, and, when they reſided in them, lived like princes. When therefore the captains of *Alexander the Great* cantoned all his conqueſts among themſelves, and ſet themſelves up for ſo many independent princes, the eaſtern writers gave to this new race of monarchs the general title of *Molouk-al-Thaouaif*, or *kings of the nations* [b]. Some, however, of the *Perſian* writers incline rather to call this the dynaſty of the *vizers*, and it muſt be allowed, that it is by far the darkeſt and leaſt intelligible period of the *Perſian* hiſtory, according to the orientals. This, however, is no reaſon, that, like ſome modern hiſtorians, we ſhall hurry over it, and leave it juſt as dark as we found it. Had the great men of the laſt century been of this lazy diſpoſition, all antient, nay, and all modern, hiſtory, had been a chaos. But to proceed; ſome of the writers of the *Perſian* hiſtory ſplit this dynaſty into two, and conſequently call them the third and fourth dynaſties of the *Perſian* kings: the firſt they diſtinguiſh by the name of *Aſchkaniens*: the latter, by that of *Aſchganides* [c]. To the firſt they allow twelve kings, who, according to them, reigned altogether one hundred and ſixty-five years. Of the ſecond race, they ſay, there were eight kings, and that they reigned altogether one hundred and fifty years. The truth ſeems to be, that theſe two

[a] See the hiſtory of the *Perſians*, according to the oriental writers, in the *Univerſal Hiſtory*, Vol. V. p 89. & ſeq. [b] MIRKHOND. ſect. xxi. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. tit. MOLOUK AL THAOUAIF. SCHIKARD. tarich p. 102. [c] D'HERBELOT biblioth. orient. tit. ASCHKANIENS.

dynaſties

dynasties were invented to fill up the time between the death of *Alexander*, and the commencement of the fifth dynasty. Our opinion therefore is, that the *Aschkaniens* and *Aschganides* are in fact one and the same succession, and no other than that called by the *Latin* writers *Arsacidæ*; *Aschek*, whom the eastern writers make the first monarch of this house, being, as we believe, no other than *Arsaces* the first of the *Parthian* kings. But as the proof of this proposition, and the shortest detail possible of the princes of this family, would exceedingly embarrass the thread of our narration, the reader will find what we have farther to say on this point in a note. In the mean time, we will pass on to the proper subject of this section: The history of the fourth dynasty of the *Persian* kings, distinguished by the name of *Sassaniens* (A).

A TABLE

(A) The design of this note is to give a short account of the *Parthian* kingdom from the oriental historians. Previous to this, it is necessary to observe, that though it is an error of a very old date, and an error universally embraced by all the *Latin* and *Greek* writers, yet it is still an error, to suppose that there was any real distinction between the *Parthians* and the *Persians* Therefore, notwithstanding the titles of the three last sections, in which, for the sake of conforming to the received history of these times, we have admitted this distinction, yet here we give our readers notice, that it is groundless in itself, and took birth from the ignorance of the western writers who would make distinct kingdoms of two provinces in the same kingdom.

Khondemir, the *Persian* historian, very wisely makes but one dynasty of the kings who succeeded after *Alexander* to the succession of *Artaxares*. The first of these was *Aschek*, or rather *Arschak*, who is the same with *Arsaces*. He is said to have been descended from *Darius* the last king of *Persia*, and to have taken thence his claim to the throne. He revolted therefore from *Antiochus*, whom the oriental writers call *Anthakasch*, or rather from the *Seleucidæ* his successors, about the year 248 before Christ, in the third year of the hundred and thirty-second olympiad, and from the building of *Rome* the five hundred and third.

To him succeeded *Aschek* the second, whom the *Greeks* also called *Arsaces*; but how long he reigned, we find not.

Schabour succeeded his father *Aschek*, and was the first of that name who governed *Persia* He was surnamed *Padischahi Buzurk*, that is, *The Great King*, because he recovered the treasures of the antient *Persian* monarchs from the *Greeks*, and brought them back to the royal palaces at *Susa* and *Persepolis*. He reigned fifteen years, and was succeeded by his grandson.

Baharam I. This word is properly the name of the planet we call

A TABLE *of the fourth dynaſty of the* Perſian *kings called* Saſſaniens *or* Khoſronians, *according to the* Perſian *hiſtorian* Khondemir.

I. *Ardeſchir Ben Babek* or *Babegan*, who reigned fourteen years after the defeat of *Ardevan*, the laſt king of the third dynaſty. II. *Schabour*

call *Mars*. The monarch of whom we ſpeak ruled eleven years, and then left the throne to be filled by

Balas. He governed eleven years likewiſe, and was ſucceeded by

Ferouz, which in the *Perſian* language, ſignifies, *good luck*, or *victory*. He was a very gallant prince, and we meet with various particulars relating to his reign in the eaſtern hiſtories. Of theſe the moſt remarkable is, his diſcovering, as he was hunting, a cave, wherein *Feridoun*, one of the antient *Perſian* monarchs, had buried a great quantity of gold and ſilver, which *Ferouz* took from thence, and made uſe of in paying his ſoldiers. He held the kingdom nineteen years, and then left it to his brother

Narſi or *Narſes*, a warlike prince, who made very conſiderable conqueſts on the ſide of *Tartary*. He held the ſceptre fourteen years, and then tranſmitted it to his nephew

Ferouz II. who was the ſon of *Ferouz* I. who, after governing ſeventeen years, incurred ſome way or other the diſpleaſure of his ſubjects, and loſt his life by a conſpiracy. To him ſucceeded his ſon

Balas II. Of whom we find nothing remarkable; only we are told, that he reigned twelve years. He had for his ſucceſſor

Ardevan, whom the *Latins* and *Greeks* call *Artabanus*. Some writers, as we apprehend, give this prince the title of *Khoſrou*, which, amongſt the *Perſian* princes, was both a proper name and a ſurname; whence hath ſprung great confuſion. This prince governed thirteen years, and by ſuch of the oriental hiſtorians as divide the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* into two dynaſties, he is held to be the laſt of the firſt. He was ſucceeded by

Aſchek III. but how long he governed is uncertain. Some authors report, that he was deſcended from the antient kings of the ſecond dynaſty. There are others, however, who affirm, that he was of the ſame family with his predeceſſors, who, inſtead of *Parthians*, were *Armenians* by birth, and only made choice of *Parthia* for the ſeat of their empire, becauſe it was in the heart of their dominions. After him reigned

Choſroes II. his ſon, who governed the empire for twelve years in peace. The eaſtern writers place the birth of our Saviour under his reign. He was ſucceeded by

Balas III. his ſon, or his grandſon, the time of whoſe reign is uncertain; but he left the throne to his ſon

II. *Schabour Ben Ardeſchir*, who reigned thirty one years.
III. *Hormouz Ben Schabour*, who alſo reigned thirty one years.
IV. *Baharam Ben Hormouz*, who reigned three years and three months.
V. *Baharam Ben Baharam*, who reigned ſeventy years.
VI. *Baharam Ben Baharam, Ben Baharam*, who reigned thirty years and four months.
VII. *Narſi Ben Baharam*, who reigned nine years.
VIII. *Hormouz Ben Narſi*, who reigned ſeven years and five months.
IX. *Schabour Dhoulakthaf*, who reigned ſeventy two years.
X. *Ardeſchir*, grandſon to *Hormouz Ben Narſi*, who reigned four years.
XI. *Schabour Ben Schabour Dhoulakthaf*, who reigned near five years.
XII. *Baharam Ben Schabour*, ſurnamed *Kerman Shah*, who reigned thirteen years.

Gudarez, who performed nothing of note, but, after reigning twenty one years, left the throne vacant to his ſon *Narſi* or *Narſes* the ſecond.

This *Narſes* II. was a very warlike prince, and made great conqueſts in *Khoraſſan*, governed with great reputation twenty years, and then left the crown to

Narſes III. who reigned ten years, and extended his father's conqueſts. He was ſucceeded by

Ardevan II. who governed long, and in whoſe days idolatry, or rather polytheiſm, after the *Greek* manner, became the prevailing religion of the eaſt. He is ſaid to have had for his ſucceſſor

Ardevan III. who, after a reign of twenty three years, was defeated and ſlain, as we have ſhewn in the text, by *Ardſchir Barbegan* (1). To have attempted the reconciling all theſe names and dates to the accounts given us by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, would have required a volume, and perhaps nothing of certainty would have reſulted from ſuch an attempt at laſt. A very learned *German* hath taken a great deal of pains in this way, whoſe work the inquiſitive may conſult (2). Our buſineſs was to make this note an introduction to the following hiſtory, by connecting it to the laſt period of the *Perſian* affairs, according to the oriental writers; and this being effected, our end is anſwered.

(1) *Khondemir, Lebtarikh, Mirkhond, D'Herbelot, bibl. orient. Art. Malouk, Thaouaif, Aſchkaniens, &c.* (2) *Tarich.* i. e. *Series Regum Perſiæ, &c. Auctore W. Schikardo*, 4to. *Tubingæ A. D.* 1628.

XIII.

XIII. *Jezdegerd Al Athim*, or *The Wicked*, who reigned twenty one years.
XIV. *Baharam Gour Ben Jezdegerd*, who reigned twenty three years.
XV. *Jezdegerd Ben Baharam Gour*, who reigned eighteen years.
XVI. *Hormouz Ben Jezdegerd*, who reigned one year.
XVII. *Firouz* the brother of *Hormouz*, who reigned twenty eight or thirty years.
XVIII. *Balasch Ben Firouz*, who reigned somewhat less than fourteen years.
XIX. *Cobad Ben Firouz*, who reigned forty three years.
XX. *Nouschirvan Ben Cobad*, who reigned forty eight years.
XXI. *Hormouz Ben Nouschirvan*, who reigned twelve years.
Baharam Tchoubin, who held the sovereign power some years, and is therefore by some reckoned amongst the kings.
XXII. *Khosrou Perviz Ben Hormouz*, who reigned thirty two years.
XXIII. *Schirouich Ben Khosrou Parviz* reigned six or eight months. There is a tradition in the east, that parricides, such as this king was, survive not their parents above six months.
XXIV. *Ardeschir Ben Schirouich*, who reigned one year and six months.
XXV. *Scheheriar*, who was not of the royal family. He reigned two years and twenty days.
XXVI. *Touran Dokht Benat Khosrou Parviz*, who reigned but two months.
XXVII. *Azurmi Dokht*, sister to the last-mentioned king, who reigned one year and four months.
XXVIII. *Farakhzad Ben Khosrou*, who reigned only one month.
XXIX. *Jezdegerd Ben Scheheriar, Ben Khosrou Parviz*, who, according to some writers, reigned twenty years, and was the last king of this dynasty [d].

THOUGH we have followed *Khondemir* exactly in this table of the *Persian* kings, yet we do not conceive ourselves bound to submit always to his authority in our subsequent history. We followed him in the table, because he is more consistent and exact in his list of kings than any other writer; but in respect of facts we must take the liberty of dissenting from him, as often as probability and better authority than his shall re-

[d] KHONDEMIR in KHELASSAT ALAKHBAR.

quire it. This being premiſed, we proceed to ſpeak of theſe kings, and of the principal tranſactions in their reigns, according to the order in which they are placed above.

Ardſhir Babegan.

Ardſchir, or rather, according to our orthography, *Ardſhir Babegan*, according to the moſt ancient hiſtories, was the grandſon of *Saſſan*, the brother of a certain queen of *Perſia*, who, ſeeing himſelf excluded from the throne, and being a little apprehenſive that his life was not perfectly ſafe, thought fit to travel; and having ſpent many years abroad, died at laſt in exile, and left among other children the father of this *Ardſhir*, who having a curioſity to ſee his native country, returned thither privately, and entered into the ſervice of *Babec*, who was governor of a province for *Ardavan*, or, as the *Greeks* call him, *Artabanus*, the laſt monarch of the *Parthians*. This nobleman, after ſome time, perceiving in this youth the evident tokens of an extraordinary genius, reſolved to fix him in his family, and with that view gave him his daughter in marriage, by whom he had *Ardſhir*, who, in gratitude to his mother's family, took the ſirname of *Babegan*.

His adventures at the court of Ardevan.

He was educated by his grandfather with great care, in all the learning of the *Perſians*, and was alſo taught by his father all the exerciſes becoming a perſon of quality; and being equally aſſiduous in acquiring both, he became, while a very youth, the wonder of the province; and, in fine, was ſo much talked of, that his fame reached the ears of *Ardavan*, who ſent for him to court, where he became ſo highly in his favour, that he ordered him to remain conſtantly about the young princes his ſons, and ſeemed to love him as tenderly as he did them. One day, however, when the young princes went a hunting, *Ardavan* followed them privately, that he might have a better opportunity of obſerving their behaviour; and having by this means an occaſion of ſeeing how much they were excelled in horſemanſhip and archery, as well as in ſtrength and gracefulneſs, by their companion *Ardſhir*, he from that moment entertained a jealouſy of him, and determined within himſelf to remove him from court, by beſtowing upon him ſome office, which ſhould require his conſtant attendance. Accordingly, he gave him the command of his forces in a diſtant province, whither he went immediately, and remained there till ſuch time as he was informed of the death of his grandfather *Babec*, which made him return to court, in hopes of procuring his government. *Ardavan*, far from liſtening to his intreaties, immediately beſtowed it upon the prince his eldeſt ſon.

This

THIS misfortune was quickly followed by another; the king was much disturbed by a dream, and on consulting the most eminent diviners in his court, they told him, it portended that a certain fugitive from his court would deprive him of his life and crown. It so fell out, that there was in the king's serail a lady, who was passionately in love with *Ardshir*, and she, being apprehensive that this interpretation might be fatal to him, immediately gave him notice of it, upon which he instantly retired with all imaginable secrecy. His flight alarmed the king, who never thought of him before; but it was too late, for *Ardshir* was gone into *Persia Proper*, the province of which his grandfather had been governor. He was met at the city *Estechar*, or *Persepolis*, by a croud of the nobility of the province, who were all devoted to his family, and who readily offered him their service in any thing he desired. In all probability, the interpretation of the king's dream was what first put it into the head of *Ardshir* to attempt the recovery of the kingdom of his ancestors; wherefore taking counsel from ambition on the one hand, and a just sense of the extreme danger he was in on the other, *Ardshir* began to set before the eyes of the *Persian* nobility the advantages that would accrue to them from an intire revolution, and he was so fortunate in his applications as to bring them over intirely to his interest. From the moment he entered the province, the young prince, who was governor of it, conceived a jealousy of him; but before he could get any thorough information of his designs, *Ardshir* took the field with a considerable army. The prince presently drew together such of his father's forces as remained faithful, in order to oppose him; but after several engagements, there happened at last one which was decisive; his army being totally defeated, and the prince himself slain upon the spot. The like fate soon after befel *Ardavan* himself, who, entering the province of *Fars* with all the forces of his empire, was there presently defeated and slain by the victorious *Ardshir*, who thereupon immediately assumed the regal dignity, and soon after the swelling title of *Shah-in-Shah*, or *king of kings* [e].

His flight from thence.

THIS monarch, in the beginning of his reign, very artfully tempered the severity of a conqueror with the mildness of a natural prince. Where-ever he found resistance, he de-

Acquires a son and successor by the prudence of his vizier.

[e] TARIKH KOZIDEH & BINA KITI ap. KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND. sect. XXIV. GREGOR. ABUL PHAR. H. D. dynast. vii p. 126.

stroyed

stroyed it by the sword; but to such as submitted to his government, he shewed all imaginable kindness, without any respect of persons. On this account he spared all the family of *Ardavan*; and, to do them still greater pleasure, he married the eldest daughter of that prince. This lady, however, conceived such a hatred towards him, for depriving her family of the empire, that within a very short space after her marriage, she attempted to poison him, in order to set the imperial crown on her brother's head. Being detected in the fact, *Ardshir* gave orders to his prime minister to cause her to be put to death. When he came to acquaint the unhappy lady with her sentence, she told him she with child; upon which the minister, without acquainting his master, concealed her privately, and caused the son of which she was delivered to be brought up with the utmost care, giving him the name of *Schabour*, i. e. *king's son*, the same name as the *Greek Sapor*. The vizier waited a long time for a favourable opportunity of breaking this secret to his master. At length, observing the king to be one day in high good humour, after exercising on horseback with many of the nobility, he brought forth the young prince, introduced him to his father, and, not without some apprehension, entered into the whole detail of his preservation. *Ardshir*, on the other hand, received the young prince with the utmost tenderness, and, after reflecting severely on himself for his rashness, highly commended the prudence of his minister; and having caused *Schabour* to be conducted to the palace, declared him not long after his heir, and took all imaginable pains to instruct him in the arts of government [f].

His character as a Legislator.

The *Oriental* historians agree in affirming, that the character of *Ardshir* was, that of a complete hero; one no less distinguished for knowledge and virtue, than for valour and military skill. From the moment he was seated on his throne, he conceived the important design of restoring all the dominions which had belonged to his predecessors in the *Persian* throne. By arms he recovered large provinces from all his neighbours; and, when he had recovered them, he took care to make the people very sensible of the difference between his government, and that which they had been under before. He erected new cities, where-ever he found inviting situations; he fortified all the considerable towns on his frontiers; he divided the inhabitants of his empire into several classes or tribes, according to their professions, and not only appointed magis-

[f] Lebtarikh.

trates

trates to govern them, but also counsellors, whose business it was to instruct them in their true interest, to procure for them the redress of their grievances, as also such grants and privileges as might be for their service. *Ardshir* likewise rebated the edge of the law, taking away the excessive use of capital punishments, in order to make way for milder chastisements, pursuant to a maxim frequently in his mouth, *That the sword was never to be employed where the cane might do as well.* But the greatest of his performances as a lawgiver was in the literary way. He composed a book, intitled, *Adab alaisch*, i. e. *Rules for attaining a happy life.* In this treatise he laid down the maxims necessary to conduct a man in every station, from that of a monarch to that of a mechanic; and this he did with such penetration and perspicuity, that *Nouschirvan*, the wisest and greatest of his successors, caused this book to be solemnly published throughout all his territories, obliging every family in *Persia* to have a copy thereof [g] (B).

THE

[g] KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH. RAOUDHAT. AL AKHIAR.

(B) The true orthography of this prince's name is, *Ardeschir Bâbecân.* The reason we have not writ it so in the text, is this; all the authorities that we have quoted make use of that manner of spelling which is inserted therein, and which consequently became necessary in our text. He was not only the restorer of the *Persian* monarchy, in respect to its civil concerns, by assuming the antient title, following the antient customs, and laying claim to all the dominions of the antient kings; but he was likewise so in respect to the religion of the *Persians*, which by this time, was miserably corrupted. For the purging out all idolatry and superstition, the king summoned a general council of all the wise men in his kingdom; the number of these was forty thousand. Out of these were selected four thousand; from these four hundred; from them forty; and from these seven. Among these was a young man, whose name was *Erdâvirâph*, of unspotted reputation, and perfectly versed in the writings of *Zerdûsht*. This man having drank three glasses of a certain odoriferous wine, remained, in the presence of the king and of the other six learned men, seven nights and days in an ecstasy or trance. Then rising up, he dictated to a secretary all that he had seen in his vision, and a very large recapitulation of the magian faith. This miracle, or pretended miracle, wrought so strongly on the king *Ardschir*, that he immediately cancelled all the laws which had been made from the time of *Alexander the Great* in favour of *idolatry* or *polytheism*, and fully re-established the religion of *Zerdûsht* This, as the reader will perceive by our quotations, we have from the very best authorities among the eastern writers.

He dies in peace and glory.

The wiſdom, moderation, and ſucceſs of *Ardſhir Babegan*, as they made him almoſt adored by his ſubjects in his life-time, ſo they cauſed his character to be regarded as a model by thoſe who ſucceeded him in his throne, which he left vacant, after a reign of fourteen years. A certain hiſtorian ſays, he reigned forty; but if any regard be paid to his aſſertion, we muſt ſuppoſe that term to commence from his firſt taking up arms againſt *Ardavan*; whereas moſt of the hiſtowriters (3). It is, however, very ſingular and worthy of obſervation, that a *Rabbinical* writer alſo hath conſerved the memory of this very fact: "*Orſchir*, the ſon of *Bâbec*, the firſt prince of that "family, cauſed it to be proclaimed throughout all *Perſia*, that "he had taken away the ſword of *Ariſtotle* the philoſopher, which "had devoured the inhabitants of that empire five hundred years "(4)." By the ſword of *Ariſtotle* are to be underſtood the political maxims of *Alexander* and his ſucceſſors, which, by this reformation, *Ardſchir* thoroughly extinguiſhed; and on this account the oriental writers attribute to him the ſubverſion of the third dynaſty, which they called *Molouk Thaouaif*, i. e. *the kings of the nations*; becauſe tho' the *Arſacidæ* were *Perſians*, yet they adhered to the *Macedonian* maxims, and ſuffered all the petty princes, to whom *Alexander* had given dominions, to retain them; whereas *Ardſchir* reſumed them all, aſſumed the title of *Shâh-in-Shâh*, or *king of kings*, and tranſmitted a new ſet of maxims to his ſucceſſors, who followed them very carefully. As to the famous book mentioned in our text, it may not be amiſs to quote from thence ſome maxims relating to the conduct of princes, as a taſte of that excellent work, which was, and is ſtill, ſo highly eſteemed throughout the eaſt. It begins thus: *So long as a prince applies himſelf with diligence to the adminiſtration of public affairs, and the rendering juſtice to all degrees of people, his ſubjects continue affectionate to him, and look upon obedience in the light of their own intereſt.* Elſewhere he ſays, *The worſt of all princes is he, from whom the wicked have all things to hope, and the good all things to fear. That all the branches of ſociety are inſeparably united to the trunk, and that neither can be affected independent of the other; whence it follows, that kings have their cares, and ſubjects their duties, which reciprocally anſwer each other, and which when neglected on either ſide, produce ruin and confuſion to both* (5). The *Greeks* certainly knew nothing of this book, otherwiſe they would never have ſtyled *Artaxares* a barbarous prince.

(3) *Vid lib. cui titul. Erdâvirâph-nâma Shahnâma neſr.* (4) *R. Abrab. in Kab. ap Tarikh. Schichard. p.* 108. (5) *D'Herbelot. E. O. Artic-Ardſchir. Babegan.*

rians

rians reckon, as they ought to do, from his accession to the throne on the defeat and death of that prince [h].

Schabour, or *Shah-pour*, whom the *Greeks* call *Sapor*, succeeded his father, having been preserved, as we have related before, by the tenderness of his prime minister. He was very young when he came to the throne, and therefore the nobility thought it necessary to give him a guardian or protector, who was his uncle by the mother's side, and might consequently have pretended to the crown. He not only executed his charge with integrity and reputation, but when the *Persian* nobility besought him to change his title, and assume that of king, he absolutely refused it, giving up the government to his nephew, as soon as he was of an age capable of ruling his subjects. *Schabour* was so well educated, that, after he came to the exercise of the sovereign authority, he did not pretend to use his uncle as a counsellor, but rather affected to consult him as a parent; and whenever he had occasion, either to go into the field against the *Romans*, or to make a progress into any distant province of his dominions, he left his uncle cloathed with a royal authority; so that the *Persian* historians have actually accounted this *Ardshir* one of the kings of *Persia*. There cannot be any thing more different from another than the character of *Schabour*, as it is drawn by the *Oriental* historians, and that of *Sapor*, as it stands in the *Latin* and *Greek* writers. We have already seen what the latter say; our business at present lies with the former. They report, that this *Schabour* was a prince of a magnificent disposition, who sought above all things, to adorn his country with fine cities and stately public buildings. With this view he made frequent visits to all the provinces of his empire, that he might be the better acquainted with their situation, their trade, and manufactures, and consequently have it more in his power to confer upon them real benefits. In the province of *Khoubistan*, which we call *Susiana*, he built a fine new city, restored also its antient capital to its pristine beauty, and caused a most stupendous dike to be erected, to bear the weight of a river, which he brought to run over it, for the sake of supplying the adjacent country with water. In the province of *Fars*, or *Persia proper*, he built the city of *Naoubendgian*, in one of the finest plains in the universe; which city, in gratitude to its founder, was a long time called *Casbah Schabour*. But the most famous, and by far the greatest city of all he built, was that of *Nischabour* in *Korassan*. It seems the king was marching his army through Schabour I.

[h] LEBTARIKH.

that province, and by accident encamped near the ruins of an antient city, which had been destroyed by *Alexander the Great*, the remains of which were almost every-where over-grown by rose-bushes. The king, charmed with the situation of the place, returned thither again as soon as the campaign was over; and, after having ordered all the rose-bushes to be cut up, cleared away the ruins, and by sending regular detachments from his army to work upon the foundations of his new city, he, in a short space, saw it in such a forwardness, as invited all the inhabitants of the adjoining country to come and settle in it. On account of the rose-bushes, he called it *Nischabour*, i. e. *the rose of* Sapor, *nei* signifying, in the *Persian* tongue, *a rose*. As the *Latin* and *Greek* writers are very silent as to his virtues, so the *Persian* historians say as little of his vices, and not a syllable of his ordering the emperor *Valerian* to be flayed alive [i]. *Mirkhond* is the only writer who gives us any account of his death, which, according to him, happened in a very surprising manner. His severe justice so much alarmed some rapacious courtiers, that they took the opportunity offered them by a stormy night, to enter the royal tent, where they murdered *Schabour* and his attendants; which when they had done, they cut its cords, and set it on fire; so that the guards apprehended his tent had been set on fire by lightning. There are different accounts of the years of his reign; but the best writers agree, that he held the sceptre thirty one years [k].

Hormouz I.

Hormouz, whom the *Greeks* call *Hormisdas*, succeeded his father *Schabour*, and was a most generous prince; insomuch, that most of the antient historians call him *Hormouz al Hori*, i. e. *Hormisdas the liberal*. We are told of him, that when one of the governors of his provinces on the frontiers of the *Indies* sent him an express, to inform him, that he could purchase a quantity of very fine diamonds for an hundred thousand pieces of gold, the king wrote him back, that he should let them alone. Upon this the governor sent him a second express, to acquaint him, that they might be sold for two hundred thousand, so that his majesty might gain *cent. per cent*. *Hormoux* replied, *A hundred or a thousand* per cent. *will not tempt me. If I become a trader, who must take up the trade of being a king? Or what will become of the* Persian *merchants, if the royal treasures are employed to forestal them?* He was one of the handsomest princes of his time, and exceedingly beloved by his subjects, though it

[i] KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH [k] MIRKHOND, sect. 25.

does

does not appear, that he was a very martial monarch, or that he made any conqueſts. It is ſaid, that he ſhewed a great deal of favour to the famous heretic *Manes*, and that he built for him, on the borders of the province of *Suſiana*, a caſtle or place of retreat, called *Daſcarah*; and it is further reported, that he embraced his opinions. This we apprehend, ought to be underſtood in a limited ſenſe, and be conſtrued only as to the notions that arch-heretic held in philoſophy; for tho' it be true, that *Manes*, or, as the *Orientals* call him, *Mani*, held very pernicious tenets in theology, yet it is as true, that he was a very great mathematician, and, by conſtant practice, attained ſuch a facility of drawing geometrical figures, that he would ſtrike circles of any given diameter with a pencil only, without the aſſiſtance of compaſſes. During the reign of *Sapor*, he was obliged to abſcond, that prince being an enemy to the ſetting up of all new religions in his country; and on this account it was, that *Mani* fled into *Turqueſtan*. There, by dint of his eloquence and ſkill in the ſciences, he acquired many diſciples. He affected great auſterity of life, and uſed to retire ſomtimes for a day or two to meditate in the deſert. This was very advantageous to him; for it made the people believe him a very holy perſon, and gave him leiſure to ſtudy how to confirm them more and more in that belief. Once, as he was rambling in this manner, he diſcovered a cave, which, tho' it had a narrow entrance, was very large within, and had a fine ſtream running through it. Thither he privately tranſported his books and papers, with as much bread and dried fruits as might ſerve him for a year. Theſe meaſures taken, he told his diſciples, that God would call him for a time up into heaven; but that, after a year, he would return and meet them in ſuch a plain. Upon this he withdrew into his cave, and, during the twelve-month that he lived there, he wrote a large book of *enigmatical ſchemes, and pretended revelations*; which book, at the end of the year, he produced to his diſciples, affirming, that he brought it from heaven. Shortly after, hearing that *Schabour* was dead, and that his ſon *Hormouz* was a very learned man, and a great patron of the ſciences, he returned into *Perſia*, and, as we have obſerved, ingratiated himſelf ſo with the king, that he built for him a hermitage, which was ſo well fortified, that, ſo long as he remained therein, his enemies were not able to do him any hurt. If *Hormouz* had reigned long, in all probability *Mani* would have ſecured to himſelf a party ſtrong enough to have ſupported him; but his protector died before he had reigned

two years, with the reputation, however, of having been an excellent prince, one equally tender of his ſubjects welfare, and of the prerogative of the crown" (C).

Baharam I. *Baharam*, the ſon of *Hormouz*, ſucceeded him. This is the name which the *Greeks* endeavour to expreſs by the ſeve-

" Khondemir, Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. B. O. art. Hormouz.

(C) Beſides what is ſaid in the text, we ſhall add here ſome anecdotes concerning the heretic *Manes*. The learned *Schikard* is much miſtaken, when he affirms, that his name was not *Manes*, but *Manicheus*, quaſi *mannam fundens* (6). The great *Epiphanius* is as much out. He would needs ſuggeſt, that this heretic aſſumed the name of *Manes*, becauſe, in the *Chaldaic* tongue, *Man* ſignifie. *a veſſel*; whereby he would intimate, that he was a pure and choſen veſſel. The truth is, he was a *Perſian* by birth, and his name *Mani*. Had he been a *Chaldean*, or had he lived on the borders of *Chaldea*, when he firſt vented his hereſy, there might have been ſome ground for this conjecture; but as he ſpread his hereſy firſt in the deſerts towards *Turqueſtan*, what probability is there, that he ſhould aſſume a name, the etymology whereof could not there be underſtood (7)? He was by profeſſion a painter; and we are told, that he could draw a line with a pencil twenty yards exactly ſtraight. His excellency in drawing made him convert moſt of his lectures in religion into emblematical devices, not unlike thoſe of *Jacob Boehm*. Hence the book he pretended to bring from heaven, was called *Ertengh*, *tengh* ſignifying *a picture* (8). What we have recorded of him in the text, we have tranſcribed verbatim from *Khondemir*, who opens his account with theſe words: Mani *the* Sadducee *was a man excellently ſkilled in painting and ſculpture, who when he heard that* Jeſus *had promiſed the* Comforter *ſhould come, the* devil *ſuggeſted to him, that he ſhould pretend to be that Comforter; which accordingly he did*, &c. As to the notions of him, and his diſciples, all the *Oriental* writers agree, that they were a mixture of the magian and chriſtian doctrines; and that, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, they ſplit into ſeveral ſects, according as they entertained different explications of their maſter's principles (9). The *Oriental* writers likewiſe agree, that his patron *Hormouz* was a moſt learned and beneficent prince; his favourite ſaying was this, *That kings were like fire, they warmed thoſe who ſtood at a diſtance, and ſcorched ſuch as ventured too near* (10).

(6) *Tarikh. Schicard, p.* 111. (7) *Hæreſ.* (8) *Hyde relig. vet Perſ. c. xxi. p.* 281. (9) *Shariſtani in lib. de relig Orient.* (10) *D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Hormouz Ben Schabour.*

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ral appellations of *Varanes*, *Varbaranes*, and *Vararanes*. At the beginning of his reign he affected to treat *Mani* with greater deference than ever his father did, and even ſuggeſted to him a deſign of ſettling his opinions as the national religion of *Perſia*; in order to which he invited him to a conference with his magi, that the people might be the better convinced of their monarch's caution in ſo important an affair. His vanity engaged *Mani* to comply with the king's requeſt; ſo that, leaving his fortreſs, he went, without the leaſt apprehenſion, to court, in order to diſpute with ſuch learned men as he ſuppoſed would be aſſembled there. On his arrival, *Baharam* ordered him to be ſeized; ſhortly after he cauſed him to be flayed alive, and his ſkin being ſtuffed with ſtraw, he ordered it to be ſet on the top of a hill, with a good guard, as a ſignal to the *Manichees* of his kind intention towards them. This had the propoſed effect; for all the diſciples of *Mani* retired immediately out of *Perſia*, and not believing themſelves ſafe even on its frontiers, they fled into the very heart of the *Indies*, and ſome of them as far as *China* [n]. This ſeems to have been the greateſt exploit that *Baharam* performed, though he was a prince of parts, and who earneſtly ſought the welfare of his people, as we may gather from this ſaying of his; *That humanity was not to be defined, becauſe therein were comprehended all the other virtues.* He reigned with great applauſe three years and three months, at the end of which he was murdered in the baſeſt manner that can be imagined. A tumult happening in his capital, he went in perſon to appeaſe it, which when he had effected, a kinſman of his took the advantage of the croud and confuſion to let fly an arrow, which ſtruck the king to the heart, to the great grief, as well as to the great loſs, of his ſubjects [o] (*D*).

Baharam II.

[n] D'HERBELOT. B. O. art. Mani. KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND, ſect. 26.

[o] LEBTARIKH.

(D) As we often quote the excellent work of *D'Herbelot* in this hiſtory, it is neceſſary to give the reader notice, to prevent his ſuſpecting him or us of a miſtake, that we do not reckon the *Baharams* kings of *Perſia* in the ſame order as he does; but ſo, that his *Baharam* III. is our *Baharam* II. his *Baharam* IV. our *Baharam* III. and ſo on. The reaſon is this: He reckons *Baharam* of the third dynaſty *Baharam* I. which, his method conſidered, is very juſt; but as the periods of *Perſian* hiſtory in this work are at a diſtance one from another, ſuch a mingling of dynaſties would occaſion

Baharam II.

Baharam II. ſucceeded his father *Baharam* I. Some writers ſay, he was only the adopted ſon of the laſt king. However that might be, it is generally agreed, that, at the beginning of his reign, he gave his ſubjects no great hopes of him. On the contrary, he acted with ſuch auſterity, haughtineſs, and cruelty, that the people gave him the ſurname of *Khaleſ*, i. e. *the unjuſt*. The nobility of *Perſia*, who were never over-complaiſant to tyrants, began to think of ridding themſelves of ſo bad a maſter, by depoſing him at leaſt, if not by putting him to death. The magi, however, checked this deſign in its birth, offering to riſque their own ſafety for the good of the people, by remonſtrating to the king on the folly of his conduct. This they did with ſuch warmth, and at the ſame time with ſuch an evident diſplay of loyalty, that *Baharam* acknowledged them for his counſellors and protectors, changed the whole bent of his conduct, and, from being a very bad, became a moſt excellent, prince, during the remainder of his reign. A certain chriſtian author affirms, that this monarch vanquiſhed the *Romans*, and that, having taken priſoner the ſon of the emperor *Galienus*, he cauſed him to be put to death. Of this, however, the *Oriental* writers ſay nothing; and there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that this author was impoſed on. Moſt authors agree, that this prince reigned but ſeventeen years [p].

Baharam III.

Baharam III. ſucceeded *Baharam* II. During his father's life-time, he was governor of the province of *Seigiſtan*, which is the reaſon that the *Greek* writers call him *Seganſaa*. He reigned thirteen years, without performing any thing extraordinary; or, if he did, the *Oriental* hiſtorians, as well as the *Greeks*, have treated him very indifferently; for we find little ſaid of him, even in their moſt copious authors; and as for *Mirkhond*, he ſays nothing of him at all. Hence it is apparent, that the *Oriental* writers are not ſo fond of fiction, as they are generally repreſented to be; for, if they were, they would not certainly ſuffer ſuch chaſms in their

[p] Lebtarikh. Ben. Batrik. in chron.

occaſion confuſion; which to avoid, we have taken a contrary method. We likewiſe take this opportunity of noting, that we cite the *Oriental* hiſtorians as we uſe them; ſo that the reader may at all times diſtinguiſh on what authority any remarkable fact is built [q].

[q] *D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Baharam.*

hiſtories,

historics, but rather try to fill them up with inventions of their own, as some of our northern writers have done [q].

Narsi. *Narsi Ben Baharam*, that is, *Narsi the son of Baharam*, succeeded *Baharam* the third his brother, tho' from his surname some authors have taken him for his father, and in truth he was the son, not of *Baharam* III. but of *Baharam* II. He proved a prince of a mild temper, gracious to his subjects, and desirous, as far as was in his power, of doing them good; but he had the misfortune to attack the *Romans*, when they had many great generals, and several potent armies on foot; in consequence of which he was defeated, and lost all his frontier provinces; for grief of which, it is said, he broke his heart, when he had reigned nine years [r].

Hormouz II. *Hormouz* the son of *Narsi*, or, according to the *Greeks*, *Hormisdas* the son of *Narses*, succeeded his father. All the *Oriental* historians agree, that he was a prince endued with all the virtues capable of adding lustre to a crown. Among these his justice was by far the most conspicuous. He saw with regret the ill use that too many of the nobility made of their great power and riches, in oppressing the meaner sort of people, and thereby discouraging industry and trade, the chief supports of all well-governed kingdoms. To eradicate so dangerous an evil, he fixed a particular tribunal or court of justice, wherein the complaint of the meanest man in *Persia* might be heard against the greatest; and for fear that interest or authority might beget partiality even here, he came frequently and presided in person. He likewise devised many new laws and regulations, for the benefit of the middling sort of people, and for the encouragement of trade; out of regard to which he was extremely careful of the maritime coasts, and of all the ports of *Persia*. He likewise built in the province of *Kerman*, which the *Greeks* call *Caramania*, a very famous city, and port, which he called by his own name *Hormouz*, or, as we pronounce it, *Ormus*. It was seated conveniently along the sea-shore, and, towards the land, was shaded by groves of palm-trees; so that, in process of time, it became equally remarkable for its being a trading city, and also the market for the commodities of a multitude of industrious people, who cultivated the fertile plain behind it. In the end, however, its riches proved its ruin; so that the inhabitants, finding themselves exposed

[q] LEBTARIKH. KHONDEMIR. [r] D'HERBELOT. B. O. artic. Narsi.

to

to continual ravages, abandoned it, and tranſported themſelves into an iſland in the *Perſian* gulf, almoſt over-againſt their old place of reſidence; where they built a new city, which they likewiſe called *Ormuz*, the ſame that was afterwards conquered by the *Portugueze*, and of which, in the ſubſequent part of our hiſtory, together with its kings, we ſhall give a particular account. But to return to *Hormouz* or *Hormiſdas*; he is ſaid to have extended his dominions very conſiderably, and to have been no leſs fortunate in war, than he was wiſe and temperate in peace. The province of *Suſiana* was peculiarly favoured by this monarch; inſomuch, that he built ſeveral cities therein, and repaired all ſuch as were fallen to decay: more he would, without queſtion, have done, if he had reigned longer; but, having ſat on the throne nine years, he gave way to fate[r] (E).

Schabour II.

Schabour II. ſurnamed *Dhoulactaf*, i. e. *Schabour of the ſhoulders*, ſucceeded his father even before he was born, the crown being placed on his mother's belly, and the nobles ſwearing to acknowledge for their ſovereign the child ſhe ſhould bring forth. In his nonage the *Perſians* were expoſed to many diſaſters, more eſpecially to the inſults and ravages of the *Arabs*, who, under their king *Thair*, broke in vaſt numbers into *Perſia*, and ſpread deſolation where-ever they came, plundering the royal cities, and carrying off the ſiſter of the late king *Hormouz*, and the aunt of *Schabour* into captivity. When the young king came to attain the age which qualified him for martial exploits, he determined, at all events, to revenge the injuries which had been done him and his ſubjects during his infancy. With this view he, with a choice body of troops, made a quick march, and ſurprized *Thair* in one of his frontier provinces. The place was indeed inveſted, be-

[r] Lebtarikh. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. B. O. art. Hormouz Ben Narſi.

(E) The *Oriental* writers differ among themſelves as to the foundation of the city of *Hormouz* on the continent, ſome attributing this to *Hormouz* the firſt, the ſon of *Schabour*; but we incline to think it was erected by this prince, becauſe the moſt accurate hiſtorians are of that ſentiment (12) A learned critic ſuggeſts that the planet *Mercury* in the *Perſian* language was called *Hormouz* (13); but we are of another opinion, for we apprehend it to have been an attribute or name of the Supreme Being (14).

(12) *Khozideh. Lebtarikh* (13) *Schikard Tarich. p.* 112. (14) *Hyde relig. vet. Per. c.* xi *p.* 177.

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fore the *Arab* prince had any notice of it; but it was ſo ſtrong, and the gariſon ſo well provided, that, in all probability, *Schabour* muſt have abandoned his enterprize, if *Malekah*, whom ſome call the ſiſter, others affirm to have been the daughter, of *Thair*, had not betrayed the place to *Schabour*, with whom ſhe fell in love, and thereby put the king, the nobility, and the gariſon into the hands of their mortal enemy. *Schabour* took this opportunity of revenging the cruelties committed by the *Arabs* in *Perſia*, by putting *Thair*, and all who were with him, to the ſword, aſſigning this as his reaſon, that if a king would ſo far forget his own dignity as to turn robber, he ought not to expect that his enemies ſhould conſider him in any other light. This prince was ſovereign of *Yemen*, which province *Schabour* immediately over-ran, putting numbers of the inhabitants to the ſword, and cauſing the *ſhoulder-bones* of all who were able to bear arms to be broke; whence he had the ſurname of *Dhoulactaf*, as the general opinion is. The *Arab* writers, however, give us ſomewhat a different account of this matter: they ſay, that, on *Schabour*'s return into *Perſia*, *Malek Ben Naſſer*, one of the anceſtors of *Mohammed*, was deputed by the *Arabians* to intercede with the king, and to beſeech him to treat them with greater lenity, or at leaſt to diſcover the true cauſe of his implacable hatred. *Malek*, in purſuance of this commiſſion, took all the pains he could to ſoften the inflexible temper of the *Perſian* king, who at length told him, that his averſion to the *Arabs* proceeded from his being adviſed by his aſtrologers, that they would one day ſubvert the *Perſian* empire, and inflict the greateſt cruelties upon his people. *Malek Ben Naſſer* took this occaſion of remonſtrating againſt the ſeverity of his proceedings on ſo ſlight a pretence, ſince the predictions of ſuch ſort of people were at leaſt as often falſe as true, and therefore could never be of weight enough to paſs for reaſons of ſtate. On the other hand he remarked, that if there ſhould be any grounds for believing this prophecy, the king's conduct was the moſt impolitic that could be; becauſe his treating the *Arabs* ſo harſhly, could not fail of giving them the moſt inveterate hatred againſt the *Perſians*, which muſt prove fatal to them, whenever they became ſubject to thoſe whom they had thus mal-treated. *Schabour*, having reflected upon this, altered his conduct intirely, and not only put an end to thoſe miſeries which he had inflicted on that unhappy people, but alſo favoured and encouraged them on all occaſions; whence, as the *Arab* writers ſay, he acquired the ſurname of *Dhoulacnaf*, i. e.

on the wings; by which the *Arabs* would ſignify, that he was their protector, becauſe the eagles are ſaid to carry their young ones on their wings [t].

Schabour, as we have already ſeen in our former period, was at continual enmity with the *Romans*; and tho', during the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, he durſt not attempt any thing very conſiderable, yet that did not hinder him from taking all the neceſſary ſteps to act effectually, whenever an opportunity ſhould offer. The *Oriental* writers give us an inſtance of this, of which there is not the leaſt trace to be found in any of the *Greek* hiſtorians, tho' it be more ſingular than any thing they have recorded: *Schabour* was ſo deſirous of being thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of the *Roman* empire, that he went to *Conſtantinople* himſelf, under colour of being an embaſſador from *Perſia*. He had not, however, been long there before he was ſuſpected, and thereupon impriſoned; during which time the *Romans* made ſeveral incurſions into the *Perſian* provinces, and treated the people with great ſeverity. At length *Schabour* having corrupted a lady of the court, ſhe not only procured him his liberty, but fled with him. They were obliged to travel with great circumſpection, and, not without much-ado, and after many dangers paſſed, they arrived at a little hermitage in *Media*; which place hath ever ſince been called *Schahbouran*. It is not very clear, whether the religious *Perſians*, who reſided here, were of the chriſtian, manichean, or magian religion; but, whatever they were, their chief was very loyal, acquainted the king with the preſent ſituation of things, took pains to convey his orders wherever he directed; ſo that, by degrees, *Schabour* aſſembled a very conſiderable body of troops, and with them fell ſo opportunely on the *Roman* forces, that he gave them an entire defeat. The king's ſtay in *Media* gave him an opportunity of obſerving the ſituation of that country, and the improvements of which it was capable. This determined him to build a new city not far from the hermitage, where he had repoſed himſelf after his return from *Conſtantinople*, hoping that, when it became conſiderable, and was thoroughly peopled, it would ſerve as a barrier, and protect the open country from the inſults of neighbouring nations [u].

As ſoon therefore as the circumſtances of the times would permit, *Schabour* laid the foundations of the city of *Cazvin*, which we call *Casbin*. When he firſt began this work, he

[t] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. [u] Khondemir. D'Herbelot. B O. artic. Schabour Ben Hormouz.

found

found himself exceſſively annoyed by the *Delemites*, who began to be jealous of his undertaking. *Schabour*, who was a very wiſe prince, perceiving that it was not at all in his power to carry on the building of his city and a war with theſe people at the ſame time, reſolved to bribe them; which accordingly he did, by conſiderable gifts for the preſent, and promiſes of ſtill greater things hereafter. When *Casbin* was finiſhed, and the *Delemites* began to renew their incurſions, *Schabour*, who was by this time at peace both with the *Romans* and the *Arabs*, turned his whole force upon them, and eaſily ſubdued them, adding thereby the province of *Deilem* to his empire, which had been an antient and independent kingdom till then, and which became ſo again, after the *Arabians* made themſelves maſters of *Perſia*. This monarch alſo beautified and inlarged the antient city of *Scheuſtar* in the province of *Khouhiſtan*, where he likewiſe re-edified another antient city, called *Corkh*, and which he afterwards called by his own name. He was one of the greateſt and moſt fortunate monarchs of this dynaſty, and, during his long reign of ſeventy two years, not only made great conqueſts on all ſides of his dominions, but alſo wonderfully improved his territories, by building cities, and encouraging the trade of his ſubjects [z] (F).

[z] KHONDEMIR. D'HERBELOT. artic. Hormoua Schabour Dhoulactaf.

(F) The learned *Schikard* (15) takes a great deal of pains in rectifying a miſtake in the verſion of *Mirkhond* by *Teixera* (16). The ſurname of the *Perſian* king is there written *Zabel Ketaf*, which, the judicious critic rightly conjectures, ſhould have been *Dhul-Aktaf*; but then he is in a great miſtake himſelf, for he attributes this ſurname to *Schabour* the firſt, to whom it did not belong. He is however perfectly juſt in his cenſure of *Reineccius* (17), who had condemned *Nicephorus*, an antient writer, for calling *Schabour* the firſt *Choſroes*, ſince that was no miſtake, all the kings of this dynaſty preſerving this appellation. The hiſtory of *Schabour*'s being crowned in his mother's belly, is not only to be found in the *Oriental* writers and the *Greek* hiſtorians, but alſo in the writings of the *Rabbins*; and therefore, tho' the fact is an odd one, yet it cannot be called incredible (18). We thought it unneceſſary to load this reign with recapitulations of facts mentioned in the former period, or with ſuch immaterial circumſtances, as might have ſwelled this part of our hiſtory beyond its due bounds.

(15) *Tarich. p.* 110. (16) *Lib.* 1 *c* 26. (17) *De gent. Arſacid.* (18) *Ben Dior. in Kab. ap. Schichard. p.* 110.

Ardſchir II.

Ardſchir ſucceeded *Schabour*, and governed the *Perſian* kingdom for twelve years. One author aſſures us, that he was uncle by the mother's ſide to the laſt king; another, that he was only his couſin; and a third, that he was brother by the mother's ſide to *Schabour Dhoulactaf*. However it was, he aſſumed the government at firſt as tutor only, or protector, to *Schabour* III. tho' afterwards the nobility prevailed upon him to take the title of king. The reader will eaſily perceive, that the *Perſians* were afraid of nothing ſo much as of being governed by a child, which was the true cauſe, that they were deſirous of conferring the regal dignity on him, whoſe birth and abilities made him the moſt proper for diſcharging its eſſential functions. It may be, the miſeries the kingdom had endured, under the minority of the laſt king, might the more ſtrongly incline them to make uſe of this expedient, to prevent their falling under the like misfortunes a ſecond time. It is alſo very remarkable, that the nobility did not ſuffer this *Ardſchir* to transfer the crown to his family, though they gave it him for life; but immediately upon his demiſe called his kinſman the ſon of *Schabour* II. to the ſucceſſion, who was by this time become a man, and capable of taking the reins of government into his own hands.

Schabour III.

Schabour III. the ſon of *Schabour Dhoulactaf*, governed the kingdom of *Perſia* five years and four months in great tranquillity. He was cotemporary with *Theodoſius the Great*, with whom he made a ſtrict alliance, and lived in the greateſt friendſhip during his whole reign. As he was a very pacific prince, and ſought nothing ſo much as to keep his kingdom from feeling the plague of war, that his ſubjects might have leiſure to repair all their former loſſes, we ought not to wonder, that the account we have of his reign is very ſuccinct, and amounts to neither more or leſs than we have recorded [a].

Baharam IV.

Baharam IV. ſucceeded his father *Schabour*, whom he very much reſembled in his diſpoſition. He had in his father's life-time been governor of the province of *Kerman*, and, according to the privilege of the royal family, was ſtyled *Kerman-Shah*. This the *Greek* writers converted into a ſurname, which is the reaſon, that in their hiſtories he is called *Varanes Cermanſaa*. He governed the kingdom eleven years, in which ſpace of time the *Perſians* grew ſo extravagantly rich, that their pride inclined them to frequent revolts; in one of which the king, preſenting himſelf ſuddenly amongſt the rebels, and expoſtulating with them on the folly and madneſs of their

[a] Khondemir, Lebtarikh.

behaviour,

behaviour, was basely shot with an arrow behind his back, and died upon the spot [b].

Jezdegerd succeeded his father *Baharam*, and proved a very bad prince. Equally cruel and avaricious, he distressed his subjects alike in their persons and their properties. This was the more grievous to the *Persians*, because in the life-time of his father he had affected so much modesty, humanity, and condescension, that never any monarch promised more at his accession, or performed less during his administration. Hence he was surnamed *Al Athim*, i. e. *The Wicked*, or, *The Abandoned*. There is some reason to suspect, that his character hath been injured through the malice of the magi, who could never forgive him his strong inclinations to the christians, and his keeping so strict a hand on the clergy of the established religion. This king had the misfortune to see all his children die within a month after they were born. This made him very uneasy; and therefore he consulted not only the *Persian* physicians, but also all the travellers who visited his dominions, as to the wholesomest air they were acquainted with, in order to try, whether, by removing a child as soon as possible thither, he might not conserve the succession in his family. The result of this inquiry was, that the province of *Hirah* was recommended to him, as that where the best air was to be found. This country was a part of *Chaldea*, which, on the falling out of. *Alexander the Great*'s successors among themselves, an *Arab* prince had seized, and having built a city therein, called it *Hirah*, and made it the capital of a little principality, which in process of time became tributary to the *Persians*. The name of the present possessor of this small sovereignty was *Nooman*, for whom *Jezdegerd* sent as soon as his son *Baharam* was born. When he came to court, the king put the child, who was then about a month old, into his hands, acquainted him how unlucky he had been in the rest of his children, and told him, that what he expected from him was, the education of his son, after the manner of the *Arabs*, in all those exercises which usually increase the strength of the body, and render men healthy and robust. *Nooman* on his part promised to take all imaginable care of the child, whom he immediately carried home with him; and *Jezdegerd*, being now at ease in his mind, governed his dominions, according to his own maxims, and little to the satisfaction of the magi, twenty one years. At the end of this space, as he was looking upon a horse extremely beautiful, and which he much valued, Jezdegerd

[b] D'HERBELOT. art. Baharam Ben Schabour.

the

the beaſt ſuddenly ſtruck him with one of its hind feet on the ſtomach, with ſuch force, that he immediately fell down dead, and thereby delivered the diſcontented part of his ſubjects from a maſter, whoſe government they hated, and whom yet they were not able to depoſe. As ſoon as he was dead, thoſe who were ſo much diſaffected to him, took advantage of the abſence of the prince his ſon to transfer the regal dignity to another family. Accordingly, they fixed on *Kerſa*, a nobleman of fair qualities and great fortune; from whom having drawn many advantageous conceſſions in their own favour, they ſaluted him king, and actually put him in poſſeſſion, not only of the royal robes and ornaments, but alſo of the royal treaſure, procured the ſubmiſſion of the forces then on foot, and the conſent of the greateſt part of the provinces of that extended empire [c].

Baharam V.

Baharam V. ſurnamed *Gour*, or rather *Jur*, for a reaſon that will appear in the courſe of our hiſtory, was, as we have ſeen, ſent in his infancy to the court of an *Arab* prince, for the ſake of eſtabliſhing his conſtitution; which end was perfectly anſwered by the care his guardian took of his education. *Nooman Ben Mondir*, to whoſe care he was committed, cauſed two palaces to be built for his reception in the capital city of his dominions. Theſe were built by the greateſt architect of the eaſt, whoſe name was *Sennamar*. Theſe caſtles or palaces were called *Sedir* and *Khaouarnak*, and the *Arab* writers tell us, that amongſt other ſingularities, the ſtones of which they were built were hewn in ſuch a manner, as to change their colour ſeveral times in a day, by their different reflections of light; and that they were ſo contrived, as to lean upon a ſingle ſtone, which, if removed, the whole building would have fallen to the ground. *Nooman* moſt bountifully rewarded *Sennamar* for his care and ſkill; but that unfortunate perſon having indiſcreetly given out, that he could have performed ſtill greater things, if he had expected to have been paid in ſuch a manner, *Nooman* began to doubt his fidelity, and whether he might not be induced by money to divulge the ſecret of the ſupporting ſtones in the palaces he had built; and therefore ordered him to be thrown from the top of one of them to the bottom, whereby the miſerable man loſt his life. In proceſs of time, *Nooman*, the tutor of *Baharam*, became a convert to the chriſtian religion, and, in conſequence thereof, thought fit to retire from the world, and to ſpend the reſt of his days in a hermitage in the deſert, reſigning the crown and care of the

[c] Lebtarieh. Mirkhond fol. xxvii. Khondemir.

young

young *Perſian* prince to his ſon *Hendu*. This prince was no leſs careful of *Baharam* than his father had been; he provided for his health both in body and mind; he took care to have him taught all the exerciſes, and to be inſtructed in all the learning, with which a perſon of his high quality ought to be acquainted. He gave him leſſons himſelf in the art of governing, and at the ſame time that he diſcharged the duty of a governor, ſhewed himſelf on all occaſions his friend in the circumſtances of private life, as he was his conſtant companion in all his diverſions. By this means *Baharam*, who had an excellent genius, grew one of the moſt accompliſhed princes of his age, and had a ſagacity and reſolution almoſt incredible, conſidering his tender years [d].

Enters Perſia at the head of an army.

WHEN the news of his father's death reached *Hirah*, the young prince could not help expreſſing, not only his amazement at the conduct of the *Perſian* nobility, but his reſolution not to part with the crown on ſuch eaſy terms. He therefore addreſſed himſelf to *Hendu*, and beſought him to furniſh him with ſome troops, that he might endeavour by force to recover what was undoubtedly his right. The king of *Hirah*, who owed him his allegiance, as being dependent on the *Perſian* empire, promiſed him all the aſſiſtance in his power. When he was thus imbarqued in the buſineſs, he thought proper to invite all the *Arabian* princes his neighbours to a council, wherein he expoſed the right of *Baharam* to the *Perſian* throne, and the indignity offered them in his excluſion, on account of his being bred up among them. The petty princes, to whom he addreſſed himſelf, eaſily received the impreſſions he ſought to make upon their minds, and, with great alacrity, promiſed to ſupport the pretenſions of his pupil with their utmoſt force. This point gained, *Baharam*, at the head of ten thouſand *Arabian* horſe, entered the *Perſian* territories, and was ſhortly after followed by *Hendu* and the confederate princes with thirty thouſand more. The *Perſian* nobility, obſtinate in their rebellion, drew together a great army, in order to maintain the king they had made choice of upon the throne. Things being in this ſituation, a general and deciſive battle was daily expected, the armies being within half a day's march of each other; but, by the wiſdom of *Hendu*, a negotiation was ſet on foot. Both parties were deſirous of deciding the buſineſs without blood, and yet neither of them would recede in the leaſt from their pretenſions. In this critical juncture, *Baharam* propoſed an

[d] KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND ſect. xxviii.

expedient.

expedient, which was instantly accepted. It was this; that the crown of *Persia* should be placed upon a cushion between two hungry lions, and that the prince who would fetch it should wear it. On the day appointed the experiment was made, and the crown placed between the lions. Then *Baharam*, turning to his competitor, said, Kersa, *Why don't you go and fetch the crown? I need not*, answered he; *I am in possession of it already; you desire it, therefore do you go and take it.* *Baharam* instantly fell upon the lions, killed them both, and took up the crown. Upon which *Kersa* immediately ran towards him, embraced him, and did him homage. His example was followed by all the *Persian* lords; and thus this controversy, which had armed all the east, was determined without bloodshed, and to the satisfaction of all parties, the *Persians* being charmed with the generosity and volour of their new king; and *Hendu* and his *Arabian* confederates were no less pleased with the success of their undertaking, and with the vast presents, and other marks of gratitude, which were given them by *Baharam* at parting [e].

The Turks invade the Persians with a prodigious army.

Baharam, on taking possession of the throne, treated his subjects with such lenity, and excused them from so many duties and taxes, that the oriental historians say, he turned the heads of the whole nation; insomuch, that computing the hours between sun-rising and sun-set, they divided these into equal parts: the first for business, the second for diversion. The king was so far from disliking this, that he sent for twelve thousand musicians from *India*, not only to divert his subjects, but to prevent their becoming fidlers and dancers themselves; and it is said, that those who follow this profession at this day in *Persia* are descended from these *Indians*. *The khacan*, for so the orientals call the sovereign of *Turquestan*, having intelligence of the merry disposition the *Persians* were in, conceived, that a better opportunity would never offer for invading that rich and fertile country. Without therefore any previous declaration of war, he assembled a mighty army, some historians say, of three hundred thousand men, with which he broke into *Persia* like a torrent, spreading fire and sword, destruction and desolation, wherever he came. *Baharam*, as soon as he had intelligence of this, knowing well, that it was impossible for him to raise any forces sufficient to repel them, left his capital, and with a thousand chosen horse fled to the mountains, leaving the

[e] Li Tarikh. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Nooman Ben Mondir.

government

government in the hands of his brother *Narſi*. The *Perſians* inſtantly concluded, that the king had abdicated the government, and endeavoured to make the beſt terms they could with the conquerors; and thereupon ſent deputies to acquaint the khacan with the deſertion of their prince, and to implore his mercy. The khacan did not, however, take things upon truſt; he ſent out parties to obſerve the motions of *Baharam* and his horſe, and theſe on their return having reported that they had followed the *Perſian* king two days march into *Armenia*, their maſter concluded from thence, that he was fled into the *Roman* territories, and that *Perſia* was abſolutely ſubdued [f].

They are defeated and deſtroyed.

Baharam, in the mean time, puſhed with his thouſand horſe through the ſtreights of *Derbent*, and keeping cloſe by the *Caſpian* ſea, came quite round into *Turqueſtan*; and having there refreſhed and remounted his troops, he ſuddenly and ſilently ſtole into *Perſia*; ſurprized the forces of the khacan, who no longer kept any diſcipline, in the dead of the night; advanced in perſon to that monarch's tent, where he found him ſcarce awake, huddling on his cloaths, ſo that he ſtruck off his head without any reſiſtance; and the *Perſians* riſing every-where upon the flying army, ſcarce a man of this huge multitude returned again into *Turqueſtan*. This wonderfully raiſed the reputation of *Baharam*; his ſubjects began to look upon him as a perſon inſpired, and he on the other hand, being better ſatisfied with his brother's adminiſtration than his own, reſolved to travel for a time, and leave to him the reſettling of the affairs of *Perſia*. This unaccountable vivacity in otherwiſe ſo great a prince cannot be accounted for any other way, than by conſidering where he received his education. This roving diſpoſition is the very character of an *Arab* chief, and indeed all the accounts we have of this monarch ſhew, that his manners were exactly thoſe of that nation. As for inſtance, the word *Jur* ſignifies *a wild aſs*, and this prince was called *Baharam Jur*, becauſe he ſpent the greateſt part of his time in hunting that creature, a diverſion he had learned among the *Arabs*. But to return to the current of our hiſtory, leaving the government of *Perſia* in the hands of his brother, he appeared in the habit of a private perſon at the court of an *Indian* prince; where he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, ſo far as to merit the notice of the king, whoſe favourable inclinations towards him he greatly improved, by killing a monſtrous wild elephant, which had done a pro-

[f] KHONDEMIR, D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. Baharam.

digious deal of mischief. At length the king sent him at the head of an army to oppose a very potent neighbour of his, who notwithstanding he had offered him tribute, invaded and plundered his country. This prince *Babaram* was so fortunate as to defeat, and he made so prudent a use of his victory that he put it out of the enemy's power to think of renewing the war for a considerable number of years at least. On his return to court, the *Indian* king thought himself obliged to promote him to the office of *prime vizier*, and to give him his daughter to wife; which he accordingly did, with an immense fortune [g].

He returns into his own dominions from India.

But as the graces of kings usually produce envy in the minds of their subjects, against those on whom they are conferred, so here the promotion of *Babaram* drew upon him the hatred of the *Indians*, though he had rescued them from oppression, and by his wise administration procured them as great felicity as a people could enjoy. When therefore he perceived this, he resolved to bear no longer with their ingratitude, especially when he found their whispers had pierced the king's ear, and inclined him to alter his conduct towards him, though on his side not the least occasion had been given. This resolution once taken, *Babaram* soon after discovered himself to the king, who was exceedingly alarmed, when he knew that the person, to whom he was so much indebted, was the king of *Persia*, his potent neighbour, and one whose ancestors had deprived him of a part of his dominions. The *Persian* monarch, to rid him of all apprehensions, acquainted him with his resolution of returning forthwith into his own territories; and that, as well out of tender affection for his wife, as in return for the many favours he had received, he was content to yield up the places in dispute. The *Indian* king received this declaration with the utmost joy, and *Babaram*, conceiving that no time was to be lost, quitted his court immediately, and returned with his wife and family, with all the immense riches he had acquired, into *Persia*. His subjects received him with all the demonstrations of loyalty and cordial affection; and the king on his part promised to apply himself more assiduously to public affairs than the vivacity of his disposition had hitherto allowed him to do [h].

Turns his arms on the Greeks *and* Arabians.

The first step of importance he took after his return was, to send his brother *Narsi* with a great body of troops into *Rumestan*, so the *Persians* call the dominions of the *Greek* emperor;

[g] Lebtarikh. Mirkhond sect. xxix. [h] Khondemir. Lebtarikh.

emperor; and being informed that his forces met with no great oppoſition on that ſide, he ventured to make an expedition in perſon into *Arabia*, where he reduced the kingdom of *Yemen* with all its dependencies. After this he returned into *Perſia*, and reigned the reſt of his life in peace, beloved by his ſubjects, and revered by his neighbours. Authors differ very much concerning the manner of his death. Some, and indeed the moſt conſiderable, ſay, that, being exceedingly addicted to hunting and paſſing full ſpeed through a wood, his horſe fell with him into a deep pit, where he was ſtifled before any body came to his aſſiſtance [i]. Others affirm, that being engaged in a war with a neighbouring prince, and having defeated his army in battle; *Baharam* in the purſuit was ſo unlucky as to plunge his horſe into a moraſs; whence being unable to extricate himſelf, he was either ſuffocated, or periſhed with hunger. The reaſon this point remains ſo full of doubt and uncertainty, is this; the body of *Baharam* was never found, and conſequently all accounts of his death muſt be conjectural only [k]. It is, however, generally agreed, that this accident arrived in the twenty third year of his reign, and that, notwithſtanding the many irregularities in his conduct, he left behind him the character of being one of the braveſt and moſt generous, as he was evidently one of the moſt fortunate, princes that ever ſwayed the *Perſian* ſceptre [l].

Jezdegerd II. ſucceeded his father *Baharam Gour*. As he had been chiefly educated by his uncle *Narſi*, he became a prince of great knowledge and experience, though but a young man, when he aſcended the throne. He followed his father's example, in placing his uncle at the head of all his councils, yet without neglecting buſineſs himſelf, or deſerting any branch of it, to give himſelf up to another more agreeable to his temper. He was peculiarly ſtrict in doing juſtice, eſpecially between the great and ſuch as depended upon them. He reſtored all the excellent conſtitutions of his anceſtors, which in proceſs of time were ſunk into diſſuetude; where he found theſe inſufficient, he framed new laws, by the advice of his council. The care of ſeeing theſe executed he took wholly upon himſelf. The army on the other hand he rendered more affectionate to himſelf, than they had ever been to any of his predeceſſors; for he cauſed it to be excellently paid, and though he took care to preſerve diſcipline amongſt his ſoldiers, yet he cauſed their duty to be ſo tho- Jezdegerd II.

[i] LEBTARIKH. [k] MIRKHOND. ubi ſupra. [l] LEBTARIKH. KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND. ubi ſupra.

roughly explained to them, and when he was obliged to puniſh, did it ſo gently, and with ſuch viſible reluctancy, that he acquired the ſurname of *Sipahdoſt*, or *the lover of his ſoldiers*. There is, however, but one expedition of his mentioned, and that is againſt the *Greeks*, who, in his opinion, had broken the terms of their alliance with the *Perſians*. In order to convince them of the folly of this proceeding, *Jezdegerd* marched with a very numerous army into the *Roman* territories. Far from ſuffering his troops to live as in an enemy's country, he obliged his ſoldiers to pay for every thing they had, to treat the inhabitants with the greateſt civility, and to behave rather like ſtrangers, who came to ſee the country, than like enemies, diſpoſed to deſtroy it. The *Greek* emperor, fearing the conſequences, in caſe his ſubjects ſhould come to change their opinion as to the *Perſian* government, ſent to acquaint *Jezdegerd*, that he was ready to accept the terms he had formerly refuſed, and that he would pay the arrears of the tribute which he demanded; upon which the *Perſian* retired with his forces into his own country, without committing the leaſt diſorder, which gained him more reputation, than all their conqueſts had done his predeceſſors [m].

Makes choice of his younger ſon for his ſucceſſor.

This great prince had two ſons, the eldeſt called *Ferouz*, and the younger *Hormouz*. The latter was the favourite of his father, who took all imaginable care of his education, and alſo very aſſiduouſly promoted his intereſt with the nobility, that upon his own demiſe he might ſucceed him in the throne. This naturally induced great diſturbances in the kingdom, the elder brother taking all poſſible meaſures for defeating the project of his father in favour of his brother. To cool theſe heats, as alſo to pave the way to his own deſigns, the king thought fit to make his eldeſt ſon governor of *Nimrouz*, an antient province of the *Perſian* empire, comprehending the greateſt part of thoſe countries which are now called *Sigiſtan* and *Makran*, obliging him alſo to go and reſide in his government. This had a fair appearance, but was ſo far from anſwering the purpoſe of *Jezdegerd*, that it proved the means of defeating all the other precautions he had taken. This, however, did not happen in his life-time; for the good king, after a reign of eighteen years, died ſuddenly, to the great grief, as well as to the inexpreſſible loſs, of his ſubjects, who ſaw themſelves plunged upon his death into a miſerable ſituation, out of which they were not extricated, till they

[m] Lebtarikh. Khondemir. D'Herbelot, biblioth. orient. art. Jezdegerd.

had

had felt almost all the various calamities by which providence chastises offending nations [n].

Hormouz III. being upon the spot, having a great interest through his father's solicitations, and being himself a person of so great merit, as to have deserved the name of *Firzaneh*, i. e. *The sage*, seated himself upon the throne, and was acknowledged by almost all the nobility. As he reigned but a very short time, most of the *Persian* historians are silent as to his character. One of them, however, assures us, that his conduct, after his accession, was very unlike his behaviour during the life-time of his father; for that he no sooner found himself possessed of the sovereign authority, but he began to tyrannize over his subjects, and to treat the nobility with equal contempt and severity, though his title to the crown depended in a great measure upon their choice. However it was, he did not long enjoy that dignity, which it had cost him so much pains to acquire. His brother *Ferouz* no sooner heard of his accession, than he determined in himself not to lose tamely what he looked upon to be indubitably his right. It so happened, that the province of which he was governor lay on the frontiers of the country of the *Haiathelites*, who in the works of the *Greek* historians are called *Nephtalites*, and by the translator of *Mirkhond Euthalites*. To the king of this nation, whose name was *Khaschnaouar*, he applied himself, offering him a part at least, if not the whole, of his province, if he would assist him in taking the crown from his brother's head to set it upon his own. This proposition was readily accepted, and *Ferouz* furnished by him with a body of thirty thousand horse. With these auxiliaries he entered *Persia*, and was quickly joined by such as had a good opinion of his title, and such as had not been well received at his brother's court. *Hormouz* was no sooner acquainted with this step taken by his brother, than he immediately marched towards him with all his father's forces. But it so fell out, that part of the *Persian* army being disaffected, and the other part afraid of the *Barbarians Ferouz* had brought along with him, made but a poor resistance; so that, without much difficulty, the situation of things was intirely changed and *Hormouz* was not only thrust from the throne, but also put into chains and committed to prison, when he had reigned but one year [o].

Hormouz III.

[n] KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND, sect xxix. [o] KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND. sect. xxx. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. HORMOUZ.

Ferouz,

Ferouz. *Ferouz*, being now exalted to the regal dignity, could not think himself safe, while his brother lived, tho' in a prison; and therefore the first act of his reign was, the cutting off the head of *Hormouz*, together with the heads of three of his chief counsellors. As to his conduct afterwards, it was pretty much of a piece with this extraordinary severity, which darkened the very dawn of it: neither was it long before the *Persians* began to perceive, that heaven visibly punished them, as well for their own offences, as for the great wickedness of their prince. The rod by which they were chastised was, a most severe drought, all the brooks and small rivers being every-where dried up, the earth parched, and its fruits withered. It lasted six years, and in that space destroyed such multitudes, and brought the remainder into so miserable a situation, that we are told the king and the nobility consented to do open penance to avert the wrath of the Almighty. This they performed, and in the seventh year all the seasons were wonderfully kind and pleasant; the earth being thoroughly moistened, bore the next year as it was wont, and the scourge being removed, *Ferouz* and his people returned to their old manner of living; that is to say, the king ruled according to his will, and his subjects, as soon as they had the utensils of luxury, plunged themselves into all sorts of excesses. The obligations conferred upon the *Persian* monarch by the king of the *Haiathelites* were so great, that one may easily judge of the disposition of *Ferouz*, by his behaviour towards his benefactor. The people were no sooner recovered from that misery and consternation, which had been spread amongst them by the late famine and drought; but presently *Ferouz* was for turning his arms against him who had set him on the throne. It is true, that some *Persian* authors alledge, that the subjects of this prince entered the frontiers of *Persia*, and plundered them in a hostile manner; but there is little reason to believe this, because the same writers confess, that the *Persians* were out of comparison more powerful, and that the misfortunes they afterwards met with could not possibly have befallen them, but by their own temerity and ill conduct [P].

Invades the country of the Haiathelites. *Ferouz* was not long in executing his project; he drew together as numerous an army as the circumstances of the *Persian* affairs would allow, and as soon as he had drawn them together, he marched northwards in order to invade the country of the *Haiathelites*. The king of that people was under the greatest amazement, when he heard of the preparations

[P] Lebtarikh. Mirkhond, sect. xxxi. Khondemir.

Ferouz

Ferouz had made. An officer in his troops, as ſome hiſtorians ſay, but, as others affirm, his grand vizier took upon him to revive his courage, by promiſing him a victory without fighting, if he would liſten to his advice. This man had, as ſome ſay, a hand wanting by an accident prior to this event; but others aſſure us, that when his maſter had promiſed to be intirely guided by his counſels, he cut off his noſe, his ears, a hand, and foot. In this mangled condition, he cauſed himſelf to be laid in a wood, through the ſkirts of which he knew that the *Perſian* army muſt paſs. When the van-guard of *Ferouz*'s army reached him, they took him up, and carried him to their king, who, ſtruck with the miſerable condition of the man, received him kindly, aſked him, Who he was, and by whom he had been ſo cruelly mangled? The artful *Haiathelite* readily anſwered, that he had been thus treated by his king, for having exhorted him to give any kind of ſatisfaction to the king of *Perſia*, rather than engage in a war, the more, becauſe he was ſo exceſſively hated by his own ſubjects. *Ferouz* rejoiced at this account, enquired narrowly into the ſtrength of the enemy, and where the king of the *Haiathelites* was encamped? The wounded man anſwered, that the king had with him the flower of all his people, and that they lay in ambuſcade behind certain mountains, which were but a few days march from thence, if the king took his road through the woods; but if he continued in that wherein he now was, he would be obliged to paſs on the other ſide of thoſe mountains, and thereby give the *Haiathelites* an opportunity of falling upon his rear. *Ferouz*, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the fidelity of his wounded guide, liſtened readily to the advice he gave him; and without more ado turned out of the ordinary road, and ſuffered himſelf to be led, ſometimes through thick woods, at others through wide deſerts, till at length his army was on the very point of being famiſhed for want of neceſſary proviſions. Then the *Haithelites* appeared on all ſides, and in ſuch vaſt numbers, that *Ferouz* ſeeing it alike impoſſible to defend himſelf, or to eſcape, ſurrendered with the ſmall remains of his army, throwing himſelf intirely on the mercy of his injured benefactors. The king of the *Haiathelites*, ſuppoſing that this diſaſtrous expedition would prove a ſufficient warning to *Ferouz*, offered to ſend him, and thoſe that were with him, ſafely back into their own country, provided they took an oath never to invade his dominions any more. This they readily conſented to do, and,

as

as ſoon as they had done it, were permitted to return without the leaſt injury done them [q].

Invades the Haiathelites *a ſecond time.*

The firſt thing *Ferouz* projected after his return into his own kingdom was, the attacking the *Haiathelites* a ſecond time, in breach of the ſolemn oath which he had ſo lately made. The chief reaſon which induced him to apprehend that he ſhould be more ſucceſsful in this expedition than his firſt, was the obſervation he had made of the number of forces about the king of that people, when he had aſſembled the whole force of his nation. The *Perſian* army appeared to *Ferouz* capable of beating twice the number of *Haiathelites* he had ſeen, if they had not been circumvented by the policy of the wounded vizier. This fault therefore he determined to repair by marching directly into the heart of the country, without turning either this way or that. Accordingly, as ſoon as the neceſſary levies could be made, he appointed *Saouk*, a prince deſcended from the antient kings of *Perſia*, regent in his abſence; and with a prodigious army marched once more againſt the people, by whoſe aſſiſtance he was ſeated on the throne. There is no need of repeating here the ſame ſtory, which hath been already inſerted, in the hiſtory of this prince's life under the name of *Perozes*, in the former period. Let it ſuffice that he and his army were by a new ſtratagem buried altogether in a pit, and the *Haiathelites* delivered from all apprehenſions of ſuffering any more by the incorrigible diſpoſition of *Ferouz*. The oriental hiſtorians differ, however, widely from the text, in the accounts they give us of the conſequences of this war; for they affirm, that *Saouk* the lieutenant of *Ferouz*, as ſoon as he received the news of his maſter's defeat, marched with a conſiderable body of horſe he had drawn together from an apprehenſion of this diſaſter, and incamping with them on the borders of the *Haiathelites*, prevented their invading *Perſia*, and even obtained from their king, who was a prince of great wiſdom and juſtice, a peace upon honourable terms, on a ſuggeſtion that the *Perſians* were by no means well affected to the meaſures of *Ferouz*, but were conſtrained to follow that unhappy prince, becauſe he was their ſovereign. The king of the *Haiathelites*, on this conſideration, not only made peace, but ſent back all the *Perſians* he had taken priſoners without ranſom, as thinking the death of *Ferouz* a ſufficient ſatisfaction for the injuries he had done him. According to the beſt of the

[q] Khondemir, Lebtarikh, Mirkhond. ſect. xxxi. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Firouz.

eaſtern

eastern historians, *Ferouz* reigned thirty, though some say, not above twenty seven years [r].

Balasch II.

Balasch succeeded his father *Ferouz* or *Firouz*, and was not his brother, as the *Greeks* give out. His accession to the throne was very grateful to his subjects, but his younger brother *Cobad* was so dissatisfied therewith, that he instantly retired from court, and fled to *Turquestan* with the son of *Saouk*, who was his friend and counsellor. It does not appear, that *Balasch* either ordered his brother to be pursued, or attempted by any means to take away his life; but, on the contrary, left him at full liberty to live abroad at his ease, since he would not live at home. This, however, had no effect upon *Cobad*; his heart was full of ambition, and his head as full of sinister contrivances. His friend had prevailed upon him to marry his daughter, who is represented by the *Persian* historian, from whom we have these particulars, as a woman of exquisite beauty, and of as exquisite parts. By her *Cobad* had a son, whom he left with his mother, that he might return again to the court of the *Khacan*, in order to solicit his assistance against his brother. Having prevailed in his suit, and orders being issued for raising an army, at the head of which he was to make an irruption into *Persia*, *Cobad* thought fit to make a visit to his father-in-law's family, in order to have his sentiments of this expedition; and while he was there seeking to draw the best intelligence he could from his friends in *Persia*, he first received advice, that his brother was so extremely beloved by his subjects, that any attempt to dethrone him would be vain; and while he was afflicting himself with the thoughts of being defeated in all his schemes, he received another courier, who brought him advice, that *Balasch* died suddenly a few days before, and that there required no army to set him on the throne, his subjects being very ready to receive him. Upon this he set out with his father-in-law, his wife, and young son, *Nouschirvan*, to receive that crown by succession, which he sought to have seized by force, or to have acquired by his intrigues. Authors are not agreed how long *Balasch* reigned, some giving him fourteen years, and others little more than four [s].

[r] KHONDEMIR, MIRKHOND, sect. xxxi. D'HERBELOT, biblioth. orient. artic. FEROUZ.

[s] MIRKHOND, sect. xxxii. LEBTARIKH.

Cobad. *Cobad* aſcended the throne with all the advantages poſſible: He was in his perſon one of the handſomeſt men in *Perſia*, very adroit in his exerciſes, of a very generous diſpoſition, and of quick parts; but as to his morals they were exceedingly depraved, and he had in his exile ſucked in ſuch falſe notions of politics, as ſerved only to make himſelf uneaſy, and to put him upon oppreſſing his ſubjects. The firſt wrong ſtep he took was, the putting to death *Saouk*, his wife's grandfather, becauſe that under his father and brother he had had the chief direction of all things, which *Cobad* ſuppoſed he would expect during his reign, a thing he did not care to grant, and which, conſidering *Saouk*'s great power, he thought it might not be ſafe to refuſe. He therefore made uſe of one *Schabour*, a ſoldier of fortune, who offered him his ſervice on his acceſſion to the throne, and to whom he gave orders to take off *Saouk*, in ſuch a manner, as might leaſt reflect upon his government. Having this commiſſion, *Schabour* went to pay his reſpects to *Saouk*, and having drawn him into a converſation, quarrelled with him, and cut his throat. In the tenth year of the reign of *Cobad* a certain impoſtor appeared, whoſe name was *Mazdek* [t]. He followed the ſteps of *Mani* pretty cloſely; for he ſet himſelf up for a prophet in the deſert, and having drawn together a multitude of people by his ſpecious pretences, firmly perſuaded them of his having revelations from heaven. The drift of theſe revelations was to the old purpoſe, *viz.* the eſtabliſhing of a more pure and holy religion, than had been hitherto made known to mankind. But as auſterity and ſelf-denial were never very popular doctrines, he invented ſome new notions of purity; and in order to take away the luſt of wealth and of women, he propoſed rendering them both common. This ſuited well with the diſpoſition of *Cobad*, who, as we obſerved before, was a very diſſolute prince; and therefore he countenanced this impoſtor, brought him to court, treated him with reſpect, and, under pretence of promoting purity in religion, fell to plundering his nobility, and debauching their wives and daughters. This is that decree for rendering women common, which the *Greek* writers ſpeak of, and which they make the pure effect of the corruption of the king's heart, and repreſent as an action which loſt him the hearts of all his people. But this is ſo far from being true, that the bulk of the people were more attached to this prince than any of his predeceſſors. The poor hoped to have a ſhare in the trea-

[t] Sharistani de religion. orient. Megjdi in vita Kobad. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. artic. Mazdek.

ſures

ſures taken from the rich, and the youth were ſo tranſported with the thoughts of having all the women they pleaſed, that the nobility found it a very difficult matter to do what they did. *Cobad* had a ſiſter, who was wonderfully beautiful, and of whoſe adventures the oriental romance-writers have written very largely. This ſiſter *Mazdek* gave him a diſpenſation to marry, which is the cleareſt proof in the world, that the *Greek* writers are altogether in the wrong, in ſuggeſting that ſuch marriages were conformable to the magian religion; had it been ſo, *Cobad* needed not have turned heretic to have obtained ſuch a diſpenſation, nor would his making uſe of it have alarmed the nobility as it did. It was this that put the finiſhing ſtroke to his ruin; for the *Perſian* lords looked upon it now as a thing certain, that he would ſtick at nothing. Coming therefore in great numbers to court, with ſuch of their dependents as they could truſt, they ſeized the perſon of the king, committed him to priſon, and appointed one *Giamaſp*, a perſon of great wiſdom and integrity, regent of the kingdom [u]. As to the impoſtor *Mazdek*, they would likewiſe have ſecured his perſon, if they could; but he was too circumſpect to put it in their power. His diſciples were very numerous, and he failed not to keep a ſufficient number of them about him to repel any attempt of this ſort; and he likewiſe took care not to truſt himſelf in cities or fortreſſes, where the nobility might ſhut him up as in a cage [x].

Cobad *recovers the kingdom.*

THE account the oriental writers give us of the manner in which *Cobad* eſcaped from his priſon, differs ſo little from that given by the *Greeks*, already inſerted at large in the life of *Cavades*, that, to avoid prolixity, we ſhall repeat nothing of it here. The eaſtern writers aſſure us, that it was ſome time before the king of the *Haiathelites* could be prevailed on to raiſe forces, in order to re-eſtabliſh *Cobad* on his throne. At length he ſent thirty thouſand horſe into the frontiers of *Perſia*, to try the diſpoſition of the people; and it appearing that they were well affected to *Cobad*'s intereſt, that prince followed in perſon, and was ſhortly after peaceably reſtored, *Giamaſp* readily reſigning all title to the imperial throne, which procured him a very favourable reception from *Cobad*, who treated him with much reſpect as long as he lived. After his reſtoration, it is ſaid, he altogether reformed his conduct, and became in every reſpect an excellent prince, equally careful of extending his

[u] MIRKHOND. ſect. xxxiii KHONDEMIR. SHARISTANI de religion. orient. [x] KHONDEMIR. SHARISTANI de religion. orientat. MIRKHOND. ſect. xxxiii. MEGJDI in vita Kobad. LEB TARIKH.

empire by arms, and of improving it by the encouragement of arts. It appears not, however, that he quitted the ſect of *Mazdek*, though he durſt never attempt to carry his notions into practice after his return; and in all probability he was the leſs inclined to attempt any thing of this ſort, on account of the trouble he had with one of his own ſons, who embraced the opinions of *Mani*, and in whoſe favour all the *Perſians*, infected with that hereſy, diſcovered an inclination to revolt, in order to have placed him on the throne before the death of his father, had they not been prevented by the diligence of *Cobad*, who was of a moſt active diſpoſition, and preſerved his activity even in old age. Authors are not very well agreed as to the length of his reign; ſome giving him more years, ſome leſs. The beſt hiſtorians, however, agree, that he reigned forty three years with great variety of fortune, and that he died beloved by his ſubjects, and revered by his neighbours, after having reſtored peace and order throughout *Perſia*, repaired ſuch cities as were falling to decay, and erected many new ones to ſerve as monuments of glory to his poſterity [t] *(G)*.

To

[t] Mirkhond. ubi ſupra. Khondemir. Sharistani de religion. orient.

(G) There are ſome varieties in the relations we have of the reign of *Khobad*, which deſerve to be remarked. *Khobad*, according to *Mirkhond*, married *Zarmeher*, the grand-daughter of *Saouk*, who had governed the kingdom after the miſerable defeat of his father; but of this we find no diſtinct account in any other hiſtorian. What is ſtranger ſtill, *Mirkhond* makes this lady the mother of *Nouſchirzan*. As to his ſiſter, whoſe beauty and accompliſhments tempted him to accept of the impoſtor *Mazdek*'s diſpenſation, *Mirkhond* aſſures us, that ſhe was taken priſoner at the time her father *Feroux* was killed, a circumſtance we did not inſert in the text, becauſe it ſeems to be altogether improbable. The march which *Feroux* made into the enemy's country was in itſelf attended with great difficulties, and who can imagine, that he would expoſe a young lady, the only daughter he had, in ſuch a manner? All the oriental hiſtorians agree, that during his reign there were prodigious numbers of *Jews* ſettled in his dominions, eſpecially in *Chaldæa*, where ſometimes he treated them with great lenity, and at others he loaded them with heavy taxes. It does not appear, that he ever had any good opinion of the *Manichees*, though they had been in favour with his father, and though the impoſtor *Mazdek* had concurred with them in ſome of their notions. The truth ſeems to be, that he was far from being nice in religion himſelf,

and

To *Cobad* succeeded his son *Khosrou* or *Chosroes*, so famous throughout all the east, under the surname of *Nouschirvan*, i. e. *the magnanimous*. This word, literally taken, signifies *a soul candied in honey*, and metaphorically, *a mind equally distinguished by sweetness of temper and great abilities*. He was by very far the greatest prince of this dynasty, and, in the opinion of most of the oriental historians, the most glorious monarch that ever reigned in *Persia*; happy in his genius, more so in his education, excelling in all royal virtues, deficient in none requisite to distinguish a man in private life. The dawn of his government promised much felicity to his people, and he reigned long enough to make good to them much more than that promised. The first act of sovereignty with which he distinguished himself was full of severity, though he was naturally the mildest prince in the world. He found means to cause the impostor *Mazdek* to be seized, and to be brought prisoner into his presence. On this occasion *Nouschirvan* made a long oration, in which he explained the many and great mischiefs brought on mighty kingdoms by such deluders, declared his settled resolution to extirpate all this new sect, and as an earnest thereof, he ordered *Mazdek* to be immediately put to death. That deceiver, desirous of keeping up some reputation, addressed himself to *Nouschirvan* in these words, as the officers were about to take him out of that prince's presence: *Providence, O king! appointed thee to rule over us, that thou mightest protect and not destroy. True, thou son of corruption*, answered Nouschirvan, ; *but dost thou not remember, that thou didst once impudently demand of* Cobad *my father permission to lie with my mother, and that thy followers have pillaged all the rest of my subjects? I do not therefore seek to destroy thee and thine, but to preserve myself and the people committed by providence to my care.* After the execution of *Mazdek*, *Nouschirvan* did not proceed to any farther severities. The death of their chief struck such a damp to the hearts of his followers, that they willingly laid hold of the alternative offered them by the king's edict, *viz.* either to restore what they had wrongfully taken from others, or to suffer capital punishment as thieves. Thus the peace and properties of the people of *Persia* were secured against the attempts of these

Nouschirvan.

and only pretended a high zeal for the sect of *Mazdek*, because it gave him an opportunity of filling his coffers, and gratifying his passion for his sister (19).

(19) *Mirkhond. sect.* xxxiii. *Lebtarikh. Shariftani de religion. orient.*

debauched

debauched enthusiasts, without any extraordinary effusion of blood [u].

Instances of his generosity and wisdom.

Nouschirvan also removed at the very beginning of his reign such officers of his court as, by their conduct in his father's life-time, had rendered themselves disagreeable to his people. Among these there was one particular person whom he forbad ever to come into his presence, and who, by this sudden and total disgrace, fell into extreme poverty. On the birth-day, however, of the king, when all the *Persian* nobility came to make presents, and to pay their duty to their sovereign, this officer appeared among the rest, and, after having dined at the royal table, put one of the golden plates into his bosom, unperceived by any but *Nouschirvan*. When the plate was missed, and the servants began to make some stir, the king bade them be at quiet: *For*, said he, *the man who took it will not bring it again, and he who saw him take it will not discover him.* On the next birth-day the officer came to court again, clad in a new robe, upon which the king calling him, whispered in his ear, *Did my plate go to buy that fine robe?* The man readily answered, *Yes*, and then drawing it aside, shewed him a pair of ragged breeches: *But you see, Sir*, said he, *that it would go no further.* *Nouschirvan* was so charmed with the frankness of the man, that he restored him to his place as well as favour, and the *Persians* were so delighted with the generosity and good-humour of their prince, that in all their histories this story is preserved, as a monument of his beneficence and clemency. For the better dispatching of justice, and the more easy management of all public affairs, the king, in the second year of his reign, divided all the *Persian* dominions into four vizierships: the first consisted of the frontier provinces towards *Tartary* and *India*: the second included *Parthia*, *Armenia*, and the provinces bordering on the *Caspian* sea: the third comprehended *Persia Proper*, and all the provinces between it and the gulph: the fourth was composed of *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldea*, the countries taken from the *Arabs*, and those conquered from the *Greek* emperors. Over each of these he appointed a governor of the royal blood, who, in all ordinary cases, judged without appeal: But in all extraordinary cases, and where judgments were capital, they could not proceed till they had instructions from court [x].

[u] Megjdi in vita Nouschirvan. Mirkhond, sect. xxxiv. Khondemir. Sharistani de religion. orient. [x] Khondemir. Mirkhond. ubi supra Megjdi in vita Nouschirvan. Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art Nouschirvan.

Early

EARLY also in his reign he made an expedition into *Rumestan*, or the territories of the *Greek* emperor; of which we have given a long account in the foregoing period. In this war, however, he did not so much endeavour to augment the bulk of his territories, as to increase the number of his subjects. It was with this view that he transported all the inhabitants of the great city of *Antioch* into the province of *Irak*, where he gave them the city of *Mahouza* for their habitation, the name of which, to oblige them, he changed for that of *Antioch*. This city lay at no great distance from *Babylon*; but the new name conferred upon it by *Chosroes* did not remain with it long; for after his decease the old one of *Mahouza* came again into use, and it is so called even at this day. After this he resolved to restore the *Persian* frontier on the other side of his empire, on which the *Haiathelites* had trespassed exceedingly, supposing they could never be too well rewarded for the assistance they had given to his father *Cobad*. At first *Nouschirvan* endeavoured to proceed by way of negotiation, representing to these people, that the widespread countries of *Thebet*, *Candahar*, and *Brantolah*, suited better their way of life, than the provinces they had usurped from *Persia*; but the *Haiathelites* having treated these representations with contempt, *Nouschirvan* was constrained to have recourse to force; whereby he answered his purpose better, and obliged this barbarous people to repass the mountains; by which means his subjects were delivered from those apprehensions, with which the neighbourhood of this mighty nation had tormented them for upwards of fifty years. This manner of proceeding alarmed all the neighbouring princes, and more especially the *Khacan*, who immediately raised a great army, and, while *Nouschirvan* was on the borders of *India* with his troops, broke like an inundation through the *Persian* provinces into the very heart of the kingdom. *Nouschirvan*, as soon as he was acquainted with what had happened, resolved to send his son *Hormouz* against this formidable invader, being afraid to leave his frontiers towards *India* uncovered, lest some advantages should be taken by his enemies on that side [y].

And of his martial dispositon.

Hormouz discharged his duty to his father and to the *Persian* nation, not only with great fidelity, but with great capacity also. Though but a young man, he had been a soldier from his childhood, and therefore wanted not experience, as he naturally abounded with courage. The troops he had a-

His son Hormouz defeats the Khacan.

[y] KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND, sect. xxxiv. MEGJDI in vita Nousshirravan.

bout

bout him were daily augmented by the country people, who looked upon the army as the ſureſt aſylum, and prudently choſe to hazard their lives in the ſervice of their country, rather than to fly and hide themſelves from the enemy with equal hazard. *Hormouz* judged perfectly well of the ſtrength of his own forces, and did not, becauſe they were numerous, pretend to give the enemy battle, which, if he had loſt, muſt have loſt *Perſia*; but by haraſſing the unwieldly army of the *Khacan* by continual ſkirmiſhes, by withdrawing all ſorts of proviſion out of the open country, by gariſoning ſtrong cities, and by abandoning weak ones, he obliged that monarch to think of retiring, as, by burning all the country behind him, he had rendered his retreat almoſt impracticable. The *Khacan*, ignorant of this, began to march back, and was amazed when he found a deſert before him, and the *Perſian* forces behind, and on every ſide. In this miſerable ſituation himſelf, with the principal nobility, and a great corps of the beſt horſe, deſerted the reſt, and precipitately eſcaped into their own country, leaving to the young prince of *Perſia* the glory of having defeated him, and of having defeated him by his conduct. *Nouſchirvan*, on the other hand, having compleated his deſigns in reſpect to his *Indian* frontiers, made an offenſive war on the *Khacan*, and puſhed his conqueſts ſo far, that he obliged him to accept peace on the terms he thought fit to give him; after which *Nouſchirvan* married his daughter. This remarkable event happened in the twelfth year of his reign, and as it delivered him from any apprehenſions of danger from foreign enemies, ſo he laid hold of this opportunity to ſettle the boundaries of his vaſt dominions, and then to return to *Madain* his capital city; where he gave audience to the embaſſadors of the greateſt potentates of the world, who came to compliment him on his victories, and to penetrate, if poſſible, any new deſigns he might have formed [z].

The bounds of the Perſian *empire.*

It may not be amiſs to take notice here of the boundaries which *Nouſchirvan* gave to his empire, becauſe the reader will from thence perceive, with how great juſtice the *Perſian* writers acknowledge this prince for the greateſt monarch that ever ruled in their country. The city and country of *Farganah*, which lies along the river *Sihon* or *Iaxartes*, was the limit of *Perſia* on that ſide; the river *Indus* ſeparated his territories from thoſe of the independent *Indian* princes. *Arabia*, to the frontiers of *Egypt*, acknowledged him for its ſovereign, and in *Syria* he had puſhed his conqueſts as far as

[z] Mirkhond, ubi ſupra. Lebtarikh. Khondemir.

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the ſea would permit. While *Nouſchirvan* enjoyed in peace an empire of ſuch an extent, he formed two projects highly commended by the eaſtern writers, and which, it may be, would not have gained him ſo much honour, had he reigned in another part of the world. The firſt was the bringing out of *India* a certain book, intitled *Homaioun Nameh*, i. e. *The Royal Manuel*, the work of the famous *Pilpai*, containing a multitude of parables relating to the art of government. This, by the care of his chief miniſter *Buzurge Mihir*, he procured, and cauſed it to be tranſlated into the *Perſian* language for his own uſe. His other project was of the ſame ſort, but undertaken for the ſake of his people. It was the publication of his predeceſſor *Ardſchir*'s inſtructions for all degrees of men. Of this he cauſed a multitude of copies to be made, and obliged every family in *Perſia* to receive one [a].

Nouſchirvan was ſpent without meeting with any troubles: For what prince, what private man, ever ſpent his life ſo? The ſource of his uneaſineſs was his own family, and the enemy who gave him moſt trouble was his own ſon. In one of his expeditions into *Rumeſtan*, or the dominions of the emperor of *Greece*, he had taken a female captive, by whoſe beauty he was ſubdued himſelf. This woman was a chriſtian, and very devout. *Nouſchirvan* eſpouſed her, and had by her a ſon whom he dearly loved. The name of this young prince was *Nouſchizad*. His mother took care from his cradle to educate him in her religion, and impreſſed the truths thereof ſo ſtrongly in his mind, that when he grew up, he was not to be moved by the arts of the *magi*, or by the threats or promiſes of his father. *Nouſchirvan* perceiving this, and being afraid of the conſequences, confined him. For, as we have ſeen, religious diſputes were dreadful to this wiſe prince, who thought he could not be maſter of the hearts of his ſubjects if they were not united amongſt themſelves. The prince's cuſtody was eaſy enough, the king deſigning, not ſo much to puniſh him, as to prevent any thing which might deſerve puniſhment; and therefore, when he found himſelf obliged to viſit the frontiers of his empire towards *India*, he did not think fit to alter *Nouſchizad*'s condition, but left him under the ſame gentle reſtraint, wherein he had lived for ſome years. During his abſence from his capital, he had a fit of ſickneſs, whereupon a report

Nouſchizad the ſon of Nouſchirvan rebels againſt him.

[a] MECJDI in vita Nourſhirravan. KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND. ubi ſupra.

was ſpread that he was dead. *Nouſchizad* hearing this took inſtantly an opportunity of making his eſcape; and, as there were many chriſtians in *Perſia*, he quickly drew together a conſiderable force, and continued to increaſe his army, even after he was informed, that his father was alive and well. The news of this revolt greatly afflicted *Nouſchirvan*, who did not, however, immediately ſend an army againſt his ſon, but ſuffered things to remain as they were, that the young prince might have time to conſider the condition he was in, and return to his duty. But when he ſaw this delay produced nothing, but that, on the contrary, many of the grandees, who were diſcontented at the ſeverity of the king's juſtice, took this opportunity of fortifying themſelves againſt his reſentment, *Nouſchirvan* reſolved to wait no longer; and therefore inſtantly diſpatched a body of forces under the command of *Ram Berzin*, one of his principal generals, to reduce the rebels. However, when that officer took his leave of him, he gave him theſe inſtructions: "I underſtand that my ſon "hath not only taken arms, but hath alſo poſſeſſed himſelf "of my treaſures, opened the priſons, augmented his army "with thoſe he found in them, and, by the help of my mo-"ney and his own promiſes, hath drawn abundance of my "officers to his party. My commands therefore are, that "you advance with all poſſible diligence towards him, yet "without attacking him, or thoſe of my ſubjects who are "about him, till you have adviſed him of your arrival, and "exhorted him to return to that obedience he owes me; "which if he inclines to do, I expect that he ſhould ſend "back to their priſons thoſe whom he has releaſed; that he "ſhould put to the ſword the officers who have deſerted to "him, and diſband his army. If he refuſes to execute theſe "things, do your utmoſt to reduce him by force, even "though it ſhould be at the expence of his life. But if "the young man falls alive into your hands, do not offer "him the leaſt indignity, nor ſo much as reproach him with "his want of duty; his conſciouſneſs thereof will be a "ſufficient puniſhment". *Ram Berzin* followed his inſtructions exactly, but the prince proving obſtinate, a general engagement enſued, in which *Nouſchizad* was defeated, and received a mortal wound, which when he perceived, he ſaid to thoſe who were about him, *Tell the queen, my mother, that it is my laſt requeſt, that my body may be buried among the chriſtians.* *Nouſchirvan* ſucceeded no leſs happily in his *Indian* war, than he had done in this domeſtic one; he compelled all the princes on his frontiers to do him homage and

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to pay him tribute. After this he marched with a great army into *Arabia*, where he was fortunate in the higheſt degree, and uſed his fortune to the beſt purpoſe imaginable. He found the country diſtreſſed by tyrants, whom he diſpoſſeſſed of their power, reſtored the lawful ſovereigns, whom they had driven from their dominions, and did ſo many kindneſſes to the people in general, that *Mohammed* himſelf was wont to boaſt, that he was born under the reign of this monarch, ſurnamed by the *Arabians Al-malek*, i. e. *The Juſt* [b].

After all his victories Nouſchirvan *adorns his capital.*

AFTER this he returned to *Madain*, his capital, and began to adorn it with a multitude of new and ſumptuous buildings; amongſt the reſt with a palace, which was accounted one of the wonders of the eaſt. It was called *Thak Khoſrou*, i. e. *The dome of Choſroes*. It had a beautiful cupola, and underneath ſtrong and large vaults, in which were depoſited all the mighty treaſuresof this powerful monarch. In order to have a juſt idea of this wonderful building, the reader muſt be informed, that the caliph *Almanzor* ordered this palace to be pulled down, in order to employ its materials in adorning the citadel of *Bagdat*; but, after working ſome time thereon, he found the expence ſo great, that he was forced to abandon the enterprize, and leave the greateſt part of the palace of *Choſroes* undemoliſhed, on which a *Perſian* poet wrote the following diſtich, alluding to the founder of this glorious edifice:

Thy works, like thee, eternity enjoy;
Nor rage, nor time, can thy deſigns deſtroy.

If we were to mention the twentieth partof the acts recorded of this prince, which have come even to our hands, it would take up much more room than we have allowed to this period; we ſhall content ourſelves therefore, with giving the reader an account of his laſt expedition and death, and a ſhort view of his character, according to the *Oriental* writers, in a note, that we may not be condemned of negligence, amidſt ſuch immenſe materials. The laſt war, which *Nouſchirvan* made againſt the *Conſtantinopolitan* emperor, was occaſioned by his ſupporting the petty princes of *Armenia*, againſt the *Perſian* prince, who was their ſovereign. At firſt *Nouſchirvan* had the ſame good fortune in this as in his other wars; but truſting it

[b] MIRKHOND, ubi ſupra. LEBTARIKH. KHONDEMIR. MEGJDI in vit Nouſhirravan.

too far, he was defeated, and conſtrained to paſs the river *Euphrates* on the back of his elephant, and not without great danger of being drowned. On his return to his capital *Madain*, which is either the ſame with *Cteſiphon*, or a city built upon its ruins, he began to find himſelf extremely weak, and not a little indiſpoſed. He therefore judged it time to think of making peace, and then of ſettling the ſucceſſion; for being now eighty years old, and having reigned forty eight, he had not either cauſe to hope for much longer life, or to repine at his approaching deceaſe, after having ſo long and fully enjoyed the good things of this world. When therefore he heard, that the *Greek* emperor was willing to conclude a treaty on reaſonable terms, and ſaw that the nobility were well inclined towards his ſon *Hormouz*, he diſpoſed himſelf chearfully to ſubmit to fate, having firſt delivered in writing the following inſtructions, or political teſtament, to his ſon [d].

" I *Nouſchirvan*, the poſſeſſor of the kingdoms of *Perſia* " and *India*, addreſs theſe my laſt words to *Hormouz* my " ſon, that they might ſerve him as a lantern in the days of " darkneſs, as a path when he ſhall enter the deſerts, and as " a pole-ſtar when he navigates through the ſeas of this " tempeſtuous world. When my eyes are cloſed, which " are already unable to bear the light of the ſun, let him be " ſeated on my throne, and let his luſtre be equal to that " glorious planet: but let him remember in the midſt of " his greatneſs that kings rule not for themſelves, but for " their people, and that they are, with reſpect to them, " what the heavens are to the earth. Can the earth be " fruitful, if it be not watered, if it be not cheriſh'd by the " heavens? My ſon, let all your people be ſenſible of your " benefactions; thoſe who are neareſt you firſt; by de- " grees thoſe who are at the greateſt diſtance. If I durſt, " I would propoſe to you my own example: but I will " rather put you in mind of that which hath been example " unto me. Behold the ſun, it viſits all parts of the world; " and if it is ſometimes viſible, and at others removed from " our ſight, it is becauſe the univerſe partakes of its ſplendor, " and is cheriſhed by its beams. Enter not any province " but with a proſpect of doing good to its inhabitants; nei- " ther quit it with any other view, than to do good elſewhere. " Ill men muſt be puniſhed; to them the ſun of majeſty is

[d] Mirkhond. ubi ſupra. Lebtarikh. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. B. O. art. Madain, Nouſchirvan.

" eclipſed:

" eclipſed : the good deſerve the utmoſt encouragement, and " ought to experience the morning beams. As that glorious " luminary anſwers all the purpoſes for which it was created " at all times, be thou careful to act always like a king, " ſince you will deſire at all times to be revered as a king. " My ſon, preſent thyſelf often before heaven to implore its " aid ; but be ſure that thou approach it not with an im- " pure mind. Do thy dogs enter the temple ? If *thou* " ſhalt obſerve exactly this rule, thy prayers ſhall be heard, " thy enemies ſhall be ſtruck with terror, thy friends ſhall " be ever faithful ; thou ſhalt be the delight of thy ſubjects, " and thou ſhalt have reaſon to delight in them. Do juſtice, " abaſe the inſolent, comfort the unhappy, love your children, " protect learning, follow the advice given you by antient " counſellors, ſuffer not the young to meddle in affairs of " ſtate, and let the good of your people be the ſole and " ſupreme end of your deſigns. Farewell : I leave you a " great kingdom, which you will keep, if you will follow " my counſels ; and which it will be impoſſible for you to " keep, if you follow others[e] ". Such was the end of *Nouſchirvan*, the moſt beloved prince of his age, and whoſe reputation ſurvives to this day in the works of all the eaſtern hiſtorians, in the writings of their moraliſts, and more eſpecially in the works of their poets[f] (H).

Hormouz,

[e] Hiſtoire d'une revolut. arrivé en Perſe dans le ſixieme ſiecle ap. de l'academ. royale des inſcrip. Tom. III. edit. Amſterd. p. 510.
[f] KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH. MIRKHOND. ubi ſupra. MEGJDI in vita Nouſchirvan.

(H) *Khondemir* cloſes his account of the reign of *Nouſchirvan* with this obſervation : " Princes in ſucceeding times ought to " place him, of whom we have been ſpeaking, as a model before " their eyes, and make his conduct the rule of theirs, ſince he " poſſeſſed in a ſovereign degree, as well the good qualities which " render amiable a private man, as the exalted virtues which add " luſtre to a diadem ; but, above all, juſtice without biaſs, liberty " without any other bounds than thoſe aſſigned by reaſon, con- " tributed moſt to his high reputation while living, and have " preſerved his fame freſh to poſterity (20) ". We have ſeen in the foregoing hiſtory, many inſtances of the grandeur of this prince's ſoul, in undertaking the moſt ſtupendous works for the benefit, and for the ornament of the ſeveral parts of his dominions.

(20) *Hiſtor. Perſar.*

There

Hormouz IV. *Hormouz*, whom the *Greeks* call *Hormisdas*, and who was the fourth of that name of this dynasty, ascended the throne with

There is one, however, of which we have not spoken; and as it makes a great figure in all the *Oriental* histories, it is requisite to take some notice of it here: This is the wall of *Jagouge* and *Magouge*, or a thick and high rampart commencing at *Derbent*, and running from mountain to mountain, so as to secure the frontiers of *Persia* from the northern nations. It was projected by *Alexander the Great*, and, as some say, begun by his command. However, it remained unfinished, tho' not altogether unprosecuted, till the reign of *Nouschirvan*, who undertook and happily concluded it (21). The court of *Nouschirvan* was one of the most magnificent that the world ever saw. The deputies from all the provinces of *Persia* constantly attended therein, as did the embassadors of all the great princes in the world. The expence of their entertainment was defrayed by *Nouschirvan*, who, in the midst of all this prosperity, preserved a mind so equal and undisturbed, that he was never surprized into any expression unworthy of a philosopher. A courier coming hastily into his presence, cried out, *God is just! God is just! the implacable enemy of our king is taken away by death.* *Nouschirvan* answered without the least emotion, *Far be it from me to rejoice at the death of my enemy. There can be nothing more ridiculous, than for mortals to be pleased with instances of mortality (22)* When he had been hunting, and was desirous of eating some of the venison in the field, some of his attendants went to a neighbouring village, and took away a quantity of salt to season it. The king suspected it, ordered that they should immediately go and pay for it; then turning to his minister, he said, *This is a small matter in itself, but a great one as it regards me. A king ought ever to be just, because he is an example to his subjects, and if he swerves in trifles, they will become dissolute. If I cannot make all my people just in the smallest things, I can at least shew them that it is possible to be so (23).* The same way of thinking induced him to put the following inscription on his diadem, after he had settled the immense dominions he had acquired, and was revered at home and abroad, as the mightiest of all monarchs:

What is long life? or what a glorious reign?
Since our successors close upon us tread.
My fathers left this crown, and I again
Must leave it too, and mingle with the dead (24).

These are sufficient specimens of the solidity of his understanding,

(21) *D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Jagouge.* (22) *Saadi in Gulistan. c.* i. (23) *Id. ibid. p.* 100. (24) *Id. ibid. p.* 119.

and

with the faireſt proſpect that ever any *Perſian* prince had. He was naturally of a very indifferent diſpoſition, addicted to his pleaſures, haughty, and cruel. His father, who was too wiſe a prince not to perceive theſe defects in his ſon, endeavoured to correct them by education. With this view he put him under the care of the celebrated *Buzurge Mihir*, the wiſeſt man in *Perſia*, and the firſt miniſter of *Nouſchirvan*. This excellent perſon took ſuch pains with *Hormouz*, and knew ſo well to ſet folly and vice in their lights, that he vanquiſhed his natural proneneſs to evil, and made him, in ſpite of himſelf, a great and a good man. For the firſt three years of his reign, while his old tutor remained about his perſon, he as far tranſcended *Nouſchirvan*, as *Nouſchirvan* had all his predeceſſors. His diſcourſes were fraught with wiſdom, his actions were all beneficent. He carried ſo far his reſpect for *Buzurge Mihir*, that he would not wear his royal ornaments in his preſence; and when ſome of his courtiers intimated, that his reverence to him was exceſſive, ſince it was more than was due to a parent, he anſwered, *You ſay well, my friends; but I owe more to him than I do to my father. The life and kingdom I received from* Nouſchirvan *will remain with me but a few years; but the reputation I ſhall acquire,*

and of the ſtrength and rectitude of his ſentiments. We have therefore all the reaſon in the world to believe, what all the *Oriental* hiſtorians poſitively affirm, that he was one of the moſt learned men, not only in his own dominions, but in his age; that he was the moſt beneficent patron of the ſciences, and of thoſe who cultivate them; and that his court was the aſylum of merit in diſtreſs. He held regular aſſemblies for the promoting of real, that is, uſeful knowledge, at which he aſſiſted himſelf, with his miniſters of ſtate, as will be ſeen in the next note; and he was ſo far from being a ſmatterer, that not only in the politer branches of learning, but even in the buſineſs of mechanics, he knew as much as the artiſts themſelves. With all this, he was the moſt debonnaire man in his court; and tho' he never ſaid a light or trivial thing himſelf, yet he would laugh at the jeſts of others; and never took ill any poignant expreſſion that eſcaped a man in a flow of humour (25). No wonder then, that the wits of his own time loved him; that the wits of ſucceeding ages have done their utmoſt to embalm his character The facts related of him muſt ſtrike all generous minds; and therefore we make no excuſe for ſo long a note.

(25) *Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. ſect.* 34 *Hafez. Giami cum mult. al. poet.*

quire,

quire, in virtue of his instructions, will survive to latest times. Happy had it been for this prince, had he always adhered to these notions; but when old age had rendered *Buzurge Mihir* unfit for the great employments he possessed, he requested, and had leave from *Hormouz* to retire; and with him retired the happiness and fortune of his master (I). The young courtiers who were about *Hormouz*, began from

(I) The character of *Buzurge Mihir* makes so great a figure it the oriental histories, that it is but just we should bestow a note upon it here. In the first place we must remark, that this is the surname only of the prime minister of *Nouschirvan*, and that it signifies, in the *Persian* tongue, *well beloved*. We have taken notice in the text of his being appointed governor to *Hormouz*; and that, with great difficulty, he triumphed over the evil disposition of that prince. It cannot be improper to give an instance of his address in this respect; he saw with regret that his pupil slept till noon, spent the afternoon in dressing, and the night in debauches; he reproved to no purpose, he expostulated to no end; yet he continued to expostulate and reprove, hoping, that importunity might effect what was unattainable by reason. *Hormouz* at length, quite tired out, devised a method, to rid himself of these lectures: he ordered some of his favourites to disguise themselves, and to strip his preceptor quite naked, as he came in the morning from his father's court to wait upon him. This being accordingly done, when *Buzurge Mihir* related his misfortune, *You see*, said the young prince, *what comes of all this diligence; if you had not been up so early, you had not been robbed. You mistake, Sir*, said the preceptor, *the thieves were more successful than I, because they rose earlier. Vigilance, Sir, is a copy of the divine activity; it is a torch by which science becomes visible, the great treasure of virtue and true pleasure, and the key of victory in all things. Rise then, my dear prince, that the sun of good fortune may display his beams on thy head, and that the fresh air in the morning may dispose thy mind to receive those graces from heaven, which may in time make thee a blessing to the whole earth* (26). One day *Buzurge Mihir* being with his master *Nouschirvan* at one of the assemblies of the learned, the king proposed for the subject of debate this question, *What is the extreme degree of misery?* A *Greek* philosopher who was esteemed one of the most learned men of his age and country, answered, *Poverty in extreme old age.* An *Indian* sage also, of great reputation, gave it as his opinion, *That great pain, attended with dejection of mind, was the most unsupportable of evils. And what say you?* said *Nouschirvan* turning to his master. *My judgment is*, replied he, *that he is the most miserable of men, who begins to repent,*

(26) *D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Buzurge Mihir.*

when

from that moment, to have a viſible aſcendency over him, and to influence him to do many things alike contrary to his intereſt, and injurious to his reputation. Such of his old counſellors as were about his perſon, and had ſtill ſome ſhare in his eſteem, theſe ſycophants found means to remove, either by miſinforming their king, or by treating thoſe they diſliked in ſo rude a way, that they made it their choice to retire from court. It had been the policy of *Nouſchirvan* to provide the ſhorteſt and ſpeedieſt methods of diſtributing juſtice throughout his wide empire. Every little village had its judge, and, in all courts of judicature, care was taken, that decrees ſhould not coſt either more time or money than they were worth. At the time of his death he left thirty thouſand perſons in judicial offices in his dominions. Numbers of theſe were removed when *Hormouz* fell into the hands of bad counſellors; and the miſchiefs which followed on this raſh ſtep were ſo great, that the inſpectors of juſtice in the ſeveral provinces of the empire joined in a remonſtrance upon that head; which *Hormouz* was ſo infatuated as to conceive a libel on his government, in reſentment of which he perſecuted this whole uſeful and venerable race of men with implacable hatred, and by a new ſtrain of tyrannical madneſs, would be the ſole judge of his people himſelf. On this pretence he wore every day the *tiara* or royal diadem, which his predeceſſors never put on, but when they were about to adminiſter juſtice to their ſubjects. Hence his people gave him the ſurname of *Tagedar*, i. e. *the crown-wearer*[g].

[g] MIRKHOND. & ſect. 25. KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH.

when he finds his life is at an end (27). He had no ſooner ſaid this, than the other two ſages came immediately over to his opinion. It would take up a great deal of room to inſert a tenth part of the examples we have met with of this man's wiſdom: One inſtance, however, of his miniſterial virtues may not be amiſs. One day at council, after a great deal had been ſpoken by others, it was obſerved, that he remained ſilent. Upon which *Nouſchirvan* aſked him, Why he did not ſpeak his ſentiments as well as the reſt? *Becauſe*, anſwered he, *a ſtateſman ought to give his advice, as a phyſician does medicines, that is, when there is occaſion* (28). At this the king ſmiled, and the reſt of the counſellors teſtified their ſatisfaction at ſo well turned a compliment. This great man was privately a chriſtian, which chiefly induced him to retire from court, and for which the cruel *Khoſrou Parviz* cauſed him to be put to death, when he had arrived at an extreme old age (29).

(27) *Saadi in Guliſtan* (28) *Idem ibid.* (29) *Khondemir.*

The khakan invades Perſia.

It is impoſſible for a bad prince to maintain himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the hearts of his people, as well as of their obedience; and it is as impoſſible for a nation univerſally diſaffected to hinder their prince from perceiving the diſlike they have of his meaſures. This quickly became the caſe of *Hormouz* and his ſubjects. His jealouſies induced him to murder by thouſands. His people, believing themſelves in continual danger, could not avoid betraying an earneſt deſire of ſeeing themſelves ſafe, which begat further inclinations of revenge in their prince. To complete the misfortunes of both parties, the frontier provinces towards *India* and *Arabia* threw off the *Perſian* yoke, and ſet up princes of their own; and the khakan, who long waited for ſuch an opportunity, entered *Perſia* with an army of three hundred thouſand men, tho' he was uncle by the mother's ſide to *Hormouz*. The *Perſian* monarch, in this diſtreſs, called a general council of the nobility about him; and after hearing, without following, the advice of moſt of the great lords preſent, he ſuffered himſelf to be guided on this important occaſion by the counſel of an old man, who had been embaſſador for *Nouſchirvan* in the country of the khakan, at the time that prince demanded the mother of *Hormouz* in marriage. This old nobleman aſſured him, that, on this occaſion, an aſtrologer predicted, that, under the reign of a *Perſian* king to be born of a princeſs then choſen for *Nouſchirvan's* queen, a certain khakan ſhould invade, and almoſt conquer, his dominions; but would be at length vanquiſhed himſelf by a *Perſian* general, whoſe face ſhould reſemble that of a wild cat; that the aſtrologer being further intreated to endeavour by his art to diſcover the name of this general, he by degrees placed ſeveral letters on a tablet, which taken together, compoſed theſe words, *Baharam Tchoubin*. One cannot conceive any thing more viſibly abſurd than this ſtory, which was certainly invented to amuſe *Hormouz*, who was exceſſively addicted to the occult ſciences, and thereby to engage him to place this officer at the head of his armies, of whom otherwiſe he would probably not have thought, tho' he was the moſt capable of that command of any man in his dominions. He was at this time governor of *Media*, from whence the king ſent for him, and offered him the ſupreme command of all the troops in *Perſia*; which *Baharam* declined, and, to the amazement of his maſter, choſe only twelve thouſand men, at the head of whom he marched inſtantly againſt the khakan [1].

[1] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond ubi. ſupra. Relation d'une revolution, &c. p. 512. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Ho. mouz.

He

HE moved with ſuch diligence and ſecrecy, that he attacked the enemy upon their march, with ſuch a fortunate vivacity, that the khakan was conſtrained to advance againſt him in perſon at the head of his guards. This poiſed the ſcales for ſome time; but at length the khakan being killed and his ſon taken priſoner, their army fled in ſuch confuſion, that they left their baggage behind them; ſo that the *Perſian* collected two hundred and fifty camels load of treaſure. The moſt precious of the ſpoils, together with the captive prince, *Baharam* ſent to the king his maſter, with a very dutiful letter, and an exact account of the advantages he had gained. At firſt *Hormouz* was extremely well ſatisfied with his general's good fortune, gave the higheſt commendations to his valour, and propoſed to beſtow on him mighty rewards. His favourites, however, ſuſpecting, that *Baharam* might not have any great complaiſance for them, in caſe he arrived at the chief employments in the ſtate, reſolved to ſecure themſelves at his expence. With this view they inſinuated to the king, that, under pretence of ſending the richeſt of the ſpoils, *Baharam* had only given him a ſmall ſhare thereof, and kept the reſt for himſelf; that it was to be feared he might make an ill uſe of this, and that it was a dangerous thing to truſt ſo ambitious a man at the head of the army. The ſuſpicious temper of *Hormouz* rendered any proof in ſupport of theſe conjectures quite unneceſſary. Inſinuations were with him always ſufficient evidence; and therefore, on no better grounds than theſe, he not only diſtruſted his general, but moſt imprudently and ſhamefully diſgraced him, by ſending him, inſtead of a habit of honour, the uſual preſent of *Perſian* kings, all the neceſſary apparel of a woman. This ſo far provoked *Baharam*, that, in his own mind, he reſolved to dethrone his maſter, and therefore having arrayed himſelf in the woman's habit the king had ſent him, he came out and ſhewed himſelf to his ſoldiers; and having aſked them, whether they thought he deſerved ſuch treatment? he, by a premeditated harangue, drew them to concur with him in his reſentments, and to aſſiſt him in his project of depriving the ſon of *Nouſchirvan* of the regal dignity [k]

The khakan intirely defeated by Baharam, *who is himſelf diſgraced.*

THE *Perſians*, however, retained ſuch a reſpect for the royal family, that *Baharam* ſaw there was a neceſſity of making choice of ſome other prince of the ſame line. Accordingly he proclaimed *Khoſrau Parviz*, the eldeſt ſon of *Hormouz*

The army ſupport Baharam *againſt their maſter.*

[k] MIRKHOND. ubi ſupra. Hiſtoire d'une revolution, &c. p 514. D'HERBELOT. B. O. artic. Hormouz ben Nouſchirvan.

mouz, king. That young prince, being perſuaded by his uncles, retired from court, and countenanced the rebellion, cauſing money to be coined in his own name, and practiſing in other reſpects as if his father had been dead. *Hormouz*, having intelligence of theſe proceedings, ſeized *Hindouiah* and *Botham* his wife's brothers, whom he knew to have encouraged his ſon to deſert him. Their confinement, however, did not laſt long; for the whole maſs of the people, having contracted an irreconcileable averſion to their king, broke open their priſon, releaſed theſe lords, and aſſiſted them in ſeizing *Hormouz*; and notwithſtanding the excellent ſpeech made by that prince, at the motion of *Hindouiah*, put out his eyes. *Khoſrou*, who was at this time in *Media*, returned with all imaginable ſpeed to his capital, where as the *Eaſtern* writers unanimouſly agree, he went and comforted his father, aſſured him, that his uncles had acted intirely without his permiſſion or conſent, and beſought his forgiveneſs in the moſt humble terms. The old blind king, ſufficiently humbled by his misfortunes, and having no hopes but in his ſon, promiſed to forgive him, provided he puniſhed thoſe who depoſed him and put out his eyes; which *Khoſrou* promiſed to comply with, as ſoon as he ſhould be thoroughly ſettled on the throne. In the mean time, *Babaram* having inſinuated to the principal officers of his army, that *Khoſrou*, notwithſtanding he owed his crown to them, had yet a ſtronger affection to his family than to his people, whereby they had no hopes left, in caſe he ſhould have it in his power to puniſh them for the revolt, they determined, for their own ſakes, to ſupport their general, and to hazard all things, rather than his and their ſafety under a ſettled government. With this view they ſuffered him to lead them to *Madain*; before which city when they arrived, *Khoſrou* drew out his forces in a plain called *Niherſan* and offered them battle. The engagement was long and bloody; but *Khoſrou* was at length beaten, and forced to retire into the city, where going to viſit his father, the poor old man adviſed him not to ſuffer himſelf to be ſhut up in the place, but to retire into the territories of the *Greek* emperor, till his affairs ſhould take a happier turn. *Khoſrou*, having indeed no other meaſure to take, followed his father's advice, and diſpoſed all things for his retreat. When he was about to withdraw, or, as ſome writers ſay, when he was actually out of the city, his uncles came to him, and repreſented the danger of leaving his father alive, even tho' he was blind, on a ſuppoſition that *Babaram* might re-inſtate him and govern under his name; wherefore they very humanely

humanely propoſed to go back and put him to death. *Khoſrou* oppoſed all he could this deteſtable project; but his uncles, however, turned back, and, to ſecure themſelves, ſtrangled the old unhappy prince with a bow-ſtring, when he had reigned fourteeen years. This is a very different account from that given by the *Greek* hiſtorians, and yet all the *Oriental* writers concur therein; and their authority ſeems to be of at leaſt as much weight as that of ſtrangers, in a point regarding their own hiſtory [1].

Baharam Tchoubin, on the flight of *Khoſrou*, aſſumed the regal authority, tho' without the title. He was deſcended of the antient princes of *Rei*, and was the talleſt man in the *Perſian* dominions. He had ſerved, when a youth, as a voluntier in the armies of *Nouſchirvan*, and had riſen, gradually, and purely through merit, to the government of *Media*. As he was an excellent officer and mightily beloved by the ſoldiers, ſo he was naturally loyal to his prince, and, in all probability, had maintained him on his throne, notwithſtanding his ill conduct, if *Jezdan-Bakſche*, who was his firſt miniſter, had not inſtigated *Hormouz* to treat him as he did. When he had once taken the reſolution of rebelling againſt the king, he reſolved alſo to dethrone him, and to transfer the empire to his own family; but not daring to declare this, he made uſe of the name of *Khoſrou*, till his ſcheme was ripe for execution. When he was informed of the flight of that prince, he ſent a great detachment of horſe in purſuit of him, under the command of *Siaonſchan* the captain of his guards, with orders to re-take him, if it was poſſible, and to bring him priſoner to his camp. This officer executed his orders ſo punctually, that he came up with *Khoſrou* and his uncles at a certain hermitage; whereupon *Hindouiah* to preſerve his nephew, put on the royal robes, and looking out of a window, which was very high, told the ſoldiers, who had already inveſted the place, that, as ſoon as their commanding officer came up, he would ſurrender. On the arrival of the captain of the guards, *Hindouiah* reſumed his own cloaths, appeared at the window, and, in the name of the king, beſought that officer to grant him ſome reſpite for his repoſe; which was accordingly allowed, a ſtrong guard being poſted round the place. At evening *Hindouiah* came again to the window, told the captain of the guards, that the king was very ſenſible of the civility ſhewn him, and be-

Baharam Tchoubin.

[1] KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND. ubi ſupra. Hiſtoire d'une revolution, &c. p 514.

ſought

ſought him to lie there that night, that he might recover his ſpirits a little, and be the more able to bear the fatigue of travelling next day, where-ever they ſhould think proper to carry him. This likewiſe was allowed; but the next morning *Hindouiah* acknowledged the fraud, and confeſſed that he did it to ſave his nephew, whom he perſonated when the place was firſt inveſted, that they might not purſue him any farther. Upon this he was made priſoner, and conducted to *Baharam*, who ordered him to remain in confinement; but did not put him to death, becauſe he affected to govern with greater lenity than his predeceſſor. He alſo gave out, that he would follow the example of *Nouſchirvan*, and reſtore the luſtre of the *Perſian* diadem to its antient ſplendor. A while the nobility remained faithful, and the people loved him; but by degrees they became diſſatisfied with his conduct; and hearing that *Khoſrou* was powerfully ſupported by the *Greek* emperor, they began to ſhew leſs inclination to his ſervice. *Baharam*, however, ſet a great army on foot, and for a time maintained himſelf in poſſeſſion. At laſt, after having been defeated in a general engagement, and finding himſelf quite borne down by numbers, he determined to retire to the khakan, by whom he was at firſt well received, and to whom he rendered great ſervices by his military ſkill; but, after having been put off for many years with fair promiſes, he was at length poiſoned, at the ſolicitation of *Khoſrou*, who could never be eaſy ſo long as he lived [m].

Khoſrou II. *Khoſrou*, the ſon of *Hormouz*, was ſurnamed *Perviz* or *Aperviz*; concerning which appellation the *Orientals* are by no means agreed. Some ſay, that, in the antient *Perſian* tongue, it ſignifies *victorious*; others, *the moſt glorious king*. A great critic in that language affirms, that it ſignifies *fiſh*; and that *Khoſrou* had this ſurname given him, becauſe he was a great lover of fiſh. If we durſt offer our own judgment amongſt ſo many great opinions, we ſhould ſay, that, as *Aperviz* in the antient *Perſian* tongue, ſignifies *a violent mover forwards*, whence it is underſtood to ſignify *fiſh*, we ſhould apprehend it ought here to be taken allegorically; and that, as a ſurname, it implies *Khoſrou the impetuous*, which, we think, was well juſtified by the whole current of his conduct. We have ſeen, in the foregoing period, how he was ſet upon his throne by the aſſiſtance of the *Greek* emperor, whoſe forces, in conjunction with thoſe of *Khoſrou*, defeated *Baharam Tchou-*

[m] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond ubi ſupra Hiſtoire d'une revolution, p. 520. D'Herbelot B O artic. Baharam Tchoubin.

bin in a pitched battle. *Mirkhond* relates this matter differently; he ſays, that when the two armies were drawn into order of battle, it was propoſed by three general officers belonging to *Baharam*, that three others ſhould be choſen by *Khoſrou*, and that, to ſpare the effuſion of blood, the iſſue of the buſineſs ſhould be decided by theſe ſix champions; which being accepted, *Khoſrou* put himſelf at the head of his troops, and, notwithſtanding all that his uncles could do, fought *Baharam*'s three generals one after another, and ſlew them all on the ſpot; whereupon the army of *Baharam* ſaluted him king, and *Baharam* himſelf, with a few of his friends, were forced to place their ſafety in flight. The eaſtern writers agree with the *Greek* hiſtorians in this, that *Khoſrou* married a chriſtian and made her queen; but then they differ exceedingly as to the quality of this lady, moſt of the oriental writers affirming, that ſhe was the daughter of the emperor *Maurice*; whereas the *Greek* authors alledge, that ſhe was a woman of ordinary birth, with whom *Khoſrou* fell in love for her beauty. This woman, whatever her quality was, by the *Greek* writers is called *Mary* or *Irene*, and by the oriental hiſtorians *Schirin*, a name which ſignifies *ſoft* or *agreeable*. They report, that *Khoſrou* loved her to diſtraction; and that on the other hand ſhe deſpiſed him, and was in love with one *Ferhad*, a perſon of no great quality. They celebrate exceedingly the ſweetneſs of her voice and her ſkill in muſic; which together with her amour, renders it improbable that ſhe was the daughter of a *Greek* emperor, but that ſhe was rather a dancer or muſic-girl. For her ſake *Khoſrou* was for a long time very kind to the chriſtians; but in proceſs of time, either from his jealouſy of her, or from ſome other cauſe, he conceived a moſt implacable hatred againſt them; and finding a fair opportunity on the acceſſion of *Phocas* to the *Greek* empire, he began to enter its provinces, to beſiege its fortified cities, and to plunder all its ſubjects, without mercy, as hath been largely ſhewn in the former period. In the invaſion of *Judæa* and the ſacking of the city of *Jeruſalem*, he was aſſiſted by the *Jews*, who made high profeſſions of loyalty to this prince, that, under his protection, they might exhauſt the chriſtians by uſury, and, when they were totally deſpoiled of property, enſlave their perſons. *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and the iſlands in the *Mediterranean*, fell under the power of this victorious prince, who, as we before noted, might well deſerve the ſurname of *Impetuous*, from the rapidity of his conqueſts [n].

[n] KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND. ſect. 36. D'HERBELOT. B. O. artic. Khoſrou Perviz, Schirin, &c.

ON

Becomes a tyrant, and is deposed.

On his return to *Madain*, he wonderfully embellished the palace of his grandfather, disposing the upper part thereof in the form of a throne, which was supported by forty thousand silver columns, and the concave over them was adorned by a thousand globes of gold, wherein all the planets and great constellations were seen to perform their natural revolutions, all the walls of this sumptuous place being covered with tapestry, wrought with gold flowers, and enriched with pearls and other precious stones. Underneath he had a hundred vaults filled with treasure. In the apartment of his women he had three thousand ladies, who were free, and twelve thousand slaves, the most beautiful that could be found throughout his dominions. His house-hold troops were composed of six thousand men. In his stables he had six thousand horses and mules for his own riding; twelve thousand large mules, and eight thousand of the ordinary kind, served to carry his baggage. He had also nine hundred and sixty elephants, which he made use of in his armies. In the midst of all these fine things, the mind of *Khosrou* was very little at ease; for, not to enter into his family concerns, and the uneasinesses he had on account of his mistress *Schirin*, it is sufficient for us to know, that as he grew in years, he grew excessively covetous, lost all manner of tenderness and compassion, and plundered his subjects in such a manner, that he alone was rich in all his vast dominions. He grew also excessively suspicious, and so jealous of the wealth he had amassed, that he made himself a slave in guarding it. His avarice likewise made him excessively cruel, insomuch, that he put numbers of persons to death, without any visible cause. This was the rock on which his father split, and which proved no less fatal to him. His nobility, finding themselves absolutely unsafe while he remained upon the throne, determined to secure themselves at all events; and therefore addressing themselves to an officer of his, who was then at the head of the army, they prevailed upon him to seize the person of *Khosrou*, whom they instantly deposed, and elevated to the throne his eldest son [o] (K).

Khobad

[o] Mirkhond, ubi supra. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. ubi supra.

(K) The character of *Khosrou*, both in this and in the former period, hath been so fully treated, that it might seem unnecessary to add any thing more concerning him; but if it be considered, that this prince was more terrible to his neighbours than any of his predecessors, his grandfather *Nouschirvan* not excepted, and that

Khobad Schirouieh, whom the *Greeks* call *Siroes*, was no Schirouiſooner poſſeſſed of the diadem by the choice of the nobility, eh.
than

that he really poſſeſſed greater dominions than any monarch of this dynaſty, it will not ſeem ſtrange, that we have ſo much to ſay about him. He promiſed, as we have ſeen in the text, to do juſtice on his father's enemies, of whom the principal were his own uncles; and in this he kept his word, for when they had eſtabliſhed him upon the throne, he cauſed them to be put to death; and, by his example, his ſon firſt directed him to be murdered, then buried him ſplendidly, and laſtly ſlew the perſon who executed his own commands. He was ſo exceſſively covetous, that, in his wars, he acted more like a partizan than a great prince; for, throughout all *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, he firſt plundered the churches of all that was valuable in them, and then he ordered them to be demoliſhed, that he might carry away the beſt of the materials employed in building them. He was likewiſe an outrageous perſecutor, not certainly from any religious principle, but that he might maintain himſelf in the good opinion of the magi. It was impoſſible he ſhould keep his conqueſts, becauſe he ſtripped the people of all things that they poſſeſſed, and thereby drove them, if they eſcaped ſlavery, into other territories; whence if ever they returned, it was in quality of ſoldiers, to revenge themſelves of ſo barbarous an enemy; whereas *Nouſchirvan* treated all his new ſubjects in the frontier provinces with ſuch extraordinary lenity, that there was nothing they feared ſo much as changing their maſter. All theſe devaſtations and plunderings were merely to fill thoſe vaults, which, with ſo much care, he had built under his palace, and wherein he greedily deſired to lay up the treaſures of the whole earth. Indeed, if what the *Perſian* hiſtorians ſay be true, he did amaſs more riches than any of his predeceſſors had ever ſeen. They tell us likewiſe, that when his protector, the emperor *Maurice*, and his family, were in diſtreſs, and had put all their jewels and riches on board two or three veſſels, theſe ſhips coming on the coaſts of *Perſia*, he cauſed them to be ſeized, and confiſcated all the treaſure on board them, which he ordered to be brought and placed in one of the vaults under his palace, of which he had an hundred; and having ſealed the door, placed over the head of it an inſcription, ſignifying, that *theſe treaſures were brought him by the winds*. When his ſubjects had depoſed him, they could not find any priſon ſo ſafe, or ſo proper, as one of thoſe vaults, where, it is ſaid, he was loaded with chains of gold, and had ſeveral days leiſure to conſider, to how little purpoſe he had oppreſſed ſo great a part of the world; ſince neither power nor wealth could hinder his feeling as exceſſive a load of miſery, as he had ever inflicted on the meaneſt of his ſubjects

than he resolved to secure it, by depriving his father of life. To this purpose he sent for *Mihir Hormouz*, a nobleman; whose father *Khosrou* had caused to be put to death, and dispatched him instantly to the prison, where *Khosrou* lay in chains. As soon as the king saw him, he rose up, and looking upon him with an air of wildness and fury, *Man*, said he, *I caused your father to be put to death, and I hold him to be a bastard, who takes not the life of his father's murderer, when he has it in his power.* *Hormouz* upon this drew his scymitar, and plunging it into the bowels of *Khosrou*, left him wallowing in his blood. Returning to *Khobad*, he gave him an exact account of what he had done, repeating also the strange salutation he had from *Khosrou*, to which the king at that time made no answer; but having caused his father to be sumptuously interred, he sent for *Mihir Hormouz*, and having repeated to him the words of his father, said, *You see how justly you are put to death*, and ordered him to be slain in his presence. After this, *Khobad* ordered all his brethren to be seized and put to death. He had eighteen in all, and two sisters. Of these seventeen were murdered, and the eighteenth, whose name was *Scheheriar*, was concealed in the antient city of *Persepolis*, and so escaped. As for his sisters, *Khobad* spared them on account of their sex, and treated them with all imaginable kindness; but these ladies, when they saw their country invaded by pestilence and famine at once, and observed the general disaffection of the people, could not help reproaching their brother with his cruelty, charging on him the miseries of his people, and exhorting him, if it was possible, to repent. These discourses made such on impression on his mind, that he began to grow extremely melancholy, and at last the disposition of his mind inducing a fever,

(30) Besides the account of his death given in the text, we have in another historian that which follows: *Siroes* his son sent for him into his presence, and having entered into a long detail of his cruelties and male administration, he concluded thus: *You cannot think it unjust or unnatural in me to order you to be put to death, since, for less than this, you pronounced the same judgment on your own father* (31).

(30) *Mirkhond. sect.* 37. *Khondemir. Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot B. O. artic. Khosrou Ben Hormouz.* (31) *Lib. cui titul. Raoudhat almenadir. per Ben. Schanah.*

the

the plague ſeized him, and he died after a reign of ſix or eight months. He was ſucceeded by his ſon [p] (L)

[p] LEBTARIKH. KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND. ſect 37. D'HERBELOT. B. O. art. Schirouieh.

(L) The name of this prince is ſo differently written, that many miſtakes and great confuſion have ariſen therefrom, not only among the *Greek* writers, but alſo among ſome of the moderns. *Khondemir*, *Mirkhond*, and the reſt of the *Perſian* hiſtorians agree in calling this prince *Khobad*; but then they diſtinguiſh him by the ſurname of *Schirouieh*; whence the *Greeks* form their *Siroes*, tho', if they had followed their uſual cuſtom, they ſhould rather have called him *Cavades*. He was certainly well inclined to the chriſtian religion; and that is the reaſon we have ſuch different accounts of him. The *Greek* writers, and indeed the chriſtian authors, in all languages, ſpeak of him very tenderly, and either drop the ſtory of his father's murder, or endeavour, tho' that be a hard thing, to palliate it. The oriental hiſtorians again draw him in the blackeſt colours, and ſay, that he broke his heart on account of the reproaches of his ſiſters, and of the terrible judgments from God, which fell upon his realm and people (32). There is, however, a circumſtance relating to this prince, which, tho' it happened long after his death, deſerves to be taken notice of, ſince it is one of the moſt curious paſſages in the eaſtern hiſtory, and is perfectly well atteſted. The caliph *Montaſer* having cauſed his father to be put to death, ſome ſmall time after looking over the rich furniture in the palace, and cauſing ſeveral rich pieces of tapeſtry to be opened before him, that he might examine them the more exactly, amongſt the reſt he met with one, which had in it the figure of a very beautiful young man, mounted on a *Perſian* horſe, with a diadem on his head, and a circle of *Perſian* characters round himſelf and his horſe The caliph, charmed with the beauty of the tapeſtry, ſent for a perſon who underſtood the antient *Perſic*, and deſired him to explain to him that inſcription. The man read it, changed colour, and, after ſome heſitation, told the caliph, it was a *Perſian* ſong, that had nothing in it worth hearing. That prince, however, would not be ſo put off, he readily perceived, that there was ſomething in it extraordinary; and therefore he commanded the interpreter to give him the true ſenſe thereof immediately, as he valued his own ſafety. The man then told him, that the inſcription ran thus: *I am* Siroes, *the ſon of* Choſroes, *who ſlew my father to gain his crown, which I kept but ſix months*. This affected the caliph ſo much, that he died in two or three days, when he had reigned about the ſame ſpace of time (33).

(32) *See the life of Siroes in the former period.* (33) *Abul-Pharaj. hiſtor. dynaſt. dyn.* ix. *p.* 297.

Ardschir II.

Ardschir II. a youth of seven years old. His sisters and the nobility promised themselves great blessings under his reign, hoping they might have time to settle the affairs of the kingdom, and to ease the people of the excessive taxes with which they were burdened; but in this they were mistaken, for *Scheheriar*, the general of the army, who had seized and deposed his father, taking umbrage at the setting up of the son of his master without his participation, or rather making use of this and other frivolous pretences to colour the detestable scheme he had formed of seizing the crown, and extirpating the royal family, he marched with his forces to the capital city; and having easily vanquished those who remained faithful to their infant monarch, he put the chlid to death, with all the nobility who were strictly attached to him, and filled the palace with blood; after which, in pursuance of his project, he seized the sovereign authority, which he had so dearly bought. Authors do not agree as to the time *Ardschir* reigned; most of them allow him a year and a half; but *Mirkhond* is positive, that he reigned no more than fifty days [q].

Scheheriar.

Scheheriar, as he attained the sovereign authority by treachery and cruelty, so he governed by all the arts of a tyrant, and made the people know the difference between a natural prince, and one raised to empire by his sword. The army, as it assisted him in his enterprize against the young *Ardschir*, so they expected, on his succeeding him, that he should pay the wages of their infidelity. This he was desirous enough to do; but as they not only demanded money, but insisted likewise on setting a price on their labour, he found it not very easy to content them; and this drove him upon extortion and oppression, the exercise of which did not hinder them from being guilty of the most notorious rapine. The eldest princess of *Persia* perceiving, that the nobility were generally disaffected, secretly influenced their minds, and instigated them to set their country free, by putting to death this usurper. Her arts had their effect, the people began universally to detest a monarch, whose conduct was as offensive, as the method by which he gained his crown was unjustifiable; yet still there was nothing done; the cruelty of *Scheheriar*, and the madness of the army, restrained all things but complaints. Every one readily confessed they should be glad to be delivered from the miseries they were under; but no-body durst undertake this deliverance, lest so great a work should miscarry in their hands. At length *Touran Dockt* fixed upon three bro-

[q] Khondemir, Mirkhond. sect 38. Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. B. O. art. Ardschir Ben Schirouieh.

thers

thers, all young men, of great quality and diſtinguiſhed courage. She explained to them the preſent ſituation of affairs, the miſerable condition of their country, aud the impoſſibility there was of removing theſe grievances any other way than by the death of *Scheheriar*. She likewiſe obſerved, that however dangerous this might appear, it was as eaſily accompliſhed as projected; and that as he was not of the royal family, but an upſtart, and generally hated, his death would be agreeable to the people, and the man regarded as a hero, from whoſe hand he ſhould receive it. Theſe leſſons had their effects; the brothers fixed themſelves one day at the palace gate, and as *Scheheriar* came out, and was about to mount on horſeback, they fell upon him, and killed him before he could receive any aſſiſtance from his adherents, when he had been called a king little more than two years. He was no ſooner dead, than all the inhabitants of the city of *Madain* aſſembled to protect thoſe who had killed him. In this aſſembly it was reſolved to reſtore the crown to the royal family, and ſince there was not an heir male, to elevate the eldeſt of the princeſſes to the throne [r].

Touran Dockt, as ſoon as ſhe received the crown, made choice of the eldeſt of the three brothers, whoſe name was *Ferokhzad*, to be her prime miniſter and general of her armies. This nobleman diſcharged his truſt perfectly well; for he not only reduced the army to the obedience of his miſtreſs, and engaged them to live peaceably among their fellow-ſubjects, but he alſo diſappointed the *Arabs*, who, in the reign of this princeſs, made a vigorous effort to conquer *Perſia*. *Ferokhzad*, with a conſiderable body of horſe, was quartered in *Chaldea*, when he received advice, that *Abou-Obeidah*, general of the forces of caliph *Omar*, had thrown a bridge over the *Euphrates*, in order to come and attack the *Perſian* army quartered in the vicinity of *Babylon*. *Ferokhzad* ſent orders to the *Perſians* to act on the defenſive, while he, with the horſe under his command, marched directly to the bridge, forced the *Arab* guard, and having filled the veſſels of which it was compoſed with combuſtible matter, ſet them on fire; then following the enemy's camp, he cut off their proviſions, till a fair occaſion offered of fighting, and then having given a ſignal to his *Perſians*, to charge the *Arabs* in front, he, while the battle was hot and doubtful, fell upon them in flank and rear, ſo that they were totally defeated; and this vigilant general purſued the remains, that not ſo much as their leader

Touran Dockt.

[r] KHONDEMIR. LE BTARIKH, MIRKHOND. ſect. 38. D'HERBELOT. B. O. Scheheriar. SCHIKARD, Tarich. p. 165.

eſcaped

escaped to carry the news of their defeat. In the mean time, the queen acted in civil affairs with a firmness not to be expected from a woman; for having in vain endeavoured; by fair means, to engage some of the nobility to forbear plundering the people, she had recourse at length to harsher methods, causing them to be suddenly seized, and as suddenly put to death. This endeared her to the commonalty, and so humbled the nobility, that they durst neither oppress their vassals, as they were wont, nor undertake any thing against their sovereign, as they designed. But this peaceable situation of things lasted but a very short time; *Ferokhzad* being marched into the frontier provinces, in order to oppose the attempts of the *Greek* emperor, his mistress was seized with a violent distemper, which, in a little time, hurried her out of the world, not without strong suspicions, that she died a martyr to that love which she had shewn for the people. On her decease the public affairs fell into the greatest confusion: the nobility began to see, that there was no trusting to the weakness of a woman; and therefore they fixed upon *Giban Schedah*, a prince of the royal blood, but a man of very mean parts, and declared him king, that they might govern as they pleased themselves. But when he came to be inaugurated, he said, That the imperial diadem was very heavy, and that it did not fit him. This the nobility would needs understand metaphorically, and as the effects of his modesty; but the people either saw, or fancied they saw, such evident simplicity in his looks, that, after a few days, they deposed him, and seated the youngest daughter of *Khosrou Perviz* on the throne [r] (M).

Azurmi

[r] Mirkhond. sect. 40. Khondamir. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Touran Dockt.

(M) The confusion of this country could not be greater than that of all its historians, in respect to its princes, or those who were called its princes, at this time. We have followed the catalogue of *Khondemir*, because he was an author of great judgment, and did not adhere implicitly to those from whom he wrote. The *Spanish* copy of *Mirkhond* hath a prince called *Joonschir*, who is called the twenty second monarch of this dynasty; and it is said, that he was nephew to *Baharam Tchoubin*; and this surname is said to signify *a young lion*, or *a beautiful lion*; but we acknowledge, that we are able to give no account of this matter, or to divine who this man should be. It is true, some christian writers mention one *Khosrau* or *Chosroes*, the grandson of the last *Chosroes*; but this is unintelligible, unless we suppose, that they meant *Ardschir*,

Azermi Dockt had as much sense as her sister, and is said to have surpassed her very much in beauty. On her first accession to the throne, she gave the people the strongest hopes of a mild and happy reign; but when the news of her becoming queen reached the province of *Khorassan*, *Perok Hormouz*, who had been long governor thereof, conceived a violent desire of marrying her; and therefore, intrusting the province with his son of the same name, he set out for *Madain*, in order to carry his scheme into execution. The queen, knowing the restless disposition of the people, and the great power of this nobleman in his province, received him with great civility, and did him all the honours in her power; but all this had no effect; his passion or his ambition was so very strong, that nothing could possibly satisfy him, less than being made the partner of her bed and throne; a thing she could not grant. Upon her refusal, her lover had the insolence to threaten her, and even to have recourse to force; upon which, in her own defence, she was constrained to seize him and put him to death. His son, when informed of his father's catastrophe, forgetting the duty he owed his sovereign, and that his father had drawn this evil upon himself, marched immediately with an army to revenge what he held a disgrace; and having forced the city of *Madain*, stormed the palace, made the queen prisoner, and afterwards, notwithstanding all the tears and intreaties of her subjects, caused her in cool blood to be put to death. This enormous crime Azermi Dockt.

schir, who might be called *Chosroes*, because all the *Persian* kings were so called; which, however, is improbable. Perhaps after all, this *Joonschir* might be the same with *Giban Schedah*, of whom we have spoken in the text; and whose reign of a few days *Khondemir* hath omitted in his list. We must acknowledge, that there is little affinity between the names; but all the names in *Teixera*'s version are so strangely written, that at least half the *German* critic's observations on the *Persian* kings are spent in reconciling them to the *Arabic*. There is, we know, a strong objection to this account of the matter; and that is, that *Teixera* also mentions this monarch, and likewise a son of his, whom he calls *Kesere*, by which doubtless he meant *Khosrou*. But to all this it may be answered, that, as we find these kings no-where else, we may safely suppose them to be but one and the same person; and that, instead of *Joonschir*, *Jasancedah*, and *Kesere*, we ought to read, *Khosrou Giban Schedah*. But all this is left to the decision of the reader (34).

(34) *Teixera*, c. 41. *Schikard Tarich. Khondemir. Eben Batrick. Lebtarikh*, &c.

rendered

rendered him ſo obnoxious to all who had any ſenſe of humanity, that, diſtruſting the army he had brought with him, he immediately retired back into *Khoraſſan*. After his departure, it was diſcovered, that when the children of *Khoſrou Perviz* were put to death, a boy, his grandſon, had been preſerved by his aunts. This young man therefore the nobility brought from the place where he was hid, and reſolved to beſtow upon him the crown, the rather perhaps, becauſe, excepting his birth, he had nothing that could recommend him [t]. The name of this young prince was

Ferokhzad. *Ferokhzad*. He was eſteemed a good-natured, inoffenſive lad, and, in quiet times, might very probably have made a very gracious prince. As it was, he had not time to give any ſigns either of ability, or want of it; for before he had reigned a month, he was, on what account we know not, poiſoned by one of his ſlaves, and the kingdom thereby thrown once more into confuſion [u].

Jezdegerd III. We are now arrived at the laſt of the *Perſian* kings, whoſe name was *Jezdegerd Ben Scheheriar*, of whoſe pedigree it is neceſſary that we ſhould give a clear account. Some of the *Greek* writers call him the ſon of *Siroes*; which is abſolutely impoſſible he ſhould have been. Others, acknowledging this, ſay, he was the deſcendant of that prince in a remote degree. This, however, only carries the miſtake a little further out of ſight; for it is juſt as impoſſible that he ſhould be his deſcendant, as that he ſhould be his ſon. *Mirkhond* gives us the following account, which, tho' it hath ſomething in it of the marvellous, yet, as it hath manifeſtly a mixture of truth, the reader muſt take it, till our acquaintance with the oriental hiſtories procures him a better: *Khoſrou Perviz*, towards the latter end of his reign, had a very odd dream. He fancied he ſaw the city, in which he then was, ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, adorned with eleven fine towers, and that theſe, while he was looking upon them, fell, one after another, to the ground; ſo that the city was left quite open and defenceleſs. In the morning the king ſent for ſome of the magi, told them his dream, and beſought them to explain it; which they did to this purpoſe: That, by the fortified city, was repreſented the kingdom of *Perſia*; by the towers, the princes who ſhould ſucceed him; and by the open and defenceleſs condition in which it was at laſt left, the final ſub-

[t] Mirkhond, ſect. 43. Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Schikard. Tarich, p. 169.

[u] Mirkhond. ſect. 45. Schikard. Tarich. p. 170.

verſion

verſion of the monarchy. The king, ſtrangely alarmed by his dream, and quite diſtracted with its interpretation, began to caſt about in his mind how to prevent its taking effect. Amongſt other notions that came into his head, one was, that the number of his ſons might cauſe great diſturbance; for he had no leſs at that time than eighteen. He therefore ordered, that they ſhould be all committed to cuſtody, and ſo ſtrictly kept, as not to have the permiſſion of ſeeing their wives or children. One of them, *Scheheriar*, having lately married a lady, whoſe name was *Schirin*, and being paſſionately fond of her, he firſt contrived a means of writing to her, and then of ſeeing her. The ſtratagem he made uſe of was this: he pretended to be ſeized with a fever, and deſired that he might be let blood. *Schirin*, upon this occaſion perſonated a ſurgeon; and from this interview ſhe became with child. When it was known, the hiſtorian tells us, that *Khoſrou* ordered the child to be made away with, as ſoon it ſhould be born; but being at laſt mollified by the tears and paſſionate intreaties of the mother, he directed that it ſhould be expoſed in the woods; which was accordingly done; but by the care of its parents, it was ſoon taken from thence, and privately educated. If this be true, then the reaſon why *Siroes* put his brethren to death will no longer remain a ſecret, but ſerve as a ſufficient warrant to diſtruſt all interpretations of dreams, which, we ſee, are often fatal, and almoſt always deluſive. However, we think, that the dream of *Khoſrou* might have been better interpreted; and if it had, none of theſe bad conſequences would have followed. It appears, by the age at which *Jezdegerd* mounted the throne, *viz.* ſixteen, that this dream happened to *Khoſrou* in the twenty ſeventh year of his reign. The eleven towers therefore might have been underſtood to be the years he was ſtill to ſit upon the throne; and the deſolate condition in which he ſaw the city, after they were fallen down, expreſſed perfectly well his own miſerable circumſtances at the end of that period. But to proceed [x].

Jezdegerd the third, who appears to have been the grandſon of *Khoſrou Perviz*, aſcended the *Perſian* throne, and made choice of *Ferokhzad*, who had been his aunt's general, for his prime miniſter and commander in chief. He was ſcarce arrived at man's eſtate, before he found the crown totter on his head, being attacked on all ſides of his dominions by powerful enemies. Authors are extremely divided

Jezdegerd *defeated*

[x] MIRKHOND. ſect. 46. SCHIKARD Tarikh. p. 270. & ſeq.

as to the beginning of his wars; for ſome alledge, that the *Turks*, that is, the inhabitants of *Turqueſtan*, the inveterate enemies of the *Perſians*, invaded the frontiers of his dominion next them, and that, while he marched to make head againſt them, the *Arabs* invaded *Chaldea*; whereupon he was forced to return to oppoſe theſe. Others affirm, that the *Turks* did not invade his dominions; but that he ſent for them to his aſſiſtance, but was ſo unfortunate as to be obliged to fight before they could come up. In this confuſion, all that we can do is to report facts, as clearly and as methodically as we can. It ſeems then, that the caliph *Omar*, being extremely deſirous of reducing *Perſia* under his dominion, ſent a part of his army, under the command of *Sâd*, to penetrate into that country through *Chaldea*. *Ferokhzad*, who was upon the ſpot, took all imaginable pains to haraſs the *Arabs* in their march; and having an army ſuperior to them in numbers, employed them continually in ſkirmiſhes, which were ſometimes favourable to him, and ſometimes otherwiſe. But *Sâd* perceiving clearly, that this lingering war would deſtroy his army, and that to very little purpoſe, determined to puſh forward, and force the enemy to a general engagement. The *Perſians* declined this as long as they could; but at length finding a convenient plain, where all their forces might act, near the city of *Cadeſſia*, *Ferokhzad* drew up there in order of battle, and reſolved to wait for the *Arabs*. It was not long before *Sâd* and his forces appeared, who ſeeing how advantageouſly the *Perſian* army was poſted, rejoiced thereat, as hoping that he ſhould now be able to fight, which was all he ſought; ſince a long war, at ſo great a diſtance from his own country, would have deſtroyed him, even if he had been ſucceſsful in ſlight engagements. He therefore diſpoſed his troops, in the beſt order he could, and attacked the *Perſians* with great fury. There never was a battle more famous in hiſtory than this, nor one that deſerved it better, either on account of the reſolution with which it was fought, or of the conſequences that followed thereupon. It laſted three days and nights, the *Perſians* retiring continually from one poſt to another, till at length they were intirely defeated, and, by this defeat, the capital city, and the greateſt part of the dominions of *Perſia*, fell into the hands of the *Arabs*. Moſt of the oriental writers call the *Perſian* general *Roſtam*; but we believe that was rather a title of honour, or a common name for all the champions of their country. The firſt thing they did was, to ſeize on the treaſures of *Khoſrou*, which were ſo immenſe, that ſome *Mohammedan* writers tell us,

us, their prophet, to entourage his disciples, carried them to a rock; which, at his command, opened, and gave them a prospect through it of the treasures in the vaults of *Khosrou* [y].

He retires into Choraſſan.

ON the loss of this battle, *Jezdegerd* retired into *Choraſſan*; and, tho' he had not reigned above three years; lost, from that time forwards; all the rest of his dominions, except the two dependent provinces of *Kerman* and *Sigestan*, which he held as long as he lived, partly by force, keeping up a considerable army about his person, and partly because the *Arabs* were not at leisure to carry on a war at such a distance. But tho' the king retired so early, some of the governors of his provinces maintained themselves longer, hoping to turn them into little kingdoms for their own benefit. Among these *Hormozan* possessed himself of *Khouhistan*, and held it for some time; but being at length reduced to great extremities, he surrendered it up, and went in person to pay his duty to the caliph *Omar*, who received him kindly, and at whose request he embraced the *Mohammedan* religion [z].

Is killed in a battle.

WHEN *Jezdegerd* had possessed the royal title about nineteen years, a new misfortune fell upon him; for one of the governors of the few towns he had left, betrayed it, and called in the *Turks*. This place was called *Merou*, seated on the river *Gihon* or *Oxus*, and therefore called *Merou al Roud*, or *Merou of the river*, to distinguish it from another *Merou*, lying, as well as this, in the province of *Choraſſan*. *Jezdegerd* immediately marched with his army to give battle to the rebels and their allies the *Turks*. In this engagement he was defeated, and having, with much difficulty, reached the river, he found there a little boat, and a fisherman to whom it belonged. To him the king offered a bracelet of precious stones; but the fellow being equally brutal and stupid, said his fare was five farthings, and he would not take either more or less. While the king and he disputed, a party of the rebel horse came up, and knowing *Jezdegerd*, killed him. This happened in the year after Christ 652 [a] (N).

THE

[y] KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH. ABUL-PHAR. hist. dynast. dyn. ix. [z] LEBTARIKH. KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND, ubi supra. [a] KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH.

(N) There hath been a great deal of dispute as to the settling the commencement of the æra *Jesdagergica*, so called from this last king of the *Persians*. It would be needless to cite what several chronologers have advanced upon this head, many of them, though

Account of his family.

THE common opinion is, that with this unfortunate prince the majeſty of the *Saſſanian* line ſunk irretrievably. But this, like many other common opinions, is far from being ſtrictly true. *Jezdegerd* left behind him a ſon and a daughter. The name of the ſon was *Firouz*, and of the daughter *Dara*. The latter eſpouſed *Boſtenay*, whom the rabbinical writers qualified with the title of *head of the captivity*. In fact he was the chief or prince of the *Jews* ſettled in *Chaldea*. As for *Firouz*, he ſtill preſerved a little principality, and dying, left an only daughter, whoſe name was *Mah Afrid*, who married *Valid* the ſon of the caliph *Abdalmalek*, by whom he had a ſon named *Jezid*, who became caliph, and conſequently ſo-

great men in other reſpects, having ſhewn little ſkill on this ſubject, and at the ſame time not a little arrogance, in expecting that their deciſions ſhould be implicitly yielded to, even by thoſe who were better informed; and therefore Dr. *Hyde* (41) had great reaſon to teſtify his amazement, that *Petavius* ſhould aſſign three years for the reign of *Jezdegerd*; whereas there is no fact more certainly eſtabliſhed, than that he died about the cloſe of his twentieth year. The true ſtate of this queſtion is not, as moſt writers put it, whether the commencement of this æra ought to be fixed to the acceſſion, or to the death, of *Jezdegerd*, but where it is really fixed by the beſt *Oriental* authors; ſince our conjectures can have no effect upon their computations, and the utmoſt we can expect from them is, to know how to regulate our own. The beſt of the *Oriental* writers fix the commencement of this æra very preciſely at the 16th of *June*, in the eleventh year of the *Hegira*, and in the year of Chriſt 632 (42). Now it is certain, that this date coincides not with the death, but the acceſſion, of *Jezdegerd*; and if any are of opinion, that this æra ought to begin at his death, then it muſt begin in the thirty firſt year of the *Hegira*, and in the year of Chriſt 652. Why the *Eaſtern* authors made choice of the acceſſion, rather than the death, of *Jezdegerd*, is a queſtion that we can eaſily reſolve. It is before ſhewn, that *Jezdegerd* had lived as a private man, as his father always did, till the *Perſians*, underſtanding how juſt a title he had thereto, ſet him upon the throne. Now, the *Arabs* ſay, this was done with the conſent of their khalif, who, therefore, looking upon him as his tributary, reckoned the kingdom of *Perſia* among the reſt of his dominions thenceforward, regarding the ſubſequent reduction of that country not as a conqueſt, but as the reuniting a part of his empire torn away by a rebel. This is plainly the cauſe why the commencement of this æra is and ought to be fixed at the acceſſion of *Jezdegerd*; which was what we undertook to prove.

(41) *Relig. vet. Perſar. p.* 201. (42) *Olugh. Beigh. Alphergan. &c.*

vereign

vereign of *Perſia*; who was ſo far from thinking himſelf above claiming the title derived to him by his mother, that he conſtantly ſtiled himſelf the ſon of *Khoſrou* king of *Perſia*, the deſcendant of the caliph *Maroan*, and among whoſe anceſtors, of the ſide of the mother, were the *Roman* emperor and the khakan. This end had the dynaſty of the *Saſſanians*, according to the *Oriental* hiſtorians; and conſequently here ends this ſection [b].

[b] ABUL-PHAR. ubi ſupra. KHONDEMIR. D'HERBELOT. B.O. artic. Jezid ben Valid.

BOOK

BOOK III.

The ROMAN *Hiſtory.*

CHAP. I.

The antient ſtate of Italy *to the building of* Rome.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Italy.

AS the ſeveral petty ſtates and kingdoms, which we are to write of in this place, were antiently comprehended under the common name of *Italy*; for the better underſtanding the preſent hiſtory, we ſhall premiſe a general deſcription of that country, following therein the beſt guides of antiquity, and conſidering this beautiful region in its moſt flouriſhing condition, that is, in the times of the *Roman* republic, and in the reign of *Auguſtus*, that prince having introduced a new partition of the *Italian* provinces, which continued, without any conſiderable alteration, to the diviſion of the empire.

Names. *Italy*, a country once revered, and ſtill admired by all nations, was, in more antient times, known by the names of *Saturnia*, *Oenotria*, *Heſperia*, and *Auſonia*. It was called *Saturnia* from *Saturn*, who, being driven out of *Crete* by his ſon *Jupiter*, is ſuppoſed to have taken refuge here. The names of *Oenotria* and *Auſonia* it borrowed from its antient inhabitants the *Oenotrians* and *Auſones*; and that of *Heſperia*, or *Weſtern*, given it by the *Greeks*, from its ſituation with reſpect to *Greece*. The name of *Italia*, or *Italy*, which,

North

West

East

South

ANCIENT ITALY

Alpes Iuliæ

LIBURNIA

DALMATIA

PART OF GREECE

MARE SUPERUM or ADRIATIC SEA

MARE INFERUM or the TYRRHENIAN SEA

LIGVSTIC SEA

THE SARDINIAN SEA

IONIAN SEA

RHETIA

CISALPINE GAUL

TRANSALPINE GAUL

ITALY

LATIVM

CAMPANIA

APULIA

LVCANIA

BRUTII

Geneva

Lemanus Lac.

Rhodanus Flu.

Isara Flu.

Cottii

Vapincum

Druentia Flu.

Durance R.

Dinia

Varus Flu.

Nicæa

Var R.

Stoechade Islands

Hieres Isl.

Vada Sabatia

Albium Ingaunum

Gallinaria

Porcifera

Genua

Pisa

Luca

Arnus Flu.

Serchio R.

Arno R.

Volaterræ

Populonium

Populonia

Telamon

Umbro Flu.

Ombrone R.

Cosa

Graviscæ

Tiber R.

Ostia

Roma

Ostia

Antium

Circeii

Terracina

Fossa Augusta

Pomptinæ Paludes

Pontine Marshes

Minturnæ

Liris Flu.

Garigliano R.

Sinuessa

Volturnus Flu.

Volturno R.

Capua

Casilinum

Calatia

Cumæ

Puteoli

Neapolis

Naples

Herculaneum

Pompeii

Surrentum

Sorrento

Capreæ I.

Capri

Salernum

Salerno

Paestum

Velia

Palinurum prom.

Palinuro C.

Laus Flu.

Lao R.

Sybaris

Thurii antea Sybaris

Bay of Tarentum

Heraclea

Metapontum

Tarentum

Brundisium

Brindisi

Lupiæ

Hydruntum

Otranto

Hydrus

Castrum Minervæ

Leuca

Iapygium promont.

Iapygia

Messapia

Calabria

Salentini

Sallentina

Veneti

Padus Flu.

Po R.

Ravenna

Rimini

Ariminum

Rubicon Flu.

Pisaurum

Fanum Fortunæ

Fano

Ancona

Picenum

Numana

Firmum Firentum

Firmo

Asculum

Ascoli

Adriatic Sea

Aternus Flu.

Pescara R.

Hadria

Atri

Matrinus Flu.

Frentani

Larinum

Larino

Sangro R.

Histonium

Vasto

Teate

Chieti

Marrucini

Peligni

Sulmo

Sulmona

Corfinium

Aufidena

Alfidena

Samnium

Samnites

Bovianum

Boiano

Æsernia

Isernia

Venafrum

Volturnus Flu.

Casinum

Cassino

Aquinum

Fregellæ

Frosinone

Anagnia

Anagni

Tusculum

Frascati

Alba Longa

Lavinium

Ardea

Antium

Anzio

Circeii

Circeo

Terracina

Privernum

Velitræ

Velletri

Tibur

Tivoli

Præneste

Palestrina

Gabii

Collatia

Nomentum

Fidenæ

Veii

Falerii

Capena

Lucus Feroniæ

Soracte

Sabini

Sabina

Amiternum

Aquila

Reate

Rieti

Interamna

Terni

Nursia

Norcia

Spoletium

Spoleto

Mevania

Bevagna

Hispellum

Spello

Perusia

Perugia

Trasimenus Lacus

Lake Trasimene

Cortona

Clusium

Chiusi

Arretium

Arezzo

Camars

Camaldoli

Alpes Apuanæ

Apuan Alps

Apennine Mountains

Mutina

Modena

Regium

Reggio

Parma

Placentia

Piacenza

Bononia

Bologna

Ariminum

Rimini

Insubres

Mediolanum

Milan

Comum

Como

Lacus Larius

Lake Como

Lacus Verbanus

Lake Maggiore

Ticinum

Pavia

Padua

Verona

Brixia

Brescia

Bergomum

Bergamo

Cremona

Mantua

Mincius R.

Adige R.

Athesis Flu.

Rhætian Mountains

Rhætia

Vindelicia

Noricum

Carnia

Forum Julii

Cividale

Aquileia

Tergeste

Trieste

Istria

Parenzo

Pola

Flanona

Fluvius Arsia

Arsa R.

Tedanius Flu.

Tedanio R.

Iader

Zara

Liburnia

Narona

Epidaurus

Ragusa

Rhizinium

Risano

Olchinium

Dulcigno

Drilo Flu.

Drin R.

Lissus

Alessio

Apollonia

Dyrrachium

Durazzo

Aulon

Corcyra

Corfu

Diomedes Island

Tremiti Islands

Oenotrides Islands

Aeolie Islands

Lipara

Hiera

Strongyle

Stromboli

Didime

Hiera

Euonymus

Heraclii I.

Ericusa

Phanagia

Lamotici

Ogygia Dioscorum I

Crotona

Crimisa

Consentia

Cosenza

Thesia

Sybaris

Thurii

Petelia

Strongoli

Caulonia

Castella

Locri

Rhegium

Reggio

Messana

Messina

Part of Sicily

Scylleum

Scylaceum

Squillace

Catacium promont.

Vibo

Hipponium

Terina

Lametia

Nicotera

Tauriana

Medma

Rosarno

Metaurus Flu.

Gioia

Mamertum

Oppidum

Palmaria

Pandataria

Ponza

Inarime

Prochyta

Ischia

Misenum promont.

Misenum

Baiæ

Cumæ

Puteoli

Neapolis

Naples

Herculaneum

Pompeii

Stabiæ

which, in proceſs of time, prevailed over all the reſt, ſome derive from *Italus*, king of the *Siculi*; others from the *Greek* word *Italos*, ſignifying *an ox*, this country abounding, by reaſon of its rich paſtures, with oxen of an extraordinary ſize and beauty [a]. All theſe names were originally peculiar to particular provinces of *Italy*; but afterwards applied to the whole country.

Limits.

THE limits of *Italy* have been fixed by nature itſelf, which ſeems not only to have taken more than ordinary care in ſupplying this happy region with every thing neceſſary both for the ſupport and pleaſures of life, but in parting it from all other countries, and defending by ſtrong barriers its native riches from foreign invaders. Thus it is divided from *Africa*, *Greece*, the antient *Dalmatia*, and *Liburnia*, by the *Tyrrhenian*, *Ionian*, and *Adriatic* ſeas; and from *Tranſalpine Gaul* and *Rhætia*, now part of *Germany*, by a long ridge of ſteep mountains, called the *Alps*. The country comprized within theſe boundaries is, according to *Cluverius*, about 900 miles in length; for ſuch is the diſtance between *Auguſta Prætoria*, now *Aoſta*, at the foot of the *Alps*, and cape *Leucopetra*, now *Capo del Armi*, in the country of the *Brutii*, or the *Farther Calabria*, as it is called by the preſent inhabitants. In ſhape it reſembles a man's leg, rather than the leaf of an oak, to which the ancients compared it, and is conſequently very unequal in breadth, being at the foot of the *Alps*, according to the above-mentioned writers, five hundred and ſixty miles broad; in the middle parts, that is, between *Ancona* and the mouth of the *Tiber*, an hundred and thirty ſix; and in ſome places ſcarce twenty five.

Diviſions.

Italy, taking that word in its moſt extenſive ſignification, was in antient times, like moſt other countries, parcelled out into endleſs petty ſtates and kingdoms, which we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this hiſtory. In after-ages, when the *Gauls* ſettled in the weſtern, and many *Greek* colonies in the eaſtern provinces of this country, it was divided, with reſpect to its inhabitants, into three great parts, *viz. Gallia Ciſalpina*, *Italy properly ſo called*, and *Magna Græcia*. This diviſion, as it has been generally adopted by the antient geographers and hiſtorians, we ſhall follow in our preſent ſurvey of *Italy*, after having acquainted our readers, that we do not deſign to deſcribe, in this place, the many towns and cities of note which antient *Italy* contained, being well apprized, that ſuch an undertaking would prove

[a] Vide DION. HALICAR. l. i p. 29. AUL. GEL. l xi. c. 1. & SERVIUM in l. 1. Æn. ver. 533.

tedious

tedious to them, and at the ſame time oblige us to exceed the limits we preſcribe to ourſelves. On theſe two conſiderations we ſhall at preſent take only a curſory view of them, ſuch as may give our readers a clear idea of their ſituation with reſpect to each other, and reſerve a more diſtinct account of them for the particular countries to which they belonged.

Ciſalpine Gaul.

To begin with the firſt member of the above-mentioned diviſion: The moſt weſtern and northern provinces of *Italy* were in great part poſſeſſed by the *Gauls*, and thence called *Gallia*, or *Gaul*, with the epithets of *Ciſalpina* and *Citerior*, becauſe they lay on the ſide of the *Alps* next to *Rome*, and *Togata* with relation to the *Roman gown* or *dreſs*, which the inhabitants uſed; but this laſt epithet is of a much later date than the former [b]. *Plutarch* [c] and *Pliny* [d] call the country we are ſpeaking of *Italia Subalpina*, or *Italy* at the foot of the *Alps*; and *Polybius* ſimply *Italy* [e]. In like manner *Brutus*, in one of his epiſtles to *Cicero*, and *Cicero* in his anſwer to him [f], give the name of *Italy*, without any epithet, to that tract at the foot of the *Alps*, where the antient city of *Eporedia*, now *Ivria*, ſtood. Whence it is plain that the large and fruitful provinces formerly poſſeſſed by the *Gauls* were, ſtrictly ſpeaking, part of *Italy*, and called *Gaul*, only becauſe inhabited by the *Gauls*, who firſt ſettled there in the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*. This appellation was antiquated in the reign of *Auguſtus*, when the diviſion of *Italy* into eleven regions, introduced by that prince, took place. And hence it is, that the name of *Ciſalpine Gaul* frequently occurs in the authors who flouriſhed before, and ſcarce ever in thoſe who wrote after, the reign of *Auguſtus*.

Its boundaries.

As to the boundaries of this country, it extended from the *Alps* and the river *Varus*, parting it from *Tranſalpine Gaul*, to the river *Aeſis*, according to *Livy* [g], or, as *Pliny* will have it [h], to the city of *Ancona* in the antient *Picenum*. *Cicero* [i], *Suetonius* [k], and *Plutarch* [l], make the river *Rubico*, between *Ravenna* and *Ariminum*, the eaſtern boundary of *Ciſalpine Gaul*. But theſe writers are to be underſtood as ſpeaking of *Gaul*, after the *Romans*, under the conduct of *M. Lepidus*, had made themſelves maſters of *Picenum* and *Umbria*, and reduced them

[b] Vide Dio. Caſs. l. xlviii. p. 364. [c] Plut. in Marcel. ſub init. & in Cæſ. [d] Plin. l. xvi. c. 11. [e] Polyb. l. xi. c. 13. [f] Cic l. xi. epiſt. 23, & 24. [g] Liv. l. v. c. 35. [h] Plin. l. iii. c. 14. [i] Cic. Philip. vi. c. 3. [k] Sueton. in Cæſar. c. 31. [l] Plut. in Cæſar.

to

A Map of Gallia Cisalpina Liguria and the Neighbouring Countries *By* G. Delisle

Chief Geographer to the French King and Member of the Royal Academie of Sciences

BELGICA
GERMANY
GERMANY
Hercinian Forest
BOHEMIA
Black Forest and
The Danube
R. Inn
The Danube
R. Iser
BAVARIA
ILLYRICUM
NORICUM
R. Seyne
Parisians
Carnutes
R. Seyne
GALLIA CELTICA
Senones
Lingones
The Rhine
HELVETIA
RHETIA
Berruyers
Autunois
The Rhine
Mount Adula
R. Adige
Alpes Carnicae
GALLIA TRANSALPINA
Boii
Insubres
Lake Lemanus or L. of Geneva
R. Rhone
Alpes Penninæ
R. Addua
Trente
Veneti
Carni
Aquileia
City of the Gauls
Lyons
R. Rhone
Alpes Graiæ
Insubres
Como
Milan
Bergamo
Brescia
Cenomani
Vicentia
Verona
Padua
Istria
R. Arsa
Arverni
GALLIA CISALPINA
Mount Cenis
Vercel
Novara
Libici
Cremona
Mantua
R. Adige
The Mouth of the Po
R. Isere
Alpes Cottiæ
Turin
R. Po
Taurini
Stadielli
Cericiates
Celelates
Placentia
Parma
Milan Way
Bologne
Boii
Langrois
MARE SUPERUM or the ADRIATICK
Ravenna
R. Utis
R. Sapis
Ariminum
Pisaurum
Le Tricastin
Mount Genevre
Mount Vesulus
LIGURIA
Genoa
Mutila
Faventia
Solonc
Senones
Ancona
Cevennes M.
Trois chateaux
THE ROMAN PROVINCE
Durance
LIGURIA
Alpes maritimæ
Monaco or Port of Hercules
River Arno
Luca
Apennines
Tribe Sapinia
Pisa
Florentia
Tribe Arnienſis
Volaterræ
Antium
Metaurus R.
Senanus R.
Potentia
Arles
TRANSALPINA
Salyes
Marſeilles
Beziers
Narbonne
Perpignan
Temple of Venus Pyrenea
THE LIGUSTIC SEA
HETRURIA
PICENUM
UMBRIA
Pollentia
Præſutiani
Vestini
Adria
Pretutium
Gallicum
Nequinum
Narnia
R. Nar
Ocriculum
Volſinii
Volſcii
Aurunci
Tarquinii
Veii
ROME
MARE INFERUM
OR THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Roman Miles of 5000 foot each
50 100 150
CORSICA
TYRHENIAN SEA
THE TUSCIA

19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33
49 48 47 46 45 44 43

to the form of a *Roman* province, there being nothing more certain, than that theſe countries were antiently poſſeſſed, in great part, by the *Senones* [m], and conſequently comprized within the limits of *Ciſalpine Gaul*; nay, they retained the name of *Ager Gallicus*, or *Gallicanus*, even after they were become a *Roman* province [n]. On the north *Ciſalpine Gaul* was divided from *Rhætia* by the *Alps*, called *Alpes Rhæticæ*, and from *Illyricum* by the river *Formio*; but on this ſide the borders of *Italy* were, in *Pliny*'s time, extended to the river *Arſia* in *Iſtria* [o]. On the ſouth it reached to the *Liguſtic* ſea and the *Appennines*, parting it from *Etruria*; ſo that, under the common name of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, were comprehended the countries lying at the foot of the *Alps*, called by *Pliny* and *Strabo* the *Subalpine* countries, *Liguria*, *Gallia Ciſpadana*, and *Gallia Tranſpadana*. The countries bordering on the *Alps* were inhabited by the *Vediantii*, or *Veſtiantii*, as *Ptolemy* calls them, the *Vagienni*, the *Taurini*, the *Seguſiani*, the *Salaſſi*, the *Lepontii*, the *Libicii*, and the *Canini*. The *Vediantii* inhabited the ſmall tract lying on the eaſt bank of the *Varus*, and extending from the *Alpes Maritimæ* to the territory of *Nicæa*. Next to them, on the north ſide of the *Alpes Maritimæ*, and near the ſource of the *Padus* or *Po*, were the *Vagienni*. *Cemelium*, or *Cemenelium*, was the metropolis of the *Vediantii*; and *Auguſta Vagiennorum*, now *Saluzzo*, of the *Vagienni*. The *Taurini* were parted from the *Vagienni* by the *Po*, on which river ſtood their metropolis, called firſt *Tauraſia* [p], and afterwards, from a colony ſent thither by *Auguſtus*, *Auguſta Taurinorum* [q]. *Forum Vibii*, another city of the *Taurini*, is placed by *Pliny* [r] at a ſmall diſtance from the head of the *Po*. North of the *Taurini*, and among the *Alps* lay the kingdom of *Cottius*, from whom the neighbouring mountains were called *Alpes Cottiæ*. The *Seguſiani* were ſubject to him; and *Seguſio*, *Secuſia*, or *Seguſium*, now *Suſa*, on the *Druria*, was the metropolis of this ſmall kingdom [s]. The *Salaſſi* poſſeſſed the country lying between the *Alpes Graiæ*, on the north, and the country of the *Libicii*, on the ſouth. Their chief cities were *Auguſta Prætoria* and *Eporedia*, now *Aoſta* and *Ivrea*, both on the *Great Druria*. For in this country there were two rivers, as *Pliny* obſerves [t], bearing the ſame name; the

The Subalpine *nations.*

[m] Vide STRAB. l. v. p. 150, 157. [n] CIC. in Catilin. orat. 2. c 3, & 12. [o] PLIN. ibid. c. 18, & 19. [p] APPIAN. in Hannibal. [q] PLIN. ibid. c. 17. TACIT. hiſt. l. xi. c. 66. [r] PLIN. ibid c. 17, & 18. [s] Idem, l. iii c. 20. Vide JAC. SPON. miſc Er. antiq. p. 198. [t] PLIN. l. iii c 5.

one called the *Great Druria*, ſpringing from the *Alpes Graiæ*; the other, which he ſtyles the *Little Druria*, riſing on *Alpes Cottiæ*. *Auguſta Prætoria* was ſo called from a colony of three thouſand *Prætorian* ſoldiers ſent thither by *Auguſtus*. *Eporedia*, built about an hundred years before the chriſtian æra, was firſt a *Roman* colony, and afterwards a municipium [u]. The territory of the *Lepontii* lay between the *Salaſſi* and the *Lacus Verbanus*, now *Lago Maggiore*. Their metropolis was *Oſcela*, called by the modern inhabitants *Domo d'Oſcela*. Next to them were the *Libicii*, or *Libui*, who poſſeſſed that tract, which was watered by the *Seſſites*, now the *Seſſia*. Their chief cities were *Vercellæ* and *Laumellum*, which ſtill retain their ancient names. The country of the *Canini* lay between the lakes *Verbanus* and *Larius*. The *Alpes Maritimæ*, or *maritime Alps*, which we have mentioned above, extended from the mouth of the *Varus* to mount *Veſulus*, now *Veſo* in *Piedmont*, and were ſo called from their ſituation. The *Alpes Graiæ*, or *Greek Alps*, reach from mount *Cenis* to the ancient *Mons Jovis*, at preſent known by the name of *The Great St. Bernard*. Some ancient writers ſuppoſe, that *Hercules* paſſed theſe mountains at the head of an army of *Greeks* on his return from *Spain*, after he had ſubdued *Geryon*, and derive from thence the appellation of *Alpes Graiæ*. But *Livy* [w] looks upon this expedition of *Hercules* as altogether fabulous.

The countries, which we have hitherto deſcribed, are by *Strabo* and *Livy* placed within the confines of the ancient *Liguria*, and the inhabitants counted among the *Ligurian* nations, with the epithets of *Montani* and *Comati*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe who inhabited *Liguria properly ſo called*. Some ancient writers, quoted by *Pliny* [x], derive the *Lepontii* from the *Greeks*, whom they ſuppoſe *Hercules* to have left in theſe countries after he had paſſed the *Alps*, by reaſon of their being diſabled by the hardſhips they had ſuffered on that occaſion, from purſuing their march with the reſt of the army. But this opinion has no other foundation than the ſimilitude between the name of that people, and the *Greek* verb *leipo to leave*.

Liguria. *Liguria, properly ſo called*, was bounded on the eaſt by the river *Macra*; on the weſt by the *Varus*; on the ſouth by the *Liguſtic* ſea; and on the north by the *Po*. Cities of note in this country were, on the coaſt, *Nicæa*, now *Nizza*,

[u] Idem ibid. c. 17. Vell. Patercul. l. i. c. 15. Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 70. [w] Liv. l. v. c. 33. [x] Plin. l. iii. c. 20.

built

built by the *Maſſilienſes* as a barrier againſt the *Ligures Montani* [y]; *Portus Herculis Monæci*, now *Monaco*. *Portus Herculis* and *Portus Monæci* were, according to *Ptolemy*, two diſtinct cities; for that writer ſpeaks of a place, which he calls *Tropæa Auguſti*, lying between them. But herein he was certainly miſtaken, ſince all the ancient geographers and hiſtorians call the ſame place ſometimes *Portus Herculis*, and ſometimes *Portus Herculis Monæci*. This city is ſpoke of by *Virgil* [z], and deſcribed by *Lucan* [a]. *Albintemalium* or *Albium Intemelium*, *Albium Ingaunum*, or *Albingaunum*, *Vada*, *Sabata*, *Genua*, *Portus Delphini*, and *Portus Lunæ*; now *Vintimiglia*, *Albenga*, *Vado*, *Savona*, *Genoa*, *Porto Fino*, and *Golfo delle Spezie*, were all on the coaſt now called *La riviera di Genoa*. *Cluverius* ſuppoſes *Vada* and *Sabatia*, or *Sabata*, to be one and the ſame city, which he calls *Vada Sabatia*, but is therein contradicted by the learned *Lucas Holſtenius*. *Genua* was in ancient times, as it is at preſent, the chief city of *Liguria*, and an empory, as *Strabo* ſtyles it [b], to which merchants reſorted from all parts. The modern writers call it *Janua*, and pretend, that it was built by *Janus*; but the ancients conſtantly write it *Genua*. It was deſtroyed by *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and rebuilt by the *Romans*. *Portus Lunæ* is placed by all the ancients in *Liguria*, but the city of *Luna*, which ſtood on the eaſt bank of the *Macra*, in *Etruria* [c]. The inland cities of *Liguria* were *Pollentia*, *Alba Pompeia*, *Aſta*, *Aquæ Statiellæ*, *Forum Fulvii*, or *Valentium*, *Induſtria*, *Dertona*, and *Iria*, now *Pollenza*, *Alba*, *Aſti*, *Aqui*, *Valenza*, *Tortona*, *Voghera*. *Induſtria* was called by the ancient *Ligurians Bodincomagum*, becauſe it ſtood on the *Po*, which was known to them by the name of *Bodincus*, that is, *the bottomleſs* [d]. Some writers make the *Iria* the eaſtern boundary of *Liguria*; but as *Livy* [e] places the cities of *Calſtidium* and *Litubium* in that country, *Cluverius* extends its confines on this ſide of the river *Trebia*.

Gallia Ciſpadana.

NEXT to *Liguria* lay *Gallia Ciſpadana*, extending from the *Trebia* to the city of *Ancona*, and bounded on the north by the *Po*, and part of the *Adriatic*, and on the ſouth by the *Apennines*, parting it from *Etruria*. It was called *Gallia* from its inhabitants, and *Ciſpadana*, becauſe it lay on the ſide of the *Po* next to *Rome*. This country was poſſeſſed by the *Boii*, the *Lingones*, and the *Senones*. The chief

[y] STRAB. l. iv p. 140. [z] VIRGIL. l. vi. ÆNEID. ver. 130. [a] LUCAN. l. i. Pharſal. ver 405 [b] STRAB. l. iv. p. 839. [c] STRAB. ibid. TACIT. hiſt. l. ii. c. 15. MELA, l. ii. c. 1. PLIN. l. ii. c. 5. [d] Idem ibid. & c. 16. [e] LIV. l. xxxii. c. 29.

cities of the *Boii*, were *Placentia*, *Parma*, *Mutina*, and *Bononia*; of the *Lingones*, *Ravenna*, *Forum Cornelii*, *Faventia*, *Solona*, *Forum Livii*, *Forum Popilii*, and *Cæſena*; now *Ravenna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Citta di ſole*, *Forli*, *Forlinpopoli*, *Cæſena*; of the *Senones*, *Areminum*, *Piſaurum*, *Fanum Fortunæ*, *Sena Gallica*, and *Ancona*; now *Rimini*, *Peſaro*, *Fano*, *Sinigaglia*, *Ancona*.

Gallia Tranſpadana.

Gallia Tranſpadana extended from the countries of the *Lepontii*, *Libicii*, and *Canini*, mentioned above, and counted by *Strabo* and *Pliny* among the *Subalpine* nations, to the *Adriatic* ſea and the river *Formio*, now *Il Riſano*, parting it from *Iſtria*, being bounded on the ſouth by the *Po*, and on the north by the *Alpes Rheticæ* and *Carnicæ*; the former ſeparating it from *Rhætia*, now the *Trentin*, and the latter from the country of the *Carni*, now *Carniola*. This part of *Ciſalpine Gaul* was inhabited by the following nations, the *Orobii*, the *Inſubres*, the *Lævi*, the *Cenomani*, the *Euganei*, and the *Veneti*, and contained many cities of great note. Of theſe, *Comum*, *Bergomum*, and *Forum Licinii*, now *Como*, *Bergamo*, and *Pieve d'Incino*, or, as others will have it, *Berlaſina*, belonged to the *Orobii*; *Mediolanum*, *Laus Pompeia*, and *Forum Intuntorum*, now *Milan*, *Lodi*, *Crema*, to the *Inſubres*; *Novaria* and *Ticinum*, now *Novara* and *Pavia*, to the *Lævi*; *Brixia*, *Cremona*, *Mantua*, and *Verona*, to the *Cenomani*; *Sabium*, *Voberna*, *Edrum*, and *Vannia*, cities long ſince demoliſhed, to the *Euganei*; *Patavium*, *Vicetia*, or *Vicentia*, *Ateſte*, *Forum Allieni*, *Tarviſum*, *Ceneta*, *Aquileia*, *Forum Julii*, and *Tergeſte*, near the *Formio*, now *Padua*, *Vicenza*, *Eſte*, *Ferrara*, *Treviſo*, *Ceneda*, *Aquileia*, *Civitad di Friuli*, *Trieſte*, to the *Veneti*, by whom all that tract, which extends from the territories of the *Euganei* to the *Formio*, was anciently poſſeſſed; but in after-ages the *Carni* made themſelves maſters of the country lying between that river and the *Tilaventum*, now the *Piave*.

Italy properly ſo called.

Italy, properly ſo called, extended on the coaſt of the *Adriatic* from the city of *Ancona* to the river *Frento*, now the *Fortore*, and on the *Mediterranean* from the *Macra* to the *Silarus*, now the *Sele*, and comprehended *Etruria*, *Umbria*, *Sabinium*, *Latium*, *Picenum*, the countries of the *Veſtini*, *Marrucini*, *Peligni*, *Marſi*, *Frentani*, *Samnites*, *Hirpini*, *Campani*, and *Picentini*.

Etruria.

Etruria, inhabited by the *Etrurians*, *Tuſcans*, or, as the *Greeks* ſtyle them, *Tyrrhenians*, was bounded on the eaſt by the *Tiber*, on the weſt by the *Macra*, on the ſouth by the *Tyrrhenian*

A MAP OF THE MIDDLE REGIONS OF ITALY

THE TUSCAN OR TYRRHENIAN SEA

MARE ETRUSCUM SIVE TYRRHENUM

TYRRHENIAN SEA

RUSELLANI
VULSINIENSES
ETRURIA
FALISCI
TARQUINIENSES
CAERITES
VEIENTES
LATINI
RUTULI
UMBRIA
SABINI
PICENTES
PRAETUTII
VESTINI
MARRUCINI
PELIGNI
MARSI
FRENTANI
EQUICULI
HERNICI
CARACENI SAMNITES
SAMNIUM
PENTRI SAMNITES
VOLSCI
AURUNCI
CAMPANI

Rusellæ
Vulsini
Spoletium
Cosa
Cære
Falerii
Falisci
Tarquinii
Cures
Reate
Cutiliæ
Cubulæ
Amiternum
Pinnæ Vestinæ
Angulus
Corfinium
Veate Marrucinum
Alba
Tibur
Marrubium
Fucinus Lacus
Aquileium
Sublaqueum
Aricia
Aquinum
Arpinum
Fregellæ
Interamna Lirenas
Aquino
Venafrum
Teanum Sidicinum
Capua
Cumæ
Neapolis
Inf. Pitheciusæ
Puteoli
Baiæ
Misenum
Pompeii
Minervæ Prom.
Circæum Promontorium
Antium
Ardea
Laurentum
Lavinium
Ostia
Portus Augusti
Portus Trajani
Fossa Mariana
Lacus Sabatinus
Lacus Alsiensis
Lacus Vadimonis
Lacus Fucinus
Lacus Velinus
Lacus Albanus
Simonia
Palmaria I.
Ponza I.
Ostia Tiberina
Tarquinia
Caletra
Saturnia
Vulci
Volsinii
Clusium
Perusia
Trasimenus Lacus
Ocriculum
Narnia
Interamna Nartes
Hadria
Atri
Matrinum
Aternum fl.
Piscina
Sulmo
Alatrium
Anagnia
Ferentinum
Frusino
Fabrateria Vetus
Fabrateria Nova
Suessa Aurunca
Minturnæ
Sinuessa
Teanum Apulum
Venusium
Beneventum
Caudium
Caiatia
Calatia
Atella
Nola
Herculaneum
Pompeii
Stabiæ
Surrentum
Misenum
Cumæ
Liternum
Volturnum
Volturnus fl.
Silarus fl.
Tifernus fl.
Frento fl.
Sagrus fl.
Aternus fl.
Tiber
Anio fl.
Nar fl.
Liris fl.
Garigliano
Ufens fl.
Numicus fl.
Astura fl.
Cosa
Portus Cosanus
Portus Herculis
Portus Cajetanus
Portus Formiarum
Portus Julius
Portus Misenus
Portus Baianus
Portus Puteolanus
Portus Neapolitanus
Portus Veneris
Portus Pisanus
Portus Herculis Monœci
Portus Ostiensis
Portus Augusti
Portus Trajani
Fossa Mariana
Fossa Augusta
Fossa Claudia
Fossa Papirii
Fossa Neronis
Fossa Philistina
Fossa Cluilia
Fossa Crabra
Fossa Corbulonis
Fossa Graeca
Fossa Flaminia
Fossa Cæcilia
Fossa Quirini
Fossa Lucrina
Fossa Augusta
Fossa Julia
Fossa Augusta
Fossa Claudia
Fossa Papirii
Fossa Neronis
Fossa Philistina
Fossa Cluilia
Fossa Crabra
Fossa Corbulonis
Fossa Graeca
Fossa Flaminia
Fossa Cæcilia
Fossa Quirini
Fossa Lucrina
Fossa Augusta
Fossa Julia

URBS SEPTICOLLIS

Collis Hortulorum
Porta Collina
Clivus M.
Viminalis
Porta Viminalis
Campus
Porta Nomentana
Quirinalis
Martius
Porta Fontinalis
Cælius
Porta Esquilina
Porta Capena
Aventinus
Porta Ostiensis

Urbem ut Palatinus Mons
ROMULUS artificiant
Montes Capitolinus et
Tarpeius et Saturnius dictus
TITATE SABINIS
sedes fuit
Mons Quirinalis a NUMA
Urbe adjectus
Montem Cœlium pomerio
TULLUS inclusit
Aventinum Montem ANCUS
MARTIUS Latinis in Urbem
Suscipios habitandum concessit
Hi quinque colles sunt inclusos
Urbe Viminalem et Esquilinum
SERVIUS TULLIUS adjecit
alii aliter

Milliaria Romana quorum 75 gradui respondent
5 10 15 20 25
Stadia Graeca quorum 600 gradui respondent
50 100 150 200

MIDDLE or PROPER ITALY

Roman Miles
20 40 60 75

English Miles
10 20 30 40 50 60

THE ADRIATICK SEA

PART OF ISTRIA

CISPADANA

TRANSPADANA

GALLIA

Cenomani

Brixia

Verona

Mantua

Hostilia

Padus or Eridanus R.

Cremona

Ticinus R.

Placentia

Parma

Forum Lepidi Regium Lepidi

Mutina

Boii

Bononia

Insula Trium Virorum

Laterna

Lingones

Faventia

Forum Popilii

Caesena

Sarsina

Ariminum

Rubicon R.

Apennin Mountains

SENONES

Pisaurum

Fanum Fortunae

Forum Sempronii

Ancona

Asisium

Auximum

Lingulum

Septempeda

Cingulum

Firmum

Picenum

Camerinum

Fiscellus Mt.

Prætutiani

Vestini

Pinna

Teate

Marrucini

Corfinium

Sulmo

Anxanum

Diomedis I.

MARSI

Peligni

Alba Fucentia

Fucinus Lake

Lacus Fucinus

Tiber R.

Arnus R.

Pisa

Luca

Aquæ Pisanæ

Florentia

Pistorium

Forum Clodii

Luna

Portus Lunæ

Apuani

Herculis Liburni or Labronis portus

Sena Julia

Volaterræ

Vada Volaterrana

Populonium

Ilua or Aethalia

Cosa

Caletra

Rusellæ

Saturnia

Telamo

Graviscæ

Portus Trajani

Castrum novum

Igilium

Tarquinii

Tuscania

Viterbium

Ferentinum

Falerium

Falisci

Capena

Veii

Rome

Tibur

Gabii

Praeneste

Tusculum

Algidum

Labicum

Bovillæ

Lavinium

Ardea

Antium

Circeii

Terracina

Forum Appii

Pomptina Palus

Latium

Volsci

Aequi

Sabini

Reate

Interamna

Amiternum

Forum Decii

Aesernia

Bovianum

Sepinum

Larinum

Teanum Apulum

Venafrum

Allifæ

Telesia

Caudium

Beneventum

Caudine Forks

Capua

Suessula

Nola

Acerræ

Atella

Abellinum

Neapolis

Puteoli

Cumæ

Misenum promont.

Misenum Castellum

Liparæ insulæ

Ænaria

Pithecusa

Prochyta

Capreæ

Surrentum

Minervium promont.

Sinus Salernitanus

Salernum

Picentini

Hirpini

Silarus R.

Aufidus R.

Frentani

Larinum

Gerunium

Sipontum

Garganus Mt.

Sinus Uriatis

TYRRHENIAN SEA

Longitude from London

D. Pomarede Sculp.

Tyrrhenian ſea, and on the north by the *Apennines*. The inhabitants are divided by *Livy*[f] and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*[g] into twelve different nations, or rather tribes, each of which had their peculiar city, whence they borrowed their names. The cities were, *Volſinii*, *Cluſium*, *Peruſia*, *Cortona*, *Aretium*, *Falerii*, *Volaterræ*, *Vetulonium*, *Rouſellæ*, *Veii*, *Tarquinii*, and *Cære*, now *Bolſena*, *Chiuſi*, *Perugia*, *Cortona*, *Arezzo*, *Civita Caſtellana*, *Volterra*, *Groſſeto*, *Cerveteri*. The cities of *Veii*, *Tarquinii*, and *Cære*, lie at preſent in ruins. Beſides theſe, the following cities were in antient times of great note in *Etruria*; on the coaſt, or at a ſmall diſtance from it, *Luna*, *Piſæ*, *Portus Herculis*, *Labronis*, or *Liburni*, *Populonia*, *Telamon*, *Coſa*, *Coſæ*, or *Coſſa*, *Centumcellæ*, and *Alſium*, now *l'Erice*, *Piſa*, *Livorno*, *Telamone*, *Anſidonia*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Palo*. The ruins of *Populonia* are to be ſeen near *Piombino*. In the inland country ſtood *Nepete*, *Sutrium*, *Falerii Faliſcorum*, *Fanum Voltumnæ*, *Hortanum*, *Herbanum*, *Suana*, *Saturnia*, *Senæ Juliæ*, *Florentia*, *Fæſulæ*, *Piſtoria*, *Luca*, called by the modern inhabitants, *Nepe*, *Sutri*, *Civita Caſtellana*, *Viterbo*, *Orti*, *Orvieto*, *Saturna*, *Saona*, *Fiorenza*, *Fieſoli*, *Piſtoia*, *Lucca*.

Umbria was bounded on the ſouth by the *Nar*, now the *Nera*; on the north by the *Adriatic* ſea; on the eaſt by the *Æſis*, now *Fiumicino*; and on the weſt by the *Tiber* on the ſide of the *Apennines* next to *Rome*, and on the other ſide by the *Bedeſis*, now *il Ronco*, which falls into the *Adriatic* at *Ravenna*. So that this city, *Ariminum*, *Piſaurum*, *Fanum Fortunæ*, *Sena Gallica*, and *Cæſena*, though poſſeſſed by the *Lingones* and *Senones*, were, ſtrictly ſpeaking, in *Umbria*. The other places of note in this country were, *Sarſina*, *Urbinum*, *Metaurenſe*, and *Hortenſe*, *Sentinum*, *Æſis*, and *Camerinum*, or *Camers*, now *Surſina*, *Caſtel Durante*, *Urbino*, *Sentino*, *Jeſi*, *Camerino*. Theſe cities ſtood between the *Adriatic* ſea and the *Apennines*. On the other ſide of theſe mountains were, *Iguvium*, *Mevania*, *Spoletium*, *Tifernum*, *Nuceria*, *Camellaria*, *Aſiſium*, *Hiſpellum*, *Fulginium*, *Tuder*, *Interamnium*, or *Interamna*, *Narnia*, *Ameria*, and *Ocriculi*, or *Ocriculum*, known at preſent by the names of *Ugubio*, *Bavagna*, *Spoleti*, *Citta di Caſtello*, *Nocera*, *Aſſiſi*, *Iſpello*, *Foligno*, *Todi*, *Terni*, *Narni*, *Amelia*, *Otricoli*. Umbria.

THE country of the *Sabini* lay between the *Nar* and the *Anio*, now the *Teverone*, the former ſeparating it from *Umbria*, Sabini.

[f] LIV. l. iv. c. 23. & l. v. ſub init. [g] DIONYS. HALICAR. l. vi. p. 399.

and

and the latter from *Latium*. *Cures*, whence the *Romans* were called *Quirites*, was at firſt the metropolis of the *Sabini*, and in after-ages *Reate*, now *Riete*. The ruins of *Cures* are ſtill to be ſeen at a place called *Vecovio di Sabina*. The other cities in this country worth notice were *Nurſia*, *Eretum*, *Nomentum*, *Cutiliæ*, and *Amiternum*, now known by the names of *Norcia*, *Monte Rotondo*, *Lamentario*. The cities of *Cutiliæ* and *Amiternum* have been long ſince deſtroyed; but there are ſtill remaining ſome ruins of the former at *Civita Ducale*, and of the latter near the city of *Aquila*.

Latium. Next to the country of the *Sabini* was *Latium*, compriſed at firſt within very narrow limits, *viz.* the *Tiber*, the *Anio*, and the *Circæan* promontory, now *Monte Circilli*; but after the reduction of the *Æqui*, *Hernici*, *Volſci*, and *Auſones*, reaching to the river *Liris*, called by the preſent inhabitants *il Garigliano*. And hence the diſtinction that frequently occurs in the antients between *Old* and *New Latium*. In *Old Latium* ſtood the following cities; *Rome*, once the moſt powerful, and ſtill the moſt ſtately and beautiful, city of the world, *Tibur*, *Præneſte*, *Gabii*, *Tuſculum*, *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, *Alba Longa*, ſo called from its length, and to diſtinguiſh it from another city of the ſame name in the country of the *Marſi*, *Lavinium*, *Laurentum*, *Oſtia*, *Antemnæ*, *Collatia*, and *Ardea*, the metropolis of the *Rutuli*, a *Latin* nation. Of *Gabii* and the four laſt-mentioned cities there are now ſcarce any footſteps remaining; but the others are ſtill known by the names of *Tivoli*, *Paleſtrina*, *Fraſcati*, *l' Aricia*, *Citta Lavina*, *Albano*, *Patricia*, *Paterno*, *Oſtia*. *Carſeoli*, or *Carſula*, *Valeria*, *Sublaqueum*, *Algidum*, now *Arſuli*, *Vico Varo*, *Subiaco*, belonged to the *Æqui*. Of *Algidum* ſome ruins are to be ſeen near an inn, which the *Italians* call *l'Oſteria dell Aglio*. *Anagnia*, *Alatrium*, *Verulæ*, *Ferentinum*, now *Anagni*, *Alatri*, *Veroli*, *Ferentino*, were the chief cities of the *Hernici*. In the country of the *Volſci*, ſtood *Antium*, *Circæi*, or *Circæum*, *Terracina*, called alſo *Anxur*, *Suceſſa Pometia*, whence the neighbouring marſh was named *Palus Pometina*, or *Pomptina*, *Velitræ*, *Cora*, *Norba*, *Privernum*, *Setia*, *Signia*, *Sulmo*, *Fuſino*, *Fabrateria*, *Aquinum*, *Caſinum*, *Atina*, *Arpinum*, *Arx*, *Sora*, *Frigellæ*, and *Interamna*. The ruins of *Antium*, *Circæi* and *Suceſſa Pometia*, are ſtill to be ſeen at *Capo d'Anzo*, *Citta Fabia*, and in the neighbourhood of *Veletri*. The other cities bear at preſent the names of *Terracina*, *Veletri*, *Cora*, *Norma*, *Piperno*, *Sezza*, *Segni*, *Sermoneta*, *Fruſinone*, *Falvaterra*, *Aquino*, *Monte Caſino*, *Atina*, *Arpino*, *Arce*, *Sora*,

ta,

ra, Ponte Corvo, l' Iſola. In the country of the *Auſones* were *Cajeta, Fundi,* and *Formiæ,* at preſent *Gaeta, Fondi,* and *Mola.*

Picenum, the country of the *Picentes,* lay between the *Æſis,* and the *Aternus,* now *Peſcara,* extending from the *Adriatic* to the *Apennines,* where it joined *Umbria,* and beyond them reaching to the country of the *Sabini.* Their chief cities were, *Ancona,* once poſſeſſed by the *Gauls, Caſtrum Novum, Caſtellum Truentinum,* ſo called from the river *Truentum,* now the *Tronto, Auximum, Septempeda, Tollentinum, Firmum Picenum, Aſculum Picenum, Interamnium,* and *Atria,* at preſent *Ancona, Flaviano, Torre Segura,* or, as others will have it, *Porto, d' Iſcoli, Oſimo, S. Severino, Tolentino, Fermo, Aſcoli, Teramo, Atri.* Eaſt of the country lay the country of the *Veſtini,* which contained the following cities; *Angulus, Pinna,* and *Avia,* or *Avella,* now called *Civita di S. Angelo, Civita di Penna, Aquila.* Next to the *Veſtini,* were the *Marrucini,* whoſe ſmall territory had but one city, viz. *Teate,* now *Chieti.* The *Peligni* inhabited a ſmall tract lying between the countries of the *Veſtini* and *Marrucini,* to the north, and the *Apennines* to the ſouth. Their chief cities were, *Corfinium* and *Sulmo*; the ruins of the former are ſtill remaining about eight miles from *Sulmo,* now known by the name of *Sulmona.* The *Marſi* were ſeated in an inland country, having the *Peligni* and *Veſtini* between them and the *Adriatic* ſea; on the other ſide the *Apennines* they bordered on the countries of the *Sabini* and *Æqui.* They had only two cities, viz. *Alba Fucentes,* ſo called from the lake *Fucinus,* now *Lago di Celano,* near which it ſtood, and *Marrubium.* The former ſtill retains the antient name of *Alba*; but the latter is now called *Morrea.* Next to the *Marrucini* on the coaſt were the *Frentani*; in the inland country the *Samnites* between the *Frentani* and the *Campani*; and the *Hirpini* ſeated between *Samnium,* and the river *Silarus,* having *Apulia Daunia* on the north-eaſt, and *Campania* on the ſouth-weſt. The cities of *Ortona, Anxanum,* and *Hiſtonium,* now *Ortona, Lanzano, Guaſto d' Amone,* belonged to the *Frentani*; *Bovianum, Æſernia, Sepinum, Allifæ,* and *Teleſia,* now *Boiano, Iſernia, Sepino, Alifi, Teleſe,* to the *Samnites. Beneventum, Equus, Tuticus, Abellinum,* and *Compſa,* now *Benevento, Ariano, Avellino, Conza,* to the *Hirpini.*

Picentes.

Veſtini.

Marrucini

Peligni.

Marſi.

Frentani.
Samnites.
Hirpini.

Campania extended from the *Liris* to the promontory of *Minerva,* called ſtill *il capo di Minerva,* being bounded on the north-eaſt by *Samnium,* and on the ſouth-weſt by the

Campania

country

country of the *Hirpini*. In this tract, which was the moſt pleaſant and fruitful of all *Italy*, ſtood the following cities; on the coaſt *Liternum*, *Baja*, *Miſenum*, *Puteoli*, *Neapolis*, or *Parthenope*, *Herculaneum*, *Pompeii*, and *Surrentum*, now *Torre di Patria*, *Baie*, *Monte Miſeno*, *Puzzuolo*, *Napoli*, *Torre di Greco*, *Scafati*, *Sorrento*; in the inland country, *Capua*, the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen about two miles from the preſent city of the ſame name, *Sueſſa Aurunca*, *Venafrum*, *Caſilinum*, *Teanum Sidicinum*, *Calatia*, *Cales*, *Atella*, *Acerræ*, *Nola*, and *Nuceria*, known at preſent by the names of *Seſſa*, *Venafro*, *Nova Capua*, *Tiano*, *Cajazzo*, *Calvi*, *Averſa*, *Acerra*, *Nola*, *Nocera*. This ſmall tract, lying between the promontory of *Minerva*, and the river

Picentini. *Silarus*, was inhabited by a colony of *Picentes* planted here by the *Romans*; *Pliny* [h] and *Ptolemy* call them *Picentini*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Picentes* who inhabited *Picenum* on the *Adriatic* ſea. The *Picentini* had but two cities, viz. *Picentia*, called by *Strabo* [i] the metropolis of the *Picentini*, but at preſent demoliſhed, and *Salernum*, now *Salerno*.

Magna Græcia. *Magna Græcia* compriſed *Apulia*, *Lucania*, and the country of the *Brutii*. This country was called *Greece*, becauſe moſt of the cities on the coaſt were *Greek* colonies, and ſpoke the *Greek* tongue. The inhabitants gave it the epithet of *Great*, not becauſe it was larger, or near ſo large as *Greece*, properly ſo called; but merely out of oſtentation, as *Pliny* informs us [k]. *Apulia* extended from the river *Frento* quite to the ſtraits, parting *Italy* from *Greece*; but was divided into three parts, viz. *Daunia* lying between the *Frento*, and the *Aufidus*, now *l'Ofanto*, *Peucetia*, extending from the *Aufidus* to the iſthmus between *Brunduſium* and *Tarentum*, and *Meſſapia*, called alſo *Calabria* and *Iapygia*, comprehending the peninſula. In *Apulia*, by which name the antient geographers underſtand both *Daunia* and *Peucetia*, were the following cities; *Teanum Apulum*, *Geryon*, *Sipuntum*, *Luceria*, *Equulanum*, *Arpi*, the ruins of which are to be ſeen near the preſent city of *Foggia*, *Aſculum Apulum*, *Venuſia*, *Acherontia*, *Canuſium*, *Cannæ*, *Salapia*, *Rubi*, *Butunti*, *Barium*, and *Egnatia*, now *Civitate Tragenara*, *Siponto*, *Lucera*, *Troia*, *Aſſili*, *Venoſa*, *Airenza*, *Canoſa*, *Canna*, *Salpe*, *Ruvo*, *Bitonto*, *Bari*, *Terra d'Otranto*. In *Calabria*, *Brundaſium*, *Hydruntum*, *Caſtrum Minervæ*, *Callipolis*, *Tarentum*, *Neritum*, and *Aletium*, now *Brindiſi*, *Otranto*,

Apulia. Daunia. Peucetia.

[h] Plin l iii c 5. & 12.
[i] Strabo, l. v. ſub finem.
[k] Plin l iii c. 5.

Caſtro,

Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each
30 300

A Map of GREAT GREECE and of the Islands of SARDINIA and CORSICA By Mons.r Deliſle first Geographer to the King of France and Member of The Royal Academy of Sciences.

PICENUM
Adria
VESTINI
Aternus R.
Pinna
Aternum
Ortona
MARRUCINI
Super aquum Col.
MARSI
PELIGNI
Plistia
FRENTANI
Tifernus R.
Merina
M.t Garganus
Teanum of Apulia
Sipontum Colony
Lucrinus Lake
Alfidena
Trivium
Triventum
Caruna
Cerionium
SAMNIUM
CARACENI
Arpi
Luceria Colony
Ellernia Col.
Bovianum Colony
Sepinum
Alfidus R.
Salapia
AUSONES
PENTRI
APULIA
Allifa
Murgantia
Ardonea
Canna
Barium
Sancula Col.
Cominium
Asculum
Canusium
PEUCETIA
Minturna Col.
Cales Col.
Maleventum
Aquilonia
Venusium
PEDICULI
Beneventum Col.
Vulturnum Colony
Caudium
HIRPINI
Forentanum
Capua
Th. Caudium
Col. Forks
Romulea
Acherontia
IAPYGIANS
CALABRIA
Naples Col.
Abellinum
Taurasium
Rufrium
Compia
Casuentum R.
Mesapia
Brundusium Col.
OR MESSAPIANS
Cotilianum Col
PICENTINI
Salernum Col
LUCANI
Tarentum
Lupiæ
Cape Misenum
Silarus R.
Grumentum
Heraclea
Siris R.
Aciris R.
Hydruntum
SALENTINI
Petum
Possidonia Colony
Velia
OTRII
Ruxentum Col
Nerula
Œnotrides Isles
Cape Palinurus
Pandosia R.
Sibaris Thurii or Copiæ Colony
THE
Achersa
Promontory of Lapigia
Sibaris R.
Crathis R.
THE TYRRHENIAN SEA
BRUTII
IONIAN SEA
Petilia
Cosentia
Æsaras R.
Croton
Lacinium Promontory
ISLES OF LIPARI
Lipari Colony
Vulcan I.
Hipponium Colony
Mamertium
Messana
Rhegium Col.
SICILY
Locri
Epidaurus
ILLYRICUM
THE ADRIATICK SEA
Ulinium
Liſſos
Apollonia
Promontorium
Fromont
Socrum
Alesia Colony
Mariana
Monapa
THE ISLE OF CORSICA
Mt Rhotinus
Uranium
Marisa
Straits of Capes St Lucia
Taphros
Hercules I
Tibula
The Tower of Libisso Colony
THE
Olbia
Rosa
ISLE OF SARDINIA
Cornus
Thyrsus R.
Uselis Colony
The Sea of
Cagliari Colony
Tegula
Sulci
Sulci Promontory

D. Pomarede Sculp.t

9 10 15 16 17 18 19 20
43 42 41 40 39 38

Caſtro, Gallipoli, Tarento, Nardo, Lezze. Near *Aletium* ſtood in antient times the city of *Rudiæ*, the birth-place of *Ennius*.

Lucania lay between the *Silarus* and the *Laus*, now the *Laino*, the former parting it from the country of the *Picentini*, and the latter from that of the *Brutii*. It was divided from *Pucetia* by the river *Bradanus*, now the *Brandano*, and from *Calabria* by the upper part of the *Sinus Tarentinus*, or *gulf of Tarento*. On the *Mediterranean* or *Tyrrhenian* ſea ſtood the cities of *Paſtum*, called by the *Greeks Poſidonia*, *Velia*, *Buxentum*; on the gulf of *Tarentum*, *Metapontum*, *Heraclea*, antiently called *Siris* and *Sybaris*, afterwards known by the names of *Thurii* and *Copiæ*; in the inland country were ſituated *Potentia* and *Grumentum*. Theſe cities are called by the preſent inhabitants, *Peſto, Piſciotta, Policaſtro, Terre di Mare, Policore, Potenza, Clarimonte*. The city of *Thurii* or *Thurium* was deſtroyed ſoon after the ſecond *Carthaginian* war. Lucania.

THE *Brutii* poſſeſſed that peninſula which extends from *Lucania* to the ſtraits, ſeparating *Sicily* from *Italy*. In this corner of *Italy*, as we may call it, ſtood the following cities; on the weſtern coaſt, *Cerilli, Clampetia, Temſa, Terina, Lametia, Scyllæum*, and *Rhegium*, now *Cirella, Amantea, Torre Loppa, Nocera, Sant' Eufemia, Sciglio, Reggio*; on the eaſtern coaſt, *Locri* called *Epizephyrii* from the promontory *Zephyrium, Caulonia, Scylacium, Croto, Petilia*, and *Ruſcianum*, now *Jeraces, Caſtel Veteri, Squillaci, Crotone, Belicaſtro, Roſſano*; in the inland country, *Couſentia*, now *Coſenza*, formerly the metropolis of the *Brutii*; *Pandoſia*, and *Hipponium*, called by the *Romans Vibo Valentia*, and by the modern inhabitants *Monte Leone*. Theſe are the chief cities of *Italy*, which we ſhall deſcribe, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them in the ſequel of the hiſtory. Brutii.

THE rivers, which it may be proper to take notice of in this place, are the *Po*, called by the *Latins Padus* and *Eridanus*, which ſprings from mount *Veſulus*, now *Veſo*, one of the higheſt among the *Alps*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Adriatic* ſea by ſeven different ſtreams, after having received into its channel above thirty rivers. On the *Alps* likewiſe riſe the *Druria*, the *Seſſites*, the *Ticinum*, the *Adima*, the *Ollius*, the *Mincius*, the *Tanarus*, the *Trebia*, and the *Rhenus Bononienſis*, now the *Dora, Seſſia, Teſino, Adda, Oglio, Mincio, Tanaro, Trebia*, and *Reno di Bologna*. The *Athe-* Rivers.

ſis, now the *Adige*, has its ſource, like the others we have mentioned,

mentioned, in the *Alps*, waters the cities of *Trent* and *Verona*, and is the only great river in *Lombardy* that does not fall into the *Po*; which it muſt have done, had it run but a little further before its entering the *Adriatic*. The *Arnus*, and the *Tiber*, which receives the *Clanis*, the *Nar*, and the *Anio*, now *la Chiana*, *la Nera*, *il Teverone*, ſpring from the *Apennines*, and fall into the *Mediterranean*. The *Liris*, which ſeparates *Latium* from *Campania*; the *Vulturnus* in *Campania*; the *Silarus* parting the *Picentini* and *Lucani*; the *Sybaris* and *Crathis* in *Lucania*; the *Auſidus* in *Apulia*; the *Aternus* and *Metaurus* in *Picenum*, now the *Garigliano*, *Volturno*, *Silaro*, *Cochile*, *Crati*, *l'Ofanto*, *Peſcara*, *Metauro*, were all rivers of great note, and are much ſpoke of by the antients.

Mountains THE chief mountains of *Italy* are the *Alps* and the *Apennines*, the former parting it from *Gaul*, *Vindelicia*, *Noricum*, and *Pannonia*, taking *Italy* in its greateſt extent, and the latter dividing it into two, almoſt equal, parts. *Feſtus* is of opinion, that the *Alps* borrowed their name from the *Latin* word *Albus*, which the *Sabines* pronounced *Alpus*, ſignifying *white*, becauſe they were almoſt always covered with ſnow [l]. But *Iſidorus* [m] and *Servius* [n], tell us, that in the language of the *Celtes* all high mountains were called *Alps*: others derive the name of the *Alps* from one *Albion*, the ſon of *Neptune*, who, they ſay, was killed by *Hercules* in diſputing his paſſage over theſe mountains. But not to loſe time in ſuch trifling etymologies, the *Alps* are a long chain of mountains, which begins at the mouth of the *Varus*, and, after a great many irregular turnings of about eight hundred miles, ends at the river *Arſia* in *Iſtria*. The maritime *Alps* reach from *Vada* or *Vado* to the ſource of the *Varus*, the *Cottiæ* from the ſource of the *Varus* to the city of *Suſa*, from thence the *Graiæ* to *Little St. Bernard*, and the *Penninæ* from that mountain to *Monte St. Gottard*, or *St. Gothard*; to the *Penninæ* are joined the *Alpes Rhæticæ*, which extend to the ſpring of the river *Piave*: thoſe, which reach from thence to *Iſtria* and the head of the *Savus*, are called *Noricæ* and *Carnicæ*. The *Apennines* extend from the maritime *Alps*, where they take their riſe, quite to the ſtraits which ſeparate *Italy* from *Sicily*. The mountains *Maſſicus* near *Sueſſa*, *Gauras* between *Puteoli* and *Baiæ*, *Fiſata*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Capua*, *Veſuvius* in the neighbourhood of *Nola*, and

[l] Fest. l. iii. [m] Isidor. orig. l. iii. [n] Servius in l. iii. Æneid.

Garganus

Garganus in *Apulia*, are much ſpoke of both by the antient and modern writers [o].

Italy lies between the thirty-eighth and forty-ſixth degrees of north latitude, in the ſixth and ſeventh north climates. We need not here enlarge on the fruitfulneſs and various productions of this happy region, it being well known, that whatever deſirable things nature has dropt frugally here and there in other countries, are found in *Italy*, as in their original ſeminary; whence ſome call it the parent of plenty, others the fountain of earthly bliſs, the incomparable region of this globe, the garden of *Europe*, the epitome of the world, or rather a little world itſelf. The inhabitants of this country were once the triumphant lords and conquerors of the world; but at preſent the ſofter arts prevail; and in theſe they are generally thought to be as much ſuperior to the modern, as their anceſtors were to the antient nations in war and military exploits. But the antient inhabitants of *Italy* ſhall be the ſubject of the following ſection. *Soil.*

SECT. II.

Of the antient ſtate and firſt inhabitants of ITALY.

THERE is ſuch a diſagreement among the antients, in what they have wrote concerning the firſt inhabitants of *Italy*, that we cannot pretend to give any ſatisfactory account of the primitive ſtate of that country. We ſhall therefore only relate in this place, what has been tranſmitted to us, on ſo perplext and intricate a ſubject, by the moſt credible writers of antiquity, without taking upon us to prefer the authority of one to that of another, ſince they may be all, for ought we know, and as the moſt judicious among them ſeem to inſinuate, equally miſtaken. We ſhall begin with *Latium*, which roſe by degrees to be the ſeat of a mighty republic, and of an empire, which had no other bounds than thoſe of our hemiſphere. *Old Latium*, which from the banks of the *Tiber* extended no farther ſouthward than to the *Circæan* promontory, being bounded on the north by the *Anio*, and to the eaſt by mount *Algidus*, only *The inhabitants of* Old *and* New Latium.

[o] Vid. CLUVER. antiq. Ital. l. iii. PLIN. l. xxxi. c. 2. LIV. l. xxii. VIRGIL. l. ii. georg. v. 143. & l. iii. v. 526. KIRCH. mund. ſubter. tom. 1.

eighteen miles distant from *Rome*, was at different times inhabited by the following nations [p]; *viz.* the *Aborigines*, *Pelasgi*, *Arcades*, *Siculi*, *Aurunci*, and *Rutuli*: *New Latium*, which reached to the *Liris*, by the *Volsci*, *Osci*, *Ausones*, *Coriolani*, *Fidenates*, and *Sicani*. Some historians are of opinion, that the *Aborigines* had that name given them, because they had been in *Italy* from the beginning, and did not derive their *origin* from any other: others changing the name of *Aborigines* into *Aberrigines* hold, that they were a *wandering* people, such being the import of that word, who coming from different countries, met accidentally in *Italy*, and there lived by rapine [q]. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, who was persuaded that they came from *Arcadia*, proposes two other opinions, *viz.* that they were styled *Aborigines*, because they *lived on mountains*, in which the *Arcadians* took great pleasure (A); or because they gave origin to the *Latins* [r] (B), who being descended from them, called them *Aborigines*, that is, *the people from whom they derived their origin*. The appellation of *Aborigines*, in the first acceptation is derived from the *Greek* words *Oreon Genos*, that is, *natives of the mountains*, in the second from the *Latin* word *Origo*, which

Aborigines.

[p] Plin. l. iii. c. 5 [q] Vid. Victor de origin. Roman.
[r] Dion. Hal. l. i. antiq. Rom. c. 10.

(A) *Virgil* speaks of the *Aborigines* as living dispersed on the mountains before the arrival of *Saturn*:

Is genus indocile, & dispersum montibus altis,
Composuit, legesque dedit (1).

(B) This was, according to *Servius*, *Virgil*'s opinion, which he takes to be plainly expressed in the following verses:

Quin etiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum
Antiqua ex cedro, Italusque, paterque Sabinus,
Saturnusque senex, Janique bifrontis imago,
Vestibulo astabant, aliique ab origine reges (2).

By the last words *Virgil* meant, says *Servius*, the kings of the *Aborigines*, that is, the kings of the nation, from which the *Romans* derived their *origin*. In like manner *Pliny* calls the *Tyrians Aborigines Gadium*, because that city was founded by them (3).

(1) *Virgil. Æneid.* 8. *v.* 321. *Vid. Suid. in Aborigines.* (2) *Virgil. Æneid. l.* vii. *v.* 177. (3) *Plin. l.* iv. *sub finem.*

import.

imports *origin*. The above-mentioned writer takes them to be one and the ſame people with the *Oenotrii*, who leaving *Arcadia*, their native country, croſſed the ſea, and ſettled in *Latium*, above four hundred years before the *Trojan* war. The *Pelaſgi* were originally *Peloponneſians*, who, being dri- Pelaſgi.
ven out of their country by the *Curetes* and *Leleges*, ſettled firſt in *Theſſaly*, and removed from thence into that part of *Italy*, which is watered by the *Po*, and built there the city of *Spina*. Some of them croſſed the *Apennines*, joined the *Aborigines*, and, having made themſelves maſters of great part of *Umbria* and *Hetruria*, drove the *Siculi*, out of thoſe countries, and obliged them to fly for refuge into *Sicily*. They likewiſe took ſeveral cities of *Campania* from the *Aurunci*: but at length, being afflicted with many calamities, they abandoned their conqueſts, and returned to *Greece* [r]. From them the *Aborigines* borrowed many cuſtoms of *Greece*. Arcades.
About ſixty years before the *Trojan* war, another colony arrived from *Peloponneſus*, in a port of *Latium*, under the conduct of *Evander* the *Arcadian*, who, being kindly received by *Faunus*, at that time king of the country, and ſuffered to ſettle on a ſmall uncultivated hill near the *Tiber*, introduced the worſhip of the gods of his own country, and taught the inhabitants the uſe of the *Greek* letters (C), and of ſtringed inſtruments of muſic. By this means he reformed the cuſtoms, and ſoftened the manners of the *Aborigines*, who, at the time of his arrival, ſtill lived after a ſavage manner, and without any regulation of laws [t]. Not long after, another colony of *Arcadians* and *Eleans* arriving in *Latium* with *Hercules*, are ſaid to have ſettled there, and made one people with thoſe whom *Evander* had brought with him.

THE *Siculi* were, according to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, the Siculi.
firſt inhabitants of *Latium*, but being driven from thence by the *Aborigines* and *Pelaſgi*, and by other nations from all the

[r] DION. HAL. ibid. [t] DION. HAL. ibid. p. 25.

(C) The *Greek* characters were the firſt which the *Latins* made uſe of. Of this there was ſtill remaining a plain proof in the time of *Auguſtus*, *viz.* the treaty between *Tarquin the proud* and the *Gabii*, which was written in *Latin* words, but *Greek* letters, on a wooden ſhield, covered with the ſkin of the ox that had been ſacrificed on that occaſion (4).

(4) *Dio. Hal. l.* iv. *p.* 246.

countries

countries of *Italy*, they took refuge in *Sicily*. As to the origin of the *Siculi*, *Pliny* [u] takes them to be one and the same people with the *Sicani*. If this opinion be true, they came originally from *Spain*, according to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, *Thucydides*, and *Philiſtus*, an ancient *Sicilian* writer; but, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, from *Sicily*, that author being of opinion, that the *Sicani* inhabited *Sicily* from the firſt ages of the world. *Sophocles* ſays, they were called *Siculi* from one *Siculus* their king. The *Aurunci* or *Arunci* were originally *Auſones* [w], of whom hereafter. *Virgil* ſpeaks of them as a *Trojan* colony [x]. The *Rutuli* were deſcended from the *Aborigines*. Theſe were the various nations which at different times had been maſters of all, or great part of, *Latium* before the arrival of *Æneas*.

Aurunci. Rutuli.

Volſci. In *New Latium* the *Volſci* were a very warlike people; but antient authors give no account of their origin. They only tell us, that they had a language peculiar to themſelves. Their territory comprehended one of the moſt conſiderable portions of *Old Latium*. The *Oſci*, *Opici*, or *Obſci*, were deſcended from the *Auſones*. From their name the etymologiſts derive the *Latin* word *Obſcænus*, *obſcene*; for they had the character of being licentious in their diſcourſe, and leud in their manners, above the reſt of the inhabitants of *Italy*. Their language was different from that of the *Romans*; for *Ennius* uſed to boaſt, as *Gellius* informs us [y], that he could ſpeak *Oſcian*, *Greek*, and *Latin*. The *Fidenates* were a colony of the *Albani*, and the *Coriolani* of the *Volſci*. Of the *Sicani* we have ſpoke above. As to the *Auſones*, they came originally from *Greece*, and were one of the moſt ancient colonies that ſettled in *Italy*. They firſt planted themſelves in *New Latium*, but, being driven away from thence by new adventurers, they retired to that part of *Campania*, which lies between *Teanum* and *Capua* [z]. They were called *Auſones*, according to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, from *Auſon* the ſon of *Ulyſſes* by *Calypſo*, whom he ſuppoſes to have reigned over them while they were in *Latium*. But that writer is herein certainly miſtaken, ſince they had the name of *Auſones*, long before the arrival of *Æneas*, and conſequently before the ſuppoſed king *Auſon* could be born. From them firſt the countries where they ſettled, and afterwards all *Italy*, took the name of *Auſonia*.

Oſci.

Fidenates.

Coriolani.

[u] Plin. l. iii. c. 5. Servius in l. vii. Æneid. Virgil. georg. l. ii. v. 385. [w] Aristot. Polit. l. vii. c 10. Isaac. Tzetzes. p. 211. [x] Virgil. [y] Aul. Gell. l. xvii. [z] Dio. Hal. l. vi. c. 5.

Next

NEXT to *Old Latium* lay *Hetruria*, which was inhabited by the *Tyrrhenians*, called alſo *Hetruſci*, *Etruſci*, *Tuſci*, and ſometimes *Thuſci*. The name of *Tyrrhenians* they borrowed from their leader *Tyrrhenus*, that of *Hetruſci* from one of their kings, and the laſt from the *Greek* word *Thuo*, *to ſacrifice*, the *Hetruſcans* having been ſkilled, above all other nations, in the ceremonies that were uſed in the performing of ſacrifices [a]. They came originally, according to the common opinion both of the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, from *Lydia*, under the conduct of *Tyrrhenus*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Lydia* [b], and arriving in *Italy*, ſettled firſt in that tract, which lies between the *Adriatic* ſea and the *Apennines*, after having driven out the *Umbri*, and taken from them, as *Pliny* informs us [c], three hundred cities. Being animated by the ſucceſs that attended them on their firſt arrival, they extended their conqueſts beyond the *Apennines*, and made themſelves maſters of the territories of *Nola* and *Capua*, and almoſt of the whole coaſt of that ſea, which from them took the name of *Tyrrhenian*. Theſe countries they held till the invaſion of the *Gauls*, when they were driven from the coaſt of the *Adriatic* ſea by that warlike nation, and from *Campania* by the *Latins*; ſo that they were obliged to take refuge in that country, which lies between the *Macra* and *Tiber*, and is called by all the ancients *Hetruria*. Hetruſci.

THERE is a great diſagreement among authors about the origin of the *Ligures*. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* owns, that he cannot determine whether they were deſcended from the *Gauls*, or from ſome of the ancient nations inhabiting *Italy*. *Strabo*, ſpeaking of the various tribes living among or near the *Alps*, ſays, that they were all originally *Gauls*, except the *Ligures* [d]; and elſewhere ſeems inclined to believe, that *Liguria* was firſt peopled by *Greek* colonies. Some carry up their origin to the fabulous heroes of antiquity, and others, led by the [e] ſimilitude of names, to the *Ligyes* mentioned by *Herodotus* [f], as attending *Xerxes* in his expedition into *Greece*. The *Ligyes* are placed by ſome ancient geographers in *Colchis*, by others in *Albania*. *Sextus Pompeius* will have the *Ligures* to be deſcended from the *Siculi* [g]. But the moſt common opinion is, that they came Ligures.

[a] Vide SERVIUM in l. i. Æneid. ISIDOR de origin. & BRIET. in hiſtoric. deſcript. Tuſcor. [b] Vol. V. p. 407. [c] PLIN. l. ii. c. 4. [d] STRAB. l. ii. [e] Idem, l. iv. [f] HERODOT. l. vii. [g] SEXT. POMP. l. xvii.

originally

originally from *Celtic Gaul.* Of this origin *Cluverius* [h] discovers ſome traces in the word *Bodencus*, which was according to *Polybius* and *Pliny*, the name the *Ligures* gave to the *Po*, to expreſs the depth of that river. The word *Boden* as the ſame writer obſerves, is ſtill uſed by the *Germans*, and ſignifies *bottom*; whence he concludes, that the *Ligures* had the ſame origin with the inhabitants of *Germany*, who were, without all doubt, ſo many branches of the ancient *Celtæ*. But when or on what occaſion theſe *Gauls* removed from their native country, we find no-where recorded. However it is paſt doubt, that they were ſome of the moſt antient inhabitants of *Italy*, and conſequently that they croſſed the *Alps* many ages before thoſe *Gauls*, from whom *Ciſalpine Gaul* took its name.

Umbri. The *Umbri* are counted by the *Roman* writers among thoſe nations of whoſe origin we have no records, and therefore ſtyled the *Aborigines* of *Italy*. The name of *Umbri* or *Ombri Pliny* [i] derives from the *Greek* word *Ombros*, ſignifying *a ſhower*, becauſe they had eſcaped a deluge occaſioned by violent ſhowers, which had laid their lands under water. Before the arrival of the *Tyrrhenians*, they poſſeſſed great part of that country, which was afterwards known by the name of *Ciſalpine Gaul*; but were driven from thence by the *Tyrrhenians*, as the *Tyrrhenians* were in their turn by the *Gauls*.

Sabini, Picentes, Frentani, &c. The *Sabini* were, according to ſome ancient writers, a colony of *Lacedæmonians*, according to others, the offspring of the *Auſones*. The name of *Sabini* they took, if *Portius Cato* is to be credited, from *Sabinus*, the ſon of *Sancus* or *Subus*, whom they worſhipped under the name of *Dius Fidius*. From the *Sabini* were deſcended the *Picentes*, *Frentani*, *Marrucini*, *Peligni*, *Veſtini*, *Marſi*, *Æqui*, *Hernici*, and the *Samnites*; from the *Samnites*, the *Hirpini*, *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and *Campani*.

OEnotrii. The *OEnotrii* were, according to moſt of the antient writers, originally *Arcadians*. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſays, that they were the firſt *Greeks* who paſſed the *Ionian* ſea and ſettled in *Italy*, under the conduct of *OEnotrus* and *Peucetius*, two ſons of *Lycaon* king of *Arcadia*. *Peucetius* landed at the *Iapygian* promontory, made himſelf maſter of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and from his own name called the inhabitants *Peucetii*; and hence that tract was named *Apulia Peucetia*. *OEnotrus* landed on the oppoſite coaſt, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Lucania* and *Brutium*. From him this tract was called *OEnotria*, and not from the *Greek* word *Oinos*, as

[h] Cluver. Ital. antiq. l. i. [i] Plin. l. iii c. 4.

Servius

Servius [k] pretends, becauſe this country produced great plenty of excellent *wines*. The *OEnotrians* ſpread themſelves afterwards into *Umbria*, and according to ſome writers, as far as *Latium* and the country of the *Sabini*. A modern writer is of opinion, that the *OEnotrus* of the antients was *Noah*, who, to avoid the inſults and evil deſigns of *Ham*, came with *Japheth* and *Gomer* into *Italy*, and reigned in *Latium* under the name of *Janus*, which he derives from the *Hebrew Jain*, and the *Chaldee Jaino*, ſignifying *wine*, becauſe he firſt planted vines, and diſcovered the ſecret of preſſing grapes, and making their juice potable [l]. For this reaſon the *Greeks* called him *OEnotrus*, which in *Greek* anſwers the ſurname of *Janus*. But, after all, theſe are only conjectures, which every one may adopt or reject as he pleaſes. Some are of opinion, that the *OEnotrii* were the firſt inhabitants of *Italy*; but moſt of the antients tell us, that the country, where they ſettled on their arrival, was firſt poſſeſſed by the *Auſones*, whom they drove out.

THE *Crotoniates*, *Locrenſes*, *Tarentini*, *Meſſapii*, *Apuli*, *Salentini*, *Calabri*, and *Iapyges*, were, without all doubt, of *Greek* extraction, and ſettled in that part of *Italy*, which from them was called *Great Greece*, many ages after the *Umbri*, *Siculi*, and *Auſones*, which three nations are reckoned by moſt of the antients among the *Aborigines*, or *natives* of *Italy*, as if they had been there from the beginning, and did not derive their origin from any other nation. Of the *Gauls* and their different tranſmigrations into *Italy*, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in a more proper place. Crotoniates, Locrenſes, Tarentini, &c.

THUS far we have related what we find in profane hiſtorians concerning the firſt inhabitants of *Italy*. But *Euſebius* and *Cedrenus* [m], looking upon their accounts as fabulous, tell us, that *Italy* was firſt peopled by the deſcendants of *Kittim*, the fourth ſon of *Javan*, who, being planted in that part of *Greece*, which has been ſince called *Macedon*, ſpread themſelves, as their numbers increaſed, as far as *Ætolia*, and from thence advanced in queſt of a more fertile ſoil to the coaſts of the *Adriatic* ſea, which they croſſed, and ſettled at laſt in that fruitful and pleaſant country, which was afterwards known by the name of *Italy*. The opinion of theſe writers is in ſome degree confirmed by what we read in *Suidas*, who tells us in expreſs terms, that the *Latins* were anciently called *Ketii*. Beſides, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* mentions a city in *Latium* called *Ketea*, and *Strabo* ſpeaks of a

[k] SERVIUS in l. i. Æneid. [l] Vide KIRCHER. in Lario antiq & nov. [m] EUSEB. in chron. & CEDREN. hiſt. compend.

lake near *Cumæ*, named *Ketus* [n]. *Reineccius*, falling in with *Euſebius* and *Cedrenus*, is of opinion that *Italy* did not take that name from *Italus* king of the *OEnotrians*, but from *Ætolus* and a colony of *Ætolians*, that is, of the deſcendants of *Kittim*, who under him ſettled in that country. He obſerves, that by only throwing out the firſt letter of *Ætolia*, and changing the *o* into *a*, which change is found in the name of *Æthalia*, an iſland near *Italy*, peopled by the *Ætolians*, it becomes *Italia*. So that *Italy*, according to theſe writers, was firſt peopled by the deſcendants of *Kittim*, who had ſettled in *Ætolia*, or, as the *Greeks* write it, *Aitolia*. The way into ſo pleaſant a country being once ſhewn, it was not long, before the *Pelaſgi*, the *Arcadians*, and other *Greek* nations followed their countrymen, and ſettled in the eaſtern and ſouthern parts of *Italy*, while the *Tyrrhenians* from *Lydia*, and the *Celtæ*, afterwards called *Ligurians*, from beyond the *Alps*, planted themſelves in the weſtern and northern provinces. Thus was *Italy*, before the arrival of *Æneas*, poſſeſſed by *Greeks*, *Lydians*, and *Celtæ*.

SECT. III.

Of the antient kings of Hetruria, Latium, *and* Alba.

Of the government and kings of the antient Hetrurians.

THE *Hetrurians* and *Latins* are the only two nations in *Italy*, of which we find any thing recorded worth mentioning before the foundation of *Rome*. We are told indeed, that the *Umbrians* and *Ligurians* made once a great figure; that the former were maſters of the beſt part of *Italy*, and that the latter were governed by their own kings, princes of great power, many ages before the arrival of *Æneas* in *Latium*; but this is all we know of them, till their wars with the *Romans* rendered them more famous. We ſhall therefore confine ourſelves to the *Hetrurians* and *Latins*, tho' we can give even of them but a very indifferent account, what authors tell us of thoſe diſtant ages being ſo blended with fables, as to leave us no way of coming at the truth. However, it ſeems paſt all doubt, that the *Hetrurians* or *Etrurians* were for many ages the moſt powerful people of *Italy*: for *Livy* [o] tells us in expreſs terms, that they

[n] Aristot. de mirabil. [o] Liv. l. i.

not

not only poſſeſſed a great ſhare of the inland countries, but were maſters of all the coaſt of the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, from the *Alps* quite to the ſtreights of *Sicily*. The cities of *Capua*, *Nola*, *Mantua*, *Bononia*, firſt called *Felſina*, *Adria*, and *Ravenna*, are ſaid to have been built by them. *Virgil* [p] calls them a *nation renowned in war*, and moſt of the antients ſpeak of their kings as mighty princes, and lords of extenſive dominions. As to their form of government, it was at firſt monarchical, the whole nation being ſubject to one prince. But in proceſs of time this great ſtate was divided into twelve cantons, called *leucumonies*, which were governed by twelve chiefs ſtyled *leucumones*. Over the *leucumonies* was placed one, veſted with a kind of ſovereign authority, and choſen by the people, who gave him the name of *lars*, a title borrowed, it ſeems, from the *Egyptian* tongue; for *Manetho* gives that title to ſome of the antient kings of *Egypt*. Sometimes we find one *leucumony* carrying on a war by itſelf, and at other times all the *leucumonies* joined in one national body in defence of their common liberties; which plainly ſhews, that their government under the *lartes* was not monarchical, but rather ariſtocratical. When the war was undertaken by the unanimous conſent of all the *leucumonies*, the general, or commander in chief, was attended by twelve lictors carrying the faſces before him, it being cuſtomary for each *leucumony* to ſend one; ſo that it was eaſy to judge from the number of the lictors, how many *leucumonies* were engaged in the war. We have enumerated above the capital cities of the twelve *leucumonies*, and ſhall only add here, that each of them was impowered to chuſe a king peculiar to themſelves, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. As to the religion of the *Hetrurians*, it is well known, that moſt of the *Roman* ceremonies were borrowed from them, eſpecially the uſe of ſacrifices, divinations, and auguries, and that *Hetruria* was looked upon by the *Romans* as the mother of all politeneſs and learning, before they ſubdued *Greece*. For thither they ſent their children to improve their knowledge, and cultivate their minds. The gods worſhipped by the antient *Hetrurians* were, *Janus*, *Jupiter*, *Vertumnus*, *Volummus*, *Volumna*, *Voltumna*, *Viridianus*, *Curis*, *Nurtia*, *Fortuna*, *Pallas*, &c. *Their gods, language, &c.*

Their language was different both from the *Greek* and *Latin*, as is manifeſt both from *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* [q], and from ſome antient monuments, which are ſtill to be ſeen in

[p] VIRGIL. l. viii. v. 499. [q] DIO. HAL. l. i. p. 23. & l. v. p. 298.

the cities of *Florence* and *Arezzo*. The accounts of their kings, tranſmitted to us by the antients, are ſo interwoven with fables, that in our opinion they deſerve little or no credit. We find a great many of thoſe princes occaſionally mentioned by the writers of the *Roman* hiſtory; but as to the time in which they reigned, and the order of their ſucceſſion, we are quite in the dark. *Janus* is ſaid to have been the firſt who reigned in *Hetruria* [r]; but who this *Janus* was, we find no-where recorded. Some take him to be *Tyrrhenus* the *Lydian*; others will have him to have reigned many ages before the arrival of the *Lydian* colony. The kings ſprung from him are ſtyled by the antient writers *Janigenæ*; and among them are counted the following princes; *Tiberinus*, *Parumnus*, *Aunus*, *Anus*, *Debeberis*, and *Tiber*. *Tiberinus* is ſaid to have killed his father *Janus* [s]. *Aunus* is mentioned by *Silius Italicus* [t]. *Anus* is ſaid by *Strabo* [u] to have been drowned in the river *Pareuſius*, which was thenceforth from him called *Anio*. *Debeberis* and *Tiber* were both drowned in the river *Albula*, which from them borrowed the names of *Debeberis* and *Tiber*, as *Sextus Pompeius* informs us [w]. Beſides theſe, we find mention made of *Coritus*, *Æolus*, *Etruſcus*, *Tuſcus*, *Raſena*, *Tarcon*, *Ocnus*, *Mezentius*, *Aſylas*, *Abas*, *Maſſicus*, *Oſinius*, *Morrius*, *Cluſius*, *Veientus*, *Olenius*, *Porſena*, or *Porſenna*, *Tolumnius*. *Coritus*, had *Faſius* and *Dardanus* by *Electra* the daughter of *Atlas* king of *Mauritania*. Upon his death, the two brothers falling out about the ſucceſſion, *Dardanus* killed *Faſius*, and being on that account obliged to abandon his native country, he took refuge firſt in *Samothrace*, and afterwards in *Phrygia*, where he married the daughter of *Teucer*, and became the parent as *Virgil* ſtyles him, of the *Trojan* nation [x]; for he ſucceeded *Teucer* and built *Dardania*, afterwards called *Troy*. From him the *Trojans* were named *Dardanidæ*. *Æolus* is mentioned by *Plutarch* [y] as reigning over *Hetruria* and the iſlands of the *Tyrrhenian* ſea. *Etruſcus* and *Tuſcus*, from whom the *Hetrurians* took the name of *Etruſci* and *Tuſci*, are ſpoke of by *Servius* [z] and *Sextus Pompeius* [a], as are *Raſena* and *Tarcon* by *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* [b] and *Virgil*. *Tarcon* was con-

[r] Arnob. contra gent. l. iii. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Sil. Ital. l. v. Punic. [u] Strab. l. v. p. 62. [w] Sextus Pomp. l. xviii. Vide Servium in l. viii. Æneid. v. 490, & 506. [x] Virg. Æneid. l. iii. v. 168. [y] Plut. parall. p. 312. [z] Servius in l. i. Æneid. v. 71. &, 164. [a] Sextus Pomp. l. xviii. [b] Dio. Hal. l. i. p. 24.

temporary

temporary with *Æneas*, and is ſaid to have built the twelve cities, which afterwards became the capitals of the twelve *leucumonies*. *Ocnus*, *Mezentius*, *Aſylas*, and *Abas*, are well known from *Virgil*'s *Æneid*. Of the other kings we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of *Latium*. The emperor *Claudius* is ſaid by *Suidas* and *Suetonius* to have wrote the hiſtory of *Hetruria* in twenty books; but as neither that performance, nor the works of *Soſtratus*, often quoted by *Strabo*, when he ſpeaks of the *Etruſcan* affairs, have reached our times, we know but very little of the antient ſtate, government, and laws of that once powerful nation.

THE kings we find mentioned as reigning in *Latium*, before the arrival of *Æneas*, are *Picus*, *Faunus*, and *Latinus*. *Picus* is ſuppoſed by *Virgil* [c] and others to have been the ſon of *Saturn*; but *Voſſius* is of opinion, that there never reigned any king of that name in *Latium*, and looks upon all that is ſaid of *Picus* as quite fabulous [d]. The next king is *Faunus*, ſuppoſed to have been the ſon of *Picus*. In his time *Evander* landed with a colony of *Arcadians* in a port of *Latium*, and being allowed by him to ſettle with his followers on a ſmall uncultivated hill near the *Tiber*, built there a city, which he called *Pallantium*, that being the name of the capital of his dominions in *Arcadia*, which he had been conſtrained to leave, for having accidentally killed his father *Echemus*. *Faunus* was ſucceeded by *Latinus*, his ſon, according to *Virgil* [e], by a nymph, named *Marica*; according to others, by one of the miſtreſſes of *Hercules*; for that hero is ſaid to have arrived in *Latium* during *Faunus*'s reign. *Faunus* had married to his firſt wife his own ſiſter *Fauna*, a famous propheteſs; but as ſhe brought him no children, and a ſon was born to him after his marriage with *Hercules*'s miſtreſs, it was thought that the child was rather *Hercules*'s ſon than his. But however that be, the name of *Latinus* is very famous in hiſtory, not on account of any military exploits performed by him, but for the arrival of *Æneas* in *Latium*, which happened in his reign. This prince was engaged in a war with the *Rutuli*, in which he was attended but with very indifferent ſucceſs, when news was brought him, that a foreign army had made a deſcent on his coaſts, pillaged the maritime parts of his dominions, and were fortifying themſelves in a camp at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea. Hereupon he marched againſt them with all his forces, hoping to oblige them

The kings of Latium.

Æneas arrives in Latium. Year after the Flood, 1822. Before Chriſt, 1177.

[c] VIRGIL. l. vii. Æneid. v. 45. & ſeq. idol. l. 1. [d] Voss. de orig. [e] Idem ibid.

them to reimbarque and abandon his dominions, without meeting with any great reſiſtance from a band of vagabonds, as he ſuppoſed, or pirates, come only to ſeek for plunder. But finding them, as he drew near, well armed and regularly drawn up in battalia, he thought it adviſeable to forbear engaging troops that appeared ſo well diſciplined, and, inſtead of venturing a battle, to deſire a parly. In this conference, *Latinus* underſtanding who they were, and being at the ſame time ſtruck with terror, and touched with compaſſion for thoſe brave, but unfortunate men, entered into a treaty with them, and aſſigned them a tract of land for a ſettlement, on condition that they ſhould employ their arms and exert their valour in defence of his dominions, and look upon the *Rutuli* as a common enemy. This condition *Æneas* readily accepted, and complied with his engagement ſo faithfully, that *Latinus* came at length to repoſe an intire confidence in the *Trojan*, and in proof of it gave him *Lavinia*, his daughter and only child, in marriage, ſecuring to him by that means the ſucceſſion to the throne of *Latium* [f]. *Æneas*, to teſtify his gratitude to *Latinus*, and affection for *Lavinia*, gave her name to the camp he had pitched, and inſtead of *Troy* called it *Lavinium*. The *Trojans* followed the example of their leader, and, by marriages making alliances with *Latin* families, became in a ſhort time one and the ſame people with the *Latins*.

Marries Lavinia.

In the mean time, *Turnus*, the queen's nephew, who had been brought up in the palace under the eye of *Latinus*, and entertained hopes of marrying *Lavinia*, and ſucceeding to the throne, ſeeing the princeſs beſtowed on a ſtranger, and all his views defeated, went over to the *Rutuli*; and, by ſtirring them up, brought on a battle between them and the *Latins*, in which both he and *Latinus* were killed. Thus *Æneas*, by the death of his father-in-law and by that of a troubleſome rival, came into the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Latium*, which he governed with great wiſdom, and tranſmitted to his poſterity [g] (D).

Succeeds to the kingdom of Latinus.

Æneas

[f] Liv. l. i. c. 1. Dio. Hal. l. p. 46. [g] Idem ibid. p. 51.

(D) The genealogy of the kings of *Latium*, we have here mentioned, is given by *Virgil* in the following verſes:

Rex arva Latinus & urbes
Jam ſenior longa placidas in pace regebat.

Hunc

Æneas is said to have reigned three years, during which time he established the worship of the gods of his own country, and to the religion of the *Latins* added that of *Troy*. The two palladiums (E), which had been the protectors of that city, became the tutelary deities of *Lavinium*, and in after-ages of the whole *Roman* empire. The worship of *Vesta* was likewise introduced by *Æneas*, and virgins, from her called *Vestals*, appointed to keep a fire continually burning in honour of that goddess. *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and many other deities, who had been revered in *Troy*, became, in all like-

> *Hunc Fauno & nymphæ genitum Laurente Marica*
> *Accipimus. Fauno Picus pater ; isque parentem*
> *Te, Saturne, refert ; tu sanguinis ultimus auctor* (5).

But other writers, disagreeing with *Virgil*, speak of a long series of kings reigning in *Latium* before *Picus*, the grandfather of *Latinus*. Among these they mention two *Saturns*, and two *Faunuses*, and suppose the elder *Faunus* to have lived two hundred years before him who was the father of *Latinus*. He is said to have been the first who civilized the inhabitants of *Italy*, and introduced a kind of religion among them, and was on that account honoured as a god. *Vossius*, as we have hinted above, believes, that there never was in *Latium* a king bearing the name of *Picus*, and ascribes this common notion to a fabulous tradition reported by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, *viz.* that in a certain province of *Latium* the god *Mars* had delivered his oracles by a mysterious bird, called in the language of the country, *Picus*, that is, *woodpecker*. Other writers count *Janus*, *OEnotrus*, and four kings bearing the name of *Latinus*, among the antient princes of *Latium*. *Virgil* himself owns, that the inhabitants of *Latium* were called *Latins* long before the reign of king *Latinus*, who received *Æneas* ; for he introduces *Juno* addressing *Jupiter* in favour of the *Latins*, and intreating him not to suffer the antient name of *Latins* to be changed into that of *Trojans*. His words are ;

> *Pro Latio obtestor, pro majestate tuorum, &c.*
> *Ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos,*
> *Neu Troas fieri jubeas, Teucrosque vocari* (6).

(E) These were two statues, whereof one was the original, and the other the copy ; so that, properly speaking, there was but one true *Palladium*, of which we have spoke at length in the history of *Troy*, to which we refer our readers (7).

(5) *Virgil. Æneid. l. vii. v.* 45, *& seq.* (6) *Idem l. x. v.* 820, *& seq.* (7) *Vide Vol. V. p.* 364, *& seq.*

lihood,

lihood, known to the *Latins* by means of *Æneas*; which gave occaſion to the poets of repreſenting him under the character of a pious hero.

While *Æneas* was thus employed, the *Rutuli*, antient enemies of the *Latin* name, entering into an alliance with *Mezentius*, king of the *Tyrrhenians*, took the field with a deſign to drive out thoſe new-comers, of whoſe power they began to conceive no ſmall jealouſy. *Æneas* marched out againſt them at the head of his *Trojans* and *Latins*. Hereupon a battle enſued, which laſted till night, when *Æneas*, being puſhed to the banks of the *Numicus*, which ran cloſe by *Lavinium*, and forced into that river, was there drowned. The *Trojans* concealed his body, and pretending that he had vaniſhed away on a ſudden, made him paſs for a deity among his credulous ſubjects, who accordingly erected a temple to him, under the title of *Jupiter Indiges* [h] (F). Such was the end of *Æneas*, the *Trojan* prince ſo much celebrated by the *Greek* and *Latin* poets. Of his progenitors, birth, and behaviour, during the ſiege of *Troy*, and adventures after the fall of that city, till his ſettling in *Latium*, we have ſpoke at length elſewhere [i], and therefore ſhall not break off the thread of our hiſtory to give in this place any farther account of that hero.

Death of Æneas.

Upon the death of *Æneas*, his ſon *Euryleon*, called alſo *Aſcanius* and *Iulus*, aſcended the throne (G). But as the young

Aſcanius.

[h] Dio. Hal. p. 51. [i] Vide Vol. V. p. 388, & ſeq.

(F) The inſcription, according to *Aurelius Victor*, was conceived in theſe words, *Patri Deo indigeti*. The word *Indiges* in the *Latin* tongue ſignified one of thoſe gods who had been of the race of men, and at length were deified. The temple or tomb of *Æneas*, in the time of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, was nothing but a riſing ſpot of ground ſet round with trees. Perhaps, ſays that writer, it was the tomb of *Anchiſes*, who died but a year before his ſon (8). *Livy* likewiſe tells us, that *Æneas* had divine honours paid him under the name of *Jupiter Indiges* (9).

(G) *Euryleon* was, according to ſome, the ſon of *Æneas*, by *Creuſa*, according to others, by *Lavinia*. He was called *Aſcanius* from a river in *Phrygia* bearing that name, and *Ilus*, which name was afterwards changed into *Iulus*, from *Ilium* or *Troy*. *Cato*, as quoted by *Servius* (10), derives *Iulus* from the *Greek* word ἴυλος, ſignify-

(8) *Dio Hal. l. i. p. 51.* (9) *Liv. l. i.* (10) *Servius in l. i. Æneid. v. 271.*

ing

young prince did not think it adviſeable to venture a battle in the very beginning of his reign with a formidable enemy, who promiſed himſelf great ſucceſs from the death of *Æneas*, he had the prudence to confine himſelf within the walls of *Lavinium*, and to try whether he could by an honourable treaty put an end to ſo dangerous a war. But the haughty *Mezentius* demanding of the *Latins*, as one of the conditions of a peace, that they ſhould pay him yearly, by way of tribute, all the wine produced in the territory of *Latium*, *Aſcanius* rejected the propoſal with the utmoſt indignation, and having cauſed all the vines throughout his dominions to be conſecrated to *Jupiter*, and by that means put it out of his power to comply with the enemy's requeſt, he reſolved to make a vigorous ſally, and try whether he could, by force of arms, bring the inſulting *Tyrrhenian* to more reaſonable terms. The main body of the enemy's army was encamped at ſome diſtance from *Lavinium*; but *Lauſus* the ſon of *Mezentius*, with the flower of their youth under his command, lay intrenched at the very gates of the city. The *Trojans*, who had been long accuſtomed to make vigorous ſallies, marching out in the night, attacked the poſt where *Lauſus* commanded, forced his intrenchments, and obliged the troops he had with him to ſave themſelves by flight, to the main body of the army incamped on the plain. But the unexpected arrival and overthrow of their advance-guard ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that inſtead of ſtopping the flight of their companions, they fled with them in great diſorder to the neighbouring mountains. The *Latins* purſued them, and in the purſuit *Lauſus* was killed, whoſe death ſo diſcouraged *Mezentius*, that he immediately ſued for peace, which was granted him, upon condition, that for the future the *Tiber* ſhould be the boundary between the *Latin* and *Hetrurian* territories [k].

IN the mean time, *Lavinia*, who had been left with child by *Æneas*, entertaining a ſtrong jealouſy of the ambition of her ſon-in-law, retired to the woods, and was there peaceably delivered of a ſon, who from his father was named *Æneas*, and from the place of his birth had the ſurname of *Sylvius*.

[k] DIO. HAL. ibid. Liv. l. i. c. 3.

ing *the ſoft and tender hair which firſt appears on the face*, and pretends, that this name was given to *Aſcanius*, becauſe he killed *Mezentius* in a ſingle combat, when he was very young. But herein he contradicts all the antient hiſtorians, who ſpeak either of *Julus* or *Mezentius*.

But as the queen's flight, who had diſappeared on a ſudden, raiſed ſuſpicions at *Lavinium* prejudicial to the reputation of *Aſcanius*, he uſed all poſſible means to remove them, cauſed diligent ſearch to be made after *Lavinia*, calmed her fears, and prevailed upon her to return to the town with her ſon, whom he ever after treated as a brother. *Lavinium* grew every day more populous; but as it was in reality the patrimony of *Lavinia*, and the inheritance of her ſon *Sylvius*, *Aſcanius* reſolved to reſign it to them, and build elſewhere another city for himſelf. This he made the place of his reſidence, and the capital of his new kingdom, calling it *Alba Longa*; *Alba*, from *a white ſow*, which we are told *Æneas* had found in the place where it was built, and *Longa*, to diſtinguiſh it from another town of the ſame name in the country of the *Marſi*, or rather, becauſe it extended, without having much breadth, the whole length of a lake near which it was built [1] (G). It was thirty years after the building of *Lavinium*, that *Aſcanius* fixed his abode at *Alba*, and there he died after a reign of about thirty eight years, twelve of which he had reſided at his new ſettlement. He left a ſon called *Iulus*; ſo that between him and *Sylvius* lay the right of ſucceſſion to the *Latin* throne; the latter being the ſon, and the former the grandſon, of *Æneas*. The *Latins* not thinking it for their intereſt to continue divided, as it were into two ſtates, reſolved to unite *Alba* and *Lavinium* in one ſovereignty; and as *Sylvius* was born of *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, and had thereby an undoubted title to the kingdom of his grandfather, whereas the other, after all, was but the ſon of a ſtranger, the *Latins* beſtowed the crown on *Sylvius*, and, to make *Iulus* ſome amends, decreed to him the ſovereign power in affairs of religion, a power which thence-

Aſcanius *founds* Alba Longa.

Upon the death of Aſcanius *the* Latins *unite* Lavinium *to* Alba.

[1] Dio. Hal. p 52, 53. Liv. l. i. c. 3. Aur. Victor. orig. Rom.

(G) The place which *Aſcanius* choſe for his new capital was pleaſant, fruitful, and eaſy to be fortified, being covered on one ſide by a mountain, and on the other by a deep lake, which rendered it inacceſſible. It was built at an equal diſtance from the lake and the mountain, probably between the preſent city of *Albano*, and the lake of *Caſtel Gandolfo*, and peopled by a mixed colony of *Latins* and *Trojans*. The inhabitants of this city were called *Albani*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the other *Alba*, who were called *Albenſes* (11).

(11) *Varro de ling. Latin. l. vii.*

forth

forth continued in his family. *Sylvius* was ſucceeded by thir- *Kings of*
teen kings of the ſame race, who for near four hundred years *Alba.*
reigned at *Alba*. But we ſcarce know any thing of them beſides their names, and the years of their reſpective reigns. *Æneas Sylvius* died after a reign of twenty nine years. His ſon, called alſo *Æneas Sylvius*, governed *Latium* thirty one years. *Latinus Sylvius*, who ſucceeded him, ſwayed the ſceptre for the ſpace of fifty one years. *Alba* reigned thirty nine; *Capetus*, called by *Livy Atys*, twenty ſix; *Capis* twenty eight; and *Capetus* thirteen. *Tiberinus*, who ſucceeded him, engaged in a war, which proved fatal to him; for in a battle, which was fought on the banks of the *Allula*, he was forced into that river and drowned. From him the river took the name of *Tiber*, which it has bore ever ſince. *Agrippa* ſucceeded *Tiberinus* after a reign of eight years, and left the throne, which he had held forty one years, to *Alladius*, who reigned nineteen, and was ſucceeded by *Aventinus*, who left his name to the hill *Aventinus*, where he was interred. *Procas*, who ſucceeded him, and reigned twenty three years, was the father of *Numitor* and *Amulius*, and at his death bequeathed the throne to his elder ſon *Numitor*. But *Amulius*, who ſurpaſſed his brother in courage and underſtanding, drove him from the throne, and, to ſecure it for himſelf, murdered *Ægeſtus*, *Numitor*'s only ſon, and conſecrated his daughter *Rhea Sylvia* to the worſhip of *Veſta*, by which ſhe was obliged to perpetual virginity. But this precaution proved ineffectual; for as the *Veſtal* was going to a neighbouring ſpring, to fetch water for the performance of a ſacrifice to *Mars*, ſhe was met and forced by a man diſguiſed in a military habit, like that in which the god *Mars* was repreſented. Some authors think, that this counterfeit *Mars* was a lover come thither by her appointment; others charge *Amulius* with uſing this violence to his niece himſelf, not ſo much to gratify his luſt, as to have a pretence to deſtroy her. For ever after he cauſed her to be carefully watched, till ſhe was delivered of two ſons; and then, exaggerating her crime in an aſſembly of the people, he prevailed upon them to ſentence her to death, and to condemn the fruit of her criminal amour to be thrown into the *Tiber*. The ſentence againſt *Rhea* was, according to ſome authors, changed by *Amulius*, at the requeſt of his daughter *Antho*, into perpetual confinement, but executed againſt the twins, who being laid in a wooden trough, and carried to the foot of mount *Palatine*, were turned there adrift on the *Tiber*, which at that time overflowed its banks. But the wind and ſtream proved both ſo favourable,

Birth and education of Romulus *and* Remus.

favourable, that at the fall of the water the two infants were left ſafe on the ſtrand, and there happily found by *Fauſtulus*, the chief of the king's ſhepherds, and ſuckled by his wife *Acca Laurentia*, who for her diſorderly life was called *Lupa*. And this probably gave riſe to the fabulous miracle of their being nurſed by *a wolf* [m].

As *Fauſtulus* was probably well acquainted with the birth of the twins, he took more than ordinary care of their education, and ſent them to *Gabii* to be inſtructed there *in Greek* literature [n]. As they grew up they appeared to have ſomething great in their mien and air, which commanded reſpect; and the aſcendant, which they aſſumed over the other ſhepherds, made them dreaded in the foreſts, where they exerciſed a ſort of empire. A quarrel happening between the herdſmen of *Amulius* and thoſe of *Numitor*, the two brothers took the part of the former againſt the latter; and ſome blood being ſhed in the fray, the adverſe party to be revenged on *Romulus* and *Remus*, for ſo the twins were called, on the feſtival of the *Lupercalia* (H), ſurpriſed *Remus*, and carried him before

[m] Liv. ibid. Dio. Hal. p. 60—63. Fab. Pictor. Portius Cato, & Calpurnius Piso. apud eund. [n] Plut. in Romulo.

(H) *Valerius Maximus* pretends, that the feſtival of the *Lupercalia* was not older than the foundation of *Rome*. But he is therein contradicted by *Livy* (12), *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* (13). and *Plutarch* (14), who tell us in expreſs terms, that this feſtival was brought by *Evander* out of *Greece*. The ceremonies obſerved in it were theſe: In the firſt place two goats and a dog were killed; then the foreheads of two young men of diſtinction were touched with the bloody knife, and they were to laugh when they were thus touched. This being done, the ſkins of the victims were cut into thongs, and whips made of them for the young men, who ſcoured the ſtreets and the fields, all naked but their middle, and ſtruck thoſe they met. The young women offered themſelves to their ſtrokes, fancying they contributed to fruitfulneſs (15). They ran naked, becauſe *Pan*, the god of the ſhepherds, was commonly repreſented ſo. They ſacrificed a goat, becauſe that divinity was ſuppoſed to have goats feet. A dog was added as a neceſſary companion of a ſhepherd. Some have thought with *Plutarch*, that theſe *Lupercalia* were inſtituted in honour of the wolf that ſuckled *Romulus* and *Re-*

(12) *Liv. l. i. c. 5.* (13) *Dio. Hal. l. i. p. 25, & 63.* (14) *Plut. in Romulo.* (15) *Plut. ibid. Sext. Pomp. l. xviii.*

mus.

fore *Numitor* to be puniſhed by him, according to his deſerts. But *Numitor*, either by inſtinct or compaſſion, feeling himſelf touched in the priſoner's favour, aſked him, where he was born, and who were his parents? His anſwer immediately ſtruck *Numitor* with a lively remembrance of his two grandſons. Their age, which was about eighteen years, agreed with the time when the two infants were expoſed upon the *Tiber*; and there needed no more to change his anger into tenderneſs o.

IN the mean time, *Romulus*, eager to reſcue his brother, and purſue thoſe who had carried him off, was preparing to be revenged on them; but *Fauſtulus* diſſuaded him from it, and on that occaſion diſcloſing to him his birth, awakened in his breaſt ſentiments worthy of his extraction. He reſolved at all adventures to attempt the delivering of his mother and grandfather from oppreſſion. With this view he aſſembled the country-people, over whom he had aſſumed a kind of ſovereignty, and engaged them to come to the city on an appointed day, and enter it by different gates, provided with arms, which they were to conceal. While *Romulus* was thus diſpoſing every thing for the execution of his deſign, *Numitor* made the ſame diſcovery to *Remus*, concerning his parents, and the oppreſſion they groaned under, which ſo fired him, that he was ready to imbarque in any enterprize. But *Numitor* took care to moderate the tranſports of his grandſon, and only deſired him to acquaint his brother with what he had heard from him, and to ſend him to his houſe. *Romulus* ſoon came, and was followed by *Fauſtulus*, who took with him the trough or ſkiff, in which the twins had been expoſ-

o DIO. HAL. p. 64. ÆLIUS TUBERO, apud eund. p. 65.

mus. But moſt other writers tell us, that they were appointed in honour of *Pan*, from whom they borrowed their name, *Pan* being called in *Greek* Λύκαιος, perhaps from Λύκος, which anſwers the *Latin* word *Lupus*, *a wolf*, becauſe the chief employment of *Pan* was to drive away the wolves from the ſheep he protected. This feſtival was celebrated the fifteenth of *February*. The prieſts who preſided at theſe ſacrifices, were called *Luperci*; and were divided into two companies or colleges, *viz*. the *Fabiani* and *Quinctiliani*, one for *Romulus*, the other for *Remus*. They took their names from *Fabius* and *Quinctilius*, their chief prieſts (16). *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that afterwards a third college was added by the ſenate in honour of *Julius Cæſar* (17).

(16) *Sext. Pomp ibid.* (17) *Dio. Caſſ. l. xliv.*

cd,

ed, to ſhew it to *Numitor*. But as the ſhepherd betrayed an air of concern and earneſtneſs in his looks, he was ſtopped at the gate of the city, led before *Amulius*, and examined concerning his burden. It was eaſily known by its make and inſcription, which was ſtill legible; and therefore *Fauſtulus* owned what it was, and confeſſed that the twins were living; but in order to gain time pretended, that they were feeding flocks in a remote deſert [p]. In the mean time, the uſurper's death being reſolved on, *Remus* undertook to raiſe the city, and *Romulus* to inveſt the king's palace. The country-people came at the time appointed, and formed themſelves into companies, each conſiſting of an hundred men. They had no other enſigns but bundles of hay hanging upon long poles, which the *Latins* at that time called *Manipuli*; and hence came the name of *Manipulares*, originally given to troops raiſed in the country (I). With this tumultuous army *Romulus* beſet the avenues of the palace, forced the guard, and having killed the tyrant, after he had reigned forty two years, reſtored his grandfather *Numitor* to the throne [q].

They dethrone Amulius, and reſtore Numitor.

They found a new colony.

Affairs being thus ſettled at *Alba*, the two brothers, by the advice of *Numitor*, undertook the founding of a new colony. The king beſtowed on them thoſe lands near the *Tiber*, where they had been brought up, ſupplied them with all manner of inſtruments for breaking up ground, with ſlaves, and beaſts of burden, and granted full liberty to his ſubjects to join them. Hereupon moſt of the *Trojans*, of whom there

[p] Plut. in Romulo. [q] Plut. & Liv. ibid.

(I) The *Romans* at firſt had no other enſigns.

Non illi cælo labentia ſigna tenebant;
Sed ſua, quæ magnum perdere crimen erat:
Illa quidem fæno, ſed erat reverentia fæno,
Quantum nunc aquilas cernis habere tuas:
Pertica ſuſpenſos portabat longa maniplos,
Unde maniplaris nomina miles habet (18).

The *manipulus* in *Romulus*'s time conſiſted of an hundred men, called *manipulares*; but was afterwards encreaſed to two hundred. In the decline of the empire the *manipulus* conſiſted of leſs than an hundred men, as is plain from a paſſage in *Ammianus Marcellinus* (19).

(18) *Ovid. Faſtor. III v.* 117. (19) *Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii.*

Rill

ſtill remained fifty families in *Auguſtus*'s time, choſe to follow the fortune of *Romulus* and *Remus*; as did alſo the inhabitants of *Pallantium* and *Saturnia*, two ſmall towns. For the more ſpeedy carrying on of the work, it was thought proper to divide thoſe who were to be employed in the building of the city into two companies, one under the command of *Romulus*, the other of *Remus*. But this diviſion, which was deſigned purely with a view to the public welfare, and that the two parties might work by way of emulation, gave birth to two factions, and produced a jealouſy between the two brothers, which broke out when they came to chuſe a place for the building of their new city. For *Remus* was for the *Aventine*, and *Romulus* for the *Palatine* mount. Upon which the matter being referred to their grandfather, he adviſed the contending parties to have recourſe to the gods, and to put an end to the diſpute by augury, to which he was himſelf greatly addicted. The day appointed for the ceremony being come, the brothers poſted themſelves each upon his hill; and it was agreed, that whoever ſhould ſee the firſt flight, or the greateſt number of vulturs, ſhould gain his cauſe. After the two rivals had waited ſome time for the appearance of a favourable augury, *Romulus*, before any had appeared, ſent to acquaint his brother that he had ſeen ſome vulturs. But *Remus*, having actually ſeen ſix while his brother's meſſengers were yet on their way, haſtened on their arrival to mount *Palatine*, to examine the truth of what they had told him. He had no ſooner got thither, than, by an unexpected good fortune, twelve vulturs appeared to *Romulus*. Theſe he immediately ſhewed to his brother, and, tranſported with joy, deſired him to be judge himſelf of the truth of what his meſſengers had told him. However, *Remus* diſcovered the deceit, and being told that *Romulus* had not ſeen the twelve vulturs till after he had ſeen ſix, he inſiſted on the time of his ſeeing them, and the other on the number of the birds he had ſeen. This widened the breach between the two brothers; and their parties being divided, while each man eſpouſed the cauſe of his leader, the diſpute grew ſo warm, that from words they came at length to blows. The ſhepherd *Faullulus*, who was equally dear to both the brothers, endeavouring to part the combatants, was by an unknown hand laid dead on the ſpot. Some writers tell us, that *Remus* likewiſe loſt his life in the fray; but the greater number place his death later, and ſay, that he was killed by one *Fabius*, for having in deriſion leaped over the wall of the new city; but *Livy* ſays, the more

Remus is killed.

common

common report was, that *Remus* fell by the hand of his brother [r] (K).

The foundation of Rome. Year of the flood, 2531. Before Christ, 748.

Romulus being now head of the colony, by having got the better of his brother's party in the late engagement, applied his thoughts wholly to the building of the city, which he proposed to call after his own name. He chose mount *Palatine* for its situation, and performed all those ceremonies, which the superstition of the *Hetrurians* had introduced. He first offered sacrifices to the gods, and ordered all the people to do the same; and from that time decreed, that eagles should be the auspices of his new colony. After this great fires were kindled before their tents, and all the people leaped through the flames to purify themselves. When this ceremony was over, they dug a trench round the spot, where the assemblies of the people were afterwards held, and threw into it the first-fruits of whatever they were allowed to make use of for food; every man of the colony was ordered to cast into the same trench a handful of earth, brought either from his own, or some neighbouring, country. The trench they called *Mundus*, that is, *The World*, and made it the centre round which the city was to be built. Then *Romulus* yoking a cow and a bull to a plough, the coulter whereof was brass, marked out by a deep furrow the whole compass of the city. These two animals, the symbols of marriage by which cities are peopled, were afterwards slain upon the altars. All the people followed the plough, throwing inwards the clods of earth, which the plough-share sometimes turned outwards. Where-ever a gate was to be made, the plough was lifted up and carried; and hence came the *Latin* word *Porta*, *a gate*, derived from the verb *Portare*, *to carry* (L). As mount *Palatine*

[r] Liv. l. i. Dio. Hal. l. i p. 72. Plut. in Romulo.

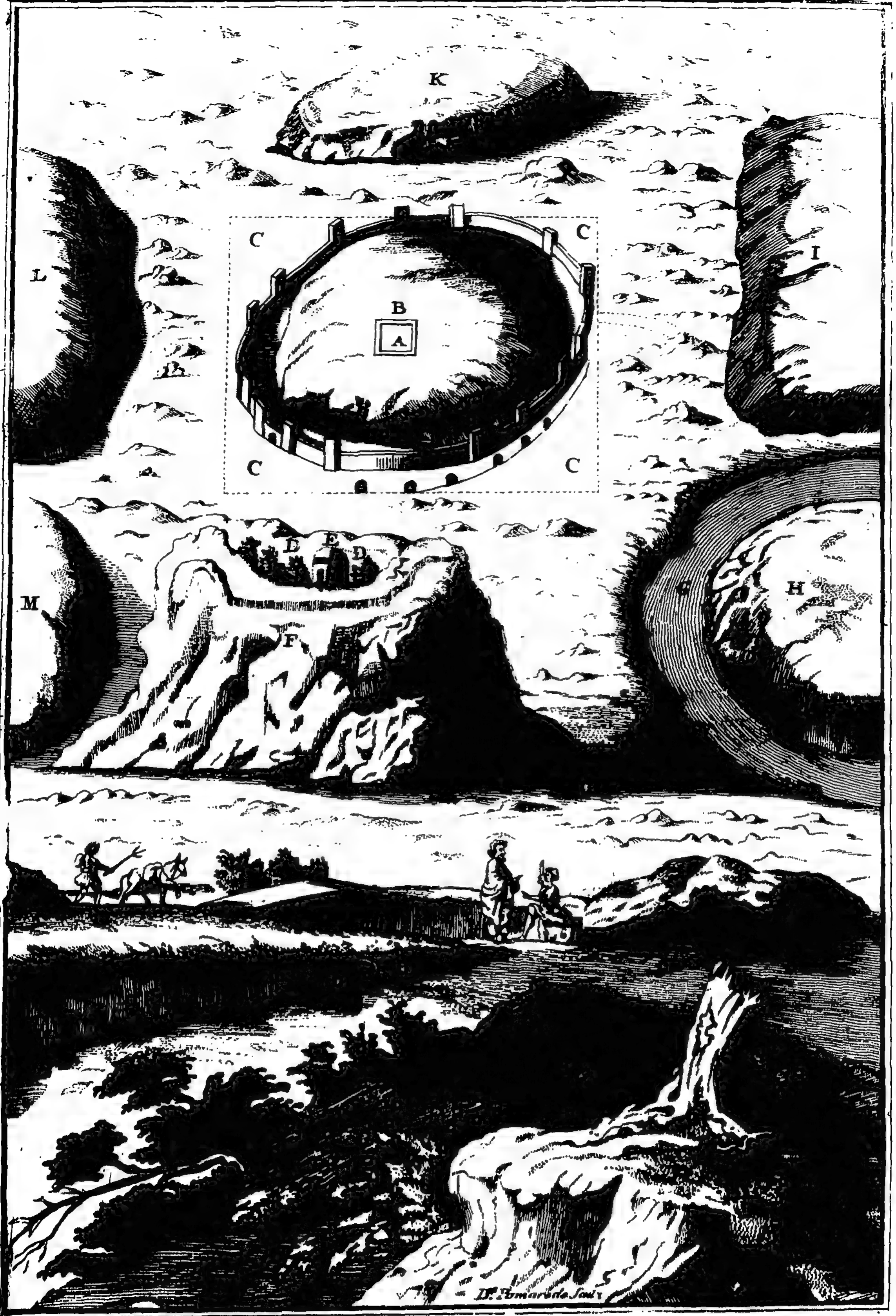
(K) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, who is of opinion that *Remus* was killed before the foundation of the new city, adds, that he was buried in a place called after his own name *Remuria*, about thirty furlongs from *Rome*; which situation seeming to him the most convenient for building a city, he went thither, according to some writers, and, according to other, to mount *Aventine*, to observe the flight of the birds. *Festus* says, that the summit of mount *Aventine* was called *Remuria* from the time *Remus* resolved to build the city there. But *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* speaks of mount *Aventine* and *Remuria* as two different places. *Stephanus* will have *Remuria* to have been a city in the neighbourhood of *Rome*.

(L) The *Hetrurians* had, as *Festus* informs us (20), a sort of ri-

(20) *Festus de ling. Latin. l. ii.*

tual,

The first Plan of Rome. *as it was in ye beginning of* Romulus's *reign.*



A. Roma Quadrata *or* Rome. *as built in a* Square *form. according to some.*

B. *The Hill* Palatinus.

C. *The first Enclosure of* Rome.

D. *The* Asylum.

E. *The Temple of ye* Asylum *and* Sacrifice.

F. *The Hill* Capitolinus.

G. *The* Tyber.

H. *The Hill* Janiculus.

I. *The Hill* Aventinus.

K. *The Hill* Coelius.

L. *The Hill* Esquilinus.

M. *The Hill* Quirinalis.

Palatine ſtood by itſelf, the whole was incloſed within the line made by the plough, which formed almoſt the figure of a ſquare;

tual, wherein were contained the ceremonies that were to be obſerved in building cities, temples, altars, walls, and gates. *Fabius Pictor* ſays, that *Romulus* ſent for a prieſt or augur out of *Hetruria*, to preſide at the building of his new city, and *Plutarch* tells us, that men from *Hetruria* taught the founder every rite he was to obſerve. The meaning of the ceremonies we have mentioned was as follows: they leaped through the flames, being perſuaded that ſo religious a ceremony required great purity. The bull and cow were both white.

Alba jugum niveo cum bove vacca tulit (21),

ſays *Ovid*. Their whiteneſs was a ſymbol of that purity of manners and innocence, which ſhould be the character of every citizen. *Iſidorus* 22) tells us, that a cow and an ox yoked together repreſented the foundation of cities, and ſettlement of colonies. By throwing the firſt-fruits and a handful of earth into the trench, they admoniſhed the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their chief ſtudy to procure for their fellow-citizens all the conveniencies of life, to maintain peace and union amongſt a people come together from different parts of the world, and by this means to form themſelves into a body never to be diſſolved. By the care which the people took to throw the clods of earth back towards the city, they were inſtructed, that plenty in cities is owing to the fruitful product of the lands about them, and that they ought to bring every thing from abroad, that could contribute to the welfare of the inhabitants.

The whole length of the ground where the plough had paſſed was by the antients looked upon as ſacred and inviolable; and for this reaſon they thought themſelves obliged to ſpend the laſt drop of their blood in the defence of their walls; and to break through them was a crime of the higheſt nature.

In ſpeaking of the foundation of *Rome*, we have followed the account which *Livy*, and after him moſt of the *Latin* hiſtorians give us of that memorable event; but *Plutarch* tells us (23), that there is a great diſagreement among authors, both as to the founder of *Rome*, and the reaſon why it was ſo called: Some were of opinion, as that writer informs us, that the *Pelaſgians*, who had over-run the greater part of the habitable world, fixed there, and from their

(21) *Ovid. Faſt. l. iv.* (22) *Iſidor. l. xxv. c. 2.* (23) *Plut. in Romulo.*

ſquare; whence it is called by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus Roma Quadrata*. *Plutarch* ſeems to make a diſtinction between *Roma Quadrata* and the city of *Rome*; for he ſays, that *Romulus* had built the former before he marked out the plan of the latter. But the authorities of *Fabius Pictor*, *Cato*, and *Dionyſius Hallicarnaſſeus* are of greater weight with us.

As to the exact year of the foundation of *Rome*, there is a great diſagreement among hiſtorians and chronologers: *Varro*; whoſe opinion is, according to *Petavius*; the moſt agreeable to the rules of chronology, places it in the third year of the ſixth olympiad; that is, according to the computation of the learned *Uſher*, whom we chuſe to follow, four hundred and thirty ſix years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, and ſeven hundred forty eight before the chriſtian æra * (M). The *Romans*, if

power and *ſtrength in arms*, in *Greek* Ῥώμη, called the city by that name: others thought the city was built by ſome *Trojans*, who, eſcaping from *Troy*, were driven upon the coaſts of *Hetruria*; among them was a woman of diſtinction, named *Roma*, whoſe name was given to the new city: others pretended, that *Roma* was the daughter of *Italus* and *Lucaria*, or of *Telephus* the ſon of *Hercules*, and that ſhe was married to *Æneas*. Some will have her to have been the daughter of *Aſcanius*, *Æneas*'s ſon. The ſame writer ſpeaks of *Romanus*, the ſon of *Ulyſſes* by *Circe*, of *Romus* the ſon of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent from *Troy*, and of *Romus*, a king of the *Latins*, who drove out the *Hetrurians*; to each of theſe the building of *Rome* has by ſome authors been aſcribed. *Solinus* beſtows that honour on *Evander*, and adds, that *Rome* was firſt called *Valentia*; while others, as St. *Auſtin* informs us (24), pretend, that its antient name was *Febris*, borrowed from *Februa* the mother of *Mars*.

* Archbiſhop *Uſher* herein follows the opinion of *Fabius Pictor*, who places the building of *Rome* in the firſt year of the eighth olympiad, which coincides with the year before *Chriſt* 748; whereas *Varro* places it in the third year of the 6th olympiad, or five years earlier. This miſtake the authors themſelves have corrected, in the laſt note of the 4th ſection of the 37th chapter of this book.

(M) *Timæus* of *Sicily* thinks, that *Rome* and *Carthage* were built much about the ſame time, that is, thirty eight years before the firſt olympiad. *Q. Cincius* places the foundation of *Rome* in the fourth year of the twelfth olympiad; *Fabius Pictor*, in the firſt year of the eighth; *Polybius* and *Diodorus Siculus*, in the ſecond year of the ſeventh olympiad; *Portius Cato* and others, in the firſt year of the ſame olympiad; *Marcus Verrius Flaccus*, the ſuppoſed author of

(24) *Auguſtin. de civitat. Dei, l. iii.*

the

if we may ſo call them, began to build, as *Plutarch* [f] and others inform us, on the twenty firſt of *April*, which day was then conſecrated to *Pales*, goddeſs of the ſhepherds, whence the feſtival of *Pales*, and that of the foundation of the city, were afterwards jointly celebrated at *Rome* (N).

WHEN *Rome* had received the utmoſt perfection, which its poor and rude founder could give it, it conſiſted of about a thouſand houſes, or rather huts, and was, properly ſpeaking, a beggarly village, whereof the principal inhabitants followed the plough, being obliged to cultivate, with their own hands, the ungrateful ſoil of a barren country, which they had ſhared among themſelves. Even the walls of *Romulus*'s palace were made of ruſhes, and covered with thatch (O). As every one had choſen his ground to build upon,

[f] PLUT. ibid.

the *Capitoline* tables, and *Livy*, in the fourth year of the ſixth olympiad. But the moſt exact *Roman* writers follow *Varro*'s calculation, according to which the foundations of *Rome* were laid near the end of the third year of the ſixth olympiad. *Plutarch*, from the teſtimony of ſome antient writers, tells us, that an eclipſe of the ſun happened the firſt day that *Rome* was founded, which was ſeen by *Antimachus*, of *Teos*. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* mentions another eclipſe (25) which happened the ſame day that *Romulus* died. From theſe aſtronomical obſervations ſeveral writers have attempted, by the help of the tables of eclipſes, to fix the true æra of the foundation of *Rome*; but the fruit of their labour has been nothing but endleſs diſputes, in which every one is at liberty to chuſe what ſide he pleaſes.

(N) The *Palilia*, or *feaſt of Pales*, is ſometimes called *Parilia*, from the *Latin* word *Parere*, *to bring forth*, becauſe prayers were then made for the fruitfulneſs of the ſheep. *Ovid* mentions a very tedious courſe of ſuperſtitious ceremonies, which the ſhepherds went through on that occaſion. They had always a great feaſt at night, and when they were pretty merry, they concluded the whole with dancing over the fires they had made in the fields with heaps of ſtraw (26). As the *Romans* celebrated at the ſame time the feſtival of the foundation of their city, no victims were ſlain, becauſe they judged the ſhedding of blood unſuitable to ſo extraordinary a feſtival, which was deſigned only for public rejoicings.

(O) The hut of *Romulus* was long preſerved on the *Capitol*, according to *Vitruvius*, *Macrobius*, and *Seneca*, as a venerable mo-

(25) *Dio. Hal. l. ii. p.* 115. (26) *Ovid. Faſt.* 3. *v.* 721, *& ſeq.*

upon, without any regard to the regularity and beauty of the whole, the ſtreets, if we may ſo call them, were both crooked and narrow. In ſhort, *Rome*, till it was rebuilt after the burning of it by the *Gauls*, was rather a diſorderly heap of huts, than a city built with any regularity or order [t]. From this mean and contemptible beginning, *Rome*, in proceſs of time, became the metropolis and miſtreſs of the whole known world, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

[t] Val. Max. l. iv. Dio. Hal. & Plut. ibid.

nument of antiquity; and it was a point of religion with the *Romans* never to make uſe of any other materials but ruſhes and ſtraw to repair it, till it was at length deſtroyed by fire in the time of *Auguſtus*. But after all, this hut on the capitol could not be the houſe of *Romulus*, it being certain that he dwelt on mount *Palatine*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Roman *history, from* Romulus *to the* Commonwealth.

Romulus *choſen king.*

AS *Romulus* had taken upon himſelf the chief command of the colony only for the time the city was building, as ſoon as the work was finiſhed, he aſſembled the people, and gave them liberty to chuſe what kind of government they liked beſt. They without heſitation gave the preference to monarchy, and unanimouſly proclaimed *Romulus* king of *Rome*. But the prince elect, before he aſcended the throne, begged leave to conſult the will of the gods by auguries. It is ſaid, that, after he had offered ſacrifices to the gods in an open place, a flaſh of lightning was ſeen to gleam from the left, which was, according to the augurs, a lucky omen. From this time it became an eſtabliſhed cuſtom to have recourſe to augury, upon raiſing any one to the royal dignity, the prieſthood, or any public employment. In proceſs of time, this came to be only a matter of mere ceremony, though the cuſtom, introduced by the example of the founder, ſubſiſted above ſeven hundred years [u] (P). *Romulus* being thus declared king by the election of the people and approbation of the gods, applied all his thoughts to the eſtabliſhing of good order in his new city, and a due ſubordination a-

[u] Dio. Hal. p. 78. Cic. l. iii. de legib. & l. iii. de nat. deor.

(P) This practice continued from the time of *Romulus* to the end of the republic, and was ſometimes uſed even under the emperors. Thoſe who ſtood for employments went out early on the day which was appointed for their election, made a public prayer, and conſulted the augurs. When their anſwers proved favourable, as they generally did, the augurs being commonly well paid for their pains, the candidates gave out that the gods were not againſt their having the office, which they ſolicited. Upon this they were ſaid to obtain and bear it *auſpicato*,

mong

among his ſubjects. He himſelf put on a habit of diſtinction, and appointed twelve lictors to attend him as guards, each of them bearing an ax ſtuck in a bundle of rods, which was the uſual ſymbol of ſovereignty among his neighbours the *Hetrurians* (Q). He divided the three thouſand three hundred men, of which his colony conſiſted, into three equal parts, called *Tribes* or *Thirds*, each being commanded by its præfect or tribune. The tribes were divided into ten *curiæ*, and theſe ſubdivided each into ten *decuriæ*: over the former was appointed officers, named *Curiones*, and over the latter *Decuriones*, each of the *curiæ* and *decuriæ* having their peculiar commander. After this *Romulus* divided his ſmall territory, not above five or ſix miles in extent, into three parts, but not equal. One was conſecrated to the expences of religious worſhip; another reſerved for the kings revenue, and the exigencies of the ſtate; and the third, which was the moſt conſiderable, divided into thirty portions, to anſwer to the thirty *curiæ* [w] (R). The next thing which *Romulus* did was, to diſtinguiſh the people, according to their birth and dignity, into *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. The former, as being of a more noble extraction, were to take care of the religious rites and ceremonies, and to bear all the civil and military dignities; the latter to till the ground, feed cattle, and follow trades, but not to have any ſhare in the government, to avoid the inconveniencies of a popular power. But to prevent the ſeditions, which ſuch a diſtinction might produce, and to bind them to each other by reciprocal ties and obligations, every plebeian was allowed to chuſe out of the body of the patricians a protector, who was obliged to aſſiſt

Tribes, Curiæ, Decuriæ.

Patricians and Plebeians.

Patrons and clients.

[w] Dio. Hal. l. ii. p. 76 Plut. in Romulo. Strab. l. v. p. 531.

(Q) Some think that he choſe twelve lictors, becauſe he had ſeen twelve vultures, a number which had given him the ſuperiority over his brother.

(R) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* expreſly affirms, that each *curia* was ſubdivided into ten *decuriæ*, and that their leſſer bodies were governed by *decuriones*. And, upon the ſtrength of his authority, moſt compilers of the *Roman* hiſtory give the ſame account. But the learned *Grævius* is of opinion, that *Dionyſius* by a miſtake aſcribes ſuch a diviſion to the *curiæ*, as was peculiar to the *turmæ* in the army (27).

(27) *Vide Grævium in præf. ad* 1. *Vol. Theſ. antiq. Rom.*

him

him with his intereſt and ſubſtance, and to defend him from the oppreſſions of the great. Theſe protectors were ſtyled *patrons*, and the protected *clients*. It was the duty of the patron to adviſe his clients in point of law, to manage their ſuits, to take care of them as of their own children, and by all ways and methods to ſecure their peace and happineſs. The clients, on the other hand, were to aſſiſt their patrons with money on ſeveral occaſions, to ranſom them or their children, when taken in war, to contribute to the portions of their daughters, to defray in part the charges of their public employments, &c. They were never to accuſe each other, or take contrary ſides; and if either of them was convicted of having violated this law, the crime was equal to that of treaſon, and any one was allowed to kill the offender with impunity. This patronage was a tie as effectual as any conſanguinity or alliance, and had a wonderful effect towards maintaining union and concord among the people, for the ſpace of ſix hundred years and upwards; during which time we find no diſſenſions nor jealouſies between the patrons and their clients, even in the times of the republic, when the populace frequently mutinied againſt thoſe who were moſt powerful in the city [x].

AFTER this, *Romulus* formed a ſenate, which conſiſted of a hundred perſons choſen out of the patricians; but the choice was not made by the king himſelf; each tribe choſe three ſenators, and each of the thirty *curiæ* the like number, which made in all the number of ninety nine; ſo that *Romulus* named only the hundredth, who was the head, or *prince of the ſenate*, and the chief governor of the city, when the king was in the field. They were called *patres* or *fathers*, either on account of their *age*, or their *fatherly* care of their fellow-citizens. Their deſcendants, to whom alone ſome appropriated the name of *Patricians*, were the prime nobility among the *Romans*. The ſenate being thus eſtabliſhed, *Romulus* ordered the *curiæ* to chuſe him a guard of three hundred young men, ten out of each *curia*; and theſe he called *celeres* from their *activity*, and the expedition with which they executed the orders they received. They were all horſemen; but fought either on foot or on horſeback, as occaſion required, or the ground would allow. They were commanded by a tribune called *tribunus celerum*, three centurions, and other inferior officers. *Romulus* in the next place proceeded to ſettle the reſpective powers and pri-

Senate.

Celeres.

[x] PLUT. ibid. DIO. HAL. p. 83—85.

vileges

vileges of the king, ſenate, and people. The king's office at home was to take care of religious affairs; to be guardian of the laws and cuſtoms; to decide the weightier cauſes between man and man, referring thoſe of leſs moment to the ſenate; to call together the ſenators, and aſſemble the people, firſt delivering his own opinion relating to the affairs he propoſed, and then ratifying by his conſent what was agreed on by the majority: abroad and in time of war, he was to command the army with abſolute authority, and to take care of the public money [y]. The ſenate were not only to be judges in cauſes of ſmall importance, but to debate and reſolve upon ſuch public affairs as the king propoſed, and to determine them by the plurality of voices. To the people he committed three things, *viz.* to create magiſtrates, enact laws, and reſolve upon any war that was propoſed by the king; but in all theſe things the approbation of the ſenate was neceſſary.

When order was thus eſtabliſhed in political affairs, *Romulus* thought it his duty to make ſome regulations in matters of religion. He did not indeed give it that form, to which it was afterwards brought, but contented himſelf with eſtabliſhing ſome ſort of regularity in the prieſthood, and in the worſhip of thoſe deities, which *Evander* had introduced, or *Æneas* brought from *Troy*, or the *Aborigines* worſhipped in their time. He appointed, that each *curia* ſhould have its own temple, and its peculiar gods and prieſts, that the people ſhould aſſemble on certain ſtated days in *cœnacula*, or *public halls*, and that they ſhould there feaſt in common on the victims that had been offered to the gods. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed feſtivals, whereby religion became an eaſe and relief to the labouring people. The chief miniſters of the gods were choſen out of the patricians, and the inferior prieſts out of ſuch families only as were honourable. They were to be at leaſt fifty years old, and none but their wives were allowed to perform the functions of prieſteſſes. Their ſons were to wait at the altars to the age of puberty, and their daughters ſo long as they continued virgins. The ſons were called *camilli*, and the daughters *camillæ*. When a prieſt had no children of his own, he might chuſe the handſomeſt in his *curia* to attend him in his ſacrifices. As the ſacerdotal families were exempted from paying taxes and bearing arms, and beſides, their employment was for life, *Romulus* prohibited the ſeeking of it by intrigues and cabals, the purchaſing of it by money, and

[y] Dio. Hal. ibid. p. 84, 85.

even

even the truſting of it to the hazard of lots. He left to each *curia* the free choice of their prieſts, aruſpices, and augurs. The aruſpices inſpected the intrails of the victims; and the augurs foretold future events by the flight and ſinging of birds (S).

THUS

(S) As we ſhall frequently have occaſion, in the courſe of this hiſtory, to ſpeak of *Augurs* and *Haruſpices*, or *Aruſpices*, it may not be improper to give ſome account in this place of that kind of divination. The art of divination and foretelling future events, by the flight, chirping, or motions of birds, came from the *Chaldeans* to the *Greeks*, from them to the *Hetrurians*, and from the *Hetrurians* to the *Latins* and *Romans* (28). The name of *Augur* is derived by ſome *ab avium geſtu*; by others *ab avium garritu*, that is, either from *the motion and actions*, or, *from the chirping and chattering of birds*. As *Romulus* himſelf was well verſed in this art, after he had divided the city into three tribes, he appointed an augur for each tribe (29). A fourth was added ſome time after, probably by *Servius Tullius*, who increaſed the tribes. Theſe four were all choſen out of the patricians; but in the year of *Rome* 454, at the ſolicitation of the tribunes, five perſons were added to the college, elected out of the common people (30); and in the year 672, *Sylla* increaſed their number to fifteen (31). The eldeſt of theſe preſided over the reſt, and was honoured with the title of *magiſter collegii* (32). Their office, which we find compriſed in the augural law mentioned by *Tully* (33), was to interpret dreams, oracles, prodigies, *&c.* and to tell, whether any action ſhould be fortunate or prejudicial to particular perſons, or to the whole ſtate. Thus they were the interpreters of the will of the gods, with reſpect to the making of war or peace; and all were obliged to obey them in ſo important an article. We find five ſorts of auguries mentioned by the antients; 1. From the appearances in heaven, as thunder, lightning, comets, and other meteors. 2 From birds, whence they had the name of *Auſpices*, from the *Latin* words *avis* and *conſpicio*. Some birds furniſhed them with obſervations from their chattering or ſinging; others, from their flying. The former were called *Oſcines*, and the latter *Præpetes*. For the taking of both theſe ſorts of auguries, the augur went up to ſome high place, took the augural ſtaff, which was bent at one end like a croſier, and marked out with it the four *templa*, or *quarters* of the heaven. Then he turned to the eaſt, and, in that ſituation, waited for the omen, which was of no ſignification, unleſs confirmed by another

(28) *Cic. de divin.* & *Orig. l iv cont. Celſ.* (29) *Plut. ibid.* (30) *Liv. l.* 10. (31) *Flor. l. iv. c.* 3. (32) *Vide Alex ab Alex. l v. c* 19. (33) *Cic. de divin. l. ii.*

The aſylum.

THUS was the colony founded; but, as it was thin of inhabitants, *Romulus*, to attract ſtrangers from the neighbouring

of the ſame ſort. 3. From birds kept in a coop for that purpoſe. The manner of divining from them was as follows; early in the morning the augur that was to make the obſervation, after having commanded a general *ſilence*, ordered the coop to be opened, and then threw in a handful of crumbs or corn. If the chickens did not eat greedily, ſcattered their food about with their wings, let a great deal of it fall from their mouths to the ground, or, above all, refuſed to eat, the omen was reckoned unlucky, and ſome great misfortune portended; but if they fed greedily, and let none of their food drop out of their mouths, there was all the aſſurance that poſſibly could be wiſhed for of happineſs and ſucceſs 34). This ſort of augury was called *tripudium*, from the antient *Latin* word *pavire, to ſtrike*, and *terra, the earth*; becauſe the birds in eating greedily, ſtruck the ground with their beaks. The 4th ſort of augury was from beaſts, *viz.* wolves, goats, foxes, heifers, aſſes, rams, hares, weeſels, and mice. The general obſervations about them were, whether they appeared in a ſtrange place, or croſſed the way, whether they ran to the right or left, *&c.* The laſt ſort of divination by auguries, was from what they called *Diræ*, or *unuſual accidents* happening to any perſon, as ſtumbling, ſeeing apparitions, hearing ſtrange voices, meeting a wolf, a fox, a hare, *&c.* Any augur was allowed to take an obſervation; but the judging of the omen was left to the deciſion of the whole college.

As to the *Aruſpices*, they were ſo called *ab aris aſpicendis*, that is, *from looking on the altars*. The *Roman* aruſpices were all taken at firſt from *Hetruria*, where their art was in great requeſt; but afterwards the ſenate ordered twelve of the ſons of the chief men in *Rome* to be ſent into that country, to learn there the rites and ceremonies of the *Etruſcan* religion, of which this ſcience was the chief part (35) The buſineſs of the aruſpices was to look upon the ſacred victims, and by them to foretel the ſucceſs of any enterprize. They took their obſervations from the victims before they were cut up; from their intrails after they were cut up; from the flame that uſed to riſe while they were burning; and laſtly, from the flour, bran, frankincenſe, wine, or water uſed in the ſacrifice. Before the victims were cut up, it was an ill omen when they would not come to the altar without being dragged, when they broke the rope, fled away, avoided the ſtroke, ſtruggled much after it, made a great bellowing, were long a dying, or bled but little. When the victim was cut up, they obſerved the colour of the parts, and whether any were wanting: a double liver, a little

(34) *Vide Alex. ab Alex. ibid.* (35) *Cic. de divin. l. i.*

or

ing countries, opened an asylum or place of refuge for fugitive slaves, homicides, outlaws, and persons plunged in debt. These he did not at first receive within the walls; but allotted them the hill *Saturnius*, afterwards called *Capitolinus*, for their habitation. Nor was the appearance of religion wanting to cover the king's policy: he erected a temple to a new sort of divinity, called by him the *Asylæan god* (T), under whose protection all criminals were to live securely. Afterwards, when *Romulus* inlarged his new city, the asylum was inclosed within the walls, and those who had fled to it, being brought under some regulation, became citizens of *Rome* [z] (U). Nothing was now wanting, but women, to secure

[z] PLUT. & DIO. HAL. ibid.

or lean heart, were counted very bad omens. If the heart was wholly missing, nothing could be thought more dreadful and fatal; if the intrails fell out of the priest's hands, or were more bloody than usual, or of a pale colour, they portended sudden danger and ruin. As to the flame of the sacrifice, it furnished them with a good omen, when it was pure and clear, rose up in a pyramid without noise, and did not go out till the victim was consumed. The smoke likewise was considered, whether it whirled about, or spread itself to the right or left, or yielded a smell different from that of broiled meat. If the incense they burnt melted all at once, and had an agreeable smell, it was a lucky omen. There were several other signs which supplied them with conjectures too insignificant to be mentioned here. The business of the aruspices was not restrained to the altars and sacrifices; but they had an equal right to the explaining of other portents and monsters. Hence we find them often consulted by the senate on extraordinary occasions. If the *Roman* aruspices lay under any disrepute, others were sent for out of *Hetruria*, where this science had most credit.

(T) *Plutarch* tells us, that the asylum was put under the protection of the *Asylæan* god; but who this god was, is unknown to us. *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* tells us, that, in his time, the place where the asylum had been was consecrated to *Jupiter*; whence some have conjectured, that the *Asylæan* god was no other than *Jupiter*, worshipped by *Romulus* under the title of *Asylæus*, that is, *the protector of asylums*.

(U) To this *Juvenal* alludes in the following verses, addressed to a *Roman* citizen boasting of his original and noble extraction:

At tamen ut longæ repetas, longeque revolvas,
Nomen; ab infami gentem deducis asylo

cure the duration of the ſtate; but, as the neighbouring people refuſed to give their daughters in marriage to ſuch a crew of vagabonds, *Romulus*, by the advice of his grandfather *Numitor*, and the conſent of the ſenate, proclaimed a ſolemn feaſt and public games, in honour of *Equeſtrian Neptune*, called *Conſus*. This occaſioned a great concourſe of people, who flocked from the adjacent places to behold thoſe pompous ſhews, together with the new city; but in the midſt of the ſolemnity, the *Romans*, upon a ſignal given by *Romulus*, ruſhing in with their drawn ſwords among the ſtrangers, ſeized their daughters, and by main force carried them to their houſes, where they were kept till the next day, without any further inſult being offered to them, agreeable to the expreſs orders of *Romulus*. They were in all ſix hundred and eighty three, and *Romulus* choſe ſo many huſbands for them, marrying them after the ſame manner that was ever after uſed in *Rome* (W).

The rape of the Sabine *women.*

This violence was highly reſented by the neighbouring people, eſpecially by the *Sabines*; but, as they were unwilling to engage in a war, their country being open on all ſides and defenceleſs, they firſt ſent to demand the reſtitution of their daughters, promiſing to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, whereby they ſhould have liberty to intermarry with them; but *Romulus* was inflexible, demanding, on his part, that the *Sabines* ſhould confirm the marriages of his *Romans*.

Majorum quiſquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut latro fuit, aut illud, quod dicere nolo (35).

(W) The form uſed in marriage was, *Partake you of your huſband's fire and water* This communication of fire and water between the huſband and wife, was the ſymbol of conjugal love and union, and inſinuated, that their goods were in common between them. The virgins ſeized on this occaſion were all called *Sabines*, becauſe the greater number was of that nation. The common opinion is, that they were in all ſix hundred and eighty three; ſome ſay five hundred and twenty-ſeven, and others reduce them to thirty only, deriving the word *curia* from *Cures* the name of the town, of which the women were for the moſt part natives. But no hiſtorian of any account is of this opinion. *Romulus* found but one married woman among all thoſe who had been ſeized Her name was *Herſil.a*; and we are told by *Zenodotus*, quoted by *Plutarch*, that *Romulus* married her, and had a daughter by her, named *Prima*, becauſe ſhe was his firſt child, and a ſon, called *Abilius*; but other hiſtorians ſay, that *Herſilia* was married to a noble *Roman*, named *Hoſtus*; and that *Tullus Hoſtilius*, the third king of *Rome*, deſcended from her.

(35) *Juvenal ſatyr.* viii. *ver.* 272.

While

While the treaty, which went on ſlowly, ſuſpended hoſtilities on both ſides, *Acron*, whom the hiſtorians ſtyle king of *Cænina* (X), being provoked at the late audacious rape, and jealous of the growing power of the new city, took the field; and, being joined by the inhabitants of *Cruſtuminium* and *Antemnæ* (Y), made an incurſion into the *Roman* territories. *Romulus* inſtantly marched out againſt him, and having engaged the enemy in the open field, challenged their leader, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, to a ſingle combat, killed him, put his army to flight, and purſuing the fugitives to their town, made himſelf maſter of it without oppoſition. He ſpared the blood of the conquered; but razed their city, and carried the inhabitants to *Rome*, where he allowed them the ſame privileges as the moſt antient citizens[a]. For this victory *Romulus* decreed himſelf the honours of a triumph; and bringing home the ſpoils of king *Acron*, conſecrated them to *Jupiter Feretrius*, ſo called, according to ſome, from the *Latin* word *ferire*, *to ſmite*, becauſe he had killed the king with his own hand; or from the word *ferre*, *to carry*, becauſe *Romulus* had himſelf carried thither the armour of the king he had killed. A name of diſtinction was likewiſe given to the ſpoils; for they were called *opima ſpolia* (Z), becauſe they were more honourable than any other, on account of their being taken by the general of the *Roman* army from the enemy's general, after he had killed him with his own hand. *Romulus*, elated with this victory, marched with one

Romulus *defeats the* Cæninenſes, *and kills their king.*

Opima ſpolia.

[a] DIO. HAL. l. 2. p. 98. PLUT. ibid. LIV. l. i.

(X) *Cænina* was ſituated on the confines of *Latium* and the country of the *Sabines*; whence ſome geographers make it a city of the *Sabines*, and others of antient *Latium*. *Cluverius* thinks, it ſtood on the banks of the *Anio* next to *Rome*; but *Holſtenius* places it on the oppoſite bank, in the neighbourhood of the preſent *Monticelli*.

(Y) *Cruſtuminium* and *Antemnæ* were either ſubject to the *Sabines*, or in their neighbourhood. Some geographers think, the former ſtood where *Marcigliano Vecchio* now ſtands, and place the latter on the *Tiber*, between the *Tiburtine* and *Nomantine* ways.

(Z) *Feſtus* derives the word *opima* from *ops*, which ſignifies *the earth, and the riches it produces*; ſo that *opima ſpolia*, according to that writer, ſignify *rich ſpoils*. But *Plutarch* derives it from the word *opus*; ſo that *opima ſpolia*, and *ſpoils hard to be obtained*, are, in his opinion, one and the ſame thing. This name was given, as *Plutarch* informs us, only to ſuch ſpoils as the general of the *Roman* army had taken from the general of the enemy's troops. Of the order, laws, and pomp of the antient triumphs we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

legion

Romulus *reduces* Cruſtumi-nium *and* Antemnæ.

legion (A), levied in haſte, againſt the *Antemnates* and *Cruſtumini*, who had joined the king of *Cæninæ*; and having, without much-ado, overcome them and taken their cities, at the requeſt of *Herſilia*, who was a native of *Antemnæ*, he not only pardoned the inhabitants, but tranſplanted them to *Rome*, where they were admitted to all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. By this conduct, the reputation of his clemency, as well as bravery, became ſo great, that ſeveral cities of *Hetruria* voluntarily ſubmitted to him. *Cælius*, an *Hetrurian* leader, led all the troops under his command to *Rome*, and ſettled on a hill near the city, which from him took the name of mount *Cælius* [b]. And now *Romulus*, being obliged to inlarge the compaſs of his city, took in the hill *Saturnius*, called afterwards the *capitol*; and on the top of it built a citadel, which he committed to the government of a noble *Roman*, named *Tarpeius*. The citadel was ſurrounded on all ſides with ramparts and towers, which equally commanded the city and country. From the foot of the hill *Saturnius* a wall was carried on quite to the *Tiber*, and a gate opened in it, which they called *Carmentalis*, from *Carmenta*, the mother of *Evander*, who either lived there, or had in that place ſome altar or chapel erected to her.

His war with the Sabines.

NOTWITHSTANDING this increaſe of the *Roman* forces, the *Sabines* ſent a ſecond deputation to *Romulus*, to demand back their daughters; and, upon his refuſal, began hoſtilities, and marched towards *Rome* with an army of twenty five thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, under the command of their king *Titus Tatius*. *Romulus*, having received ſupplies from his grandfather *Numitor* and from *Hetruria*, marched out againſt them, at the head of twenty thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe. *Romulus* poſted his army between the hills *Eſquilinus* and *Quirinalis*, while the *Sabines* encamped at the foot of the hill *Saturnius*, in the plain afterwards called *Campus Martius*. *Tatius*, finding the *Romans* too well fortified to be attacked, was very uneaſy about the ſucceſs of the enterprize. But an unforeſeen accident extricated him out

[b] PLUT. LIV. DIO. HAL. ibid.

(A) The word *legion* is derived from the *Latin* word *legere*, *to chuſe*, the legions conſiſting of choſen men. The number of men in a legion was different at different times, as we ſhall occaſionally obſerve in the ſequel of this hiſtory. In the times we are now ſpeaking of, a legion conſiſted of three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, as we read in *Plutarch* (36).

(36) *Plut. in Romulo.*

of

of his difficulties; for *Tarpeia*, daughter to the governor of the citadel, being greatly taken with the bracelets and rings of the *Sabines*, called to them from above, and promiſed to betray the place into their hands, provided they gave her what they wore on their left arms. The *Sabines* readily agreed to grant her what ſhe required, and being by her admitted into the citadel, made themſelves maſters of that important place. We are told, that the *Sabines* cruſhed *Tarpeia* to death with their bucklers, which they threw upon her, thinking they diſcharged their promiſe by thus giving her what they wore on their left arms. From her the hill *Saturnius* took the name of *Tarpeius*, till the building of the capitol; and even then the ſteepeſt part of it, whence criminals were thrown down headlong, continued to be called *the Tarpeian rock*. The *Sabines*, now maſters of the citadel, had the advantage of being able to continue the war with more ſecurity. For a long time only light ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the two parties; but at laſt, as they both began to be tired with the charges of the war, they reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, which was fought with great reſolution on both ſides, and renewed for ſeveral days together, with almoſt equal ſucceſs. In the laſt conteſt the *Sabines* were at firſt put in diſorder, and obliged to take refuge in the citadel, which the *Romans*, who purſued them, expected to have re-taken. But the enemy rolling great ſtones from the top of the hill, wounded *Romulus* on the head, and ſtunned him ſo, that falling down ſenſeleſs, he was carried out of the field into the city. This accident inſpired the *Sabines* with new courage, who falling upon the *Romans*, put them to flight in their turn, and purſued them to the very gates of *Rome*. In the mean time, *Romulus*, coming to himſelf again, returned to the battle, encouraged his routed troops, and, having made a vow to *Jupiter* in order to obtain his favour (B), drove the enemy back to

(B) We are told, that, while the *Romans* were flying before the enemy, *Romulus* made a vow to *Jupiter*, in order to obtain his aſſiſtance for the ſpeedy rallying of his troops, and that they unexpectedly ſtopped at the ſight of their general, on his return to the field of battle. Being therefore fully convinced, that this was a particular bleſſing of heaven, he erected a temple to *Jupiter*, whom he called *Stator*, in memory of the happy moment, when the *Romans*, recovering from their fright, made a *ſtand* and faced the enemy (37).

(37) *Aur. Victor.*

the

the citadel. Some writers tells us [c], that, in the heat of the engagement, the *Sabine* women, at the perſuaſion of *Herſilia*, ruſhing out of the city with their hair diſhevelled and their children in their arms, threw themſelves deſperately into the midſt of the darts and dead bodies, and, by their tears and intreaties, put a ſtop to the fury of their huſbands and fathers. But this is an adventure too wonderful not to be thought fabulous. What part the *Sabine* women acted in the reconciling of the two people, will appear in the ſequel of the hiſtory.

Titus Tatius being in poſſeſſion of the citadel, and *Romulus* continuing ſhut up in his city, neither party was very forward to hazard another engagement. The *Sabines* were doubtful, whether they ſhould raiſe the ſiege, and content themſelves with ravaging the *Roman* territory. The *Romans*, on their ſide, were no leſs undetermined what to do. They conſidered, that the *Sabines* were a powerful people, and that the late victory had neither been complete nor deciſive; but, on the other hand, they could not with honour reſtore the *Sabine* women; for that would have been an acknowledgment of their weakneſs, which would have made the enemy more haughty, and more difficult to treat with. But, while the men were thus deliberating, the women, at the perſuaſion of *Herſilia*, demanded an audience of the ſenate; and being admitted, laid before them a deſign which they had formed, without the privity of their huſbands. This was to mediate between the contending nations, and try whether they could put an end to the war, which had been undertaken for their ſake. Their propoſal met with no oppoſition in the preſent conjuncture of affairs. A decree was immediately paſſed, permitting the women to go upon the negotiation they propoſed. All the ſecurity that was required of them was, to leave one of their children at *Rome*; the reſt they were allowed to carry with them in their arms, in order to raiſe the compaſſion of their grandfathers. The women, being thus authorized, laid aſide their ornaments, and, putting on mourning, advanced to the camp of the *Sabines*, where, by throwing themſelves at the feet of their fathers and relations, they raiſed a general compaſſion. King *Tatius*, having aſſembled his chief officers, ordered the women to declare on what purpoſe they were come; which *Herſilia* is ſaid to have done in a long and pathetic ſpeech: after which ſhe begged a truce, that the chiefs of the two armies might have an opportunity

[c] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. i. c. 13.

of

of conferring together. As the *Sabines* wanted only an honourable pretence to put an end to the war, they were eaſily prevailed upon to accept the propoſal. Accordingly a truce was granted, during which the two kings had a conference, which ended to the ſatisfaction of both parties; for a treaty of union was made, and confirmed by oath, the articles whereof were, 1. That the two kings ſhould reſide and jointly reign at *Rome*. 2. That the city ſhould ſtill, from *Romulus*, be called *Rome*; but the citizens *Quirites*, a name till then peculiar to the *Sabines* (C). 3. That the two nations ſhould become one; and that the *Sabines* ſhould be made free of *Rome*, and enjoy all the privileges of *Roman* citizens [d]. Three *Sabine* families of great diſtinction are particularly ſaid to have ſettled at *Rome* on this occaſion, with their relations and dependents. The head of one was *Valerius Voleſus*; of another *Talus Tyrannus*; and of the third *Metius Curtius*, who had ſignalized himſelf in the laſt battle (D).

The Romans and Sabines become one people.

To

[d] DIO. HAL. LIV. PLUT. ibid.

(C) The word *quiris*, in the *Sabine* language, ſignified both a *dart*, and a *warlike deity armed with a dart*. 'Tis uncertain whether the god gave name to the dart, or the dart to the god; but, however that be, this god *Quiris*, or *Quirinus*, was either *Mars*, or ſome other god of war, and continued to be worſhipped in *Rome*, till *Romulus*, who, after his death, was honoured with the name *Quirinus*, took hi place (38).

(D) While the *Romans* had the advantage, this brave *Sabine*, breaking into the centre of their army, and rallying his countrymen, who had been put in diſorder, turned the ſcale in their favour. But *Romulus*, meeting him, and engaging him in ſingle combat, obliged him, as he was already wounded, to quit the field. *Curtius*, being ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy, choſe rather to throw himſelf into a pool, made by the inundation of the *Tiber*, than to go a great way about. As the pool was deep, and full of mud, *Romulus*, thinking his enemy was loſt, left him and rejoined his army; but the *Sabine* was taken out of the water, and the place ever after called *Lacus Curtius*, even when it was dried up, and almoſt in the centre of the *Roman* forum †. *Procilius*, ſays that the earth having opened, the aruſpices declared it neceſſary for the ſafety of the republic, that the braveſt man in the city ſhould throw himſelf into the gulf; whereupon one *Curtius*, mounting on horſeback, leaped armed into it, and the gulf immediately cloſed Before the building of the common ſewers,

(38) *Plut. in Romulo.* † *Dio. Hal. ibid.*

To *Valerius Voleſus Plutarch* aſcribes the honour of negotiating the peace.

The comitium.

THE two nations being thus united, *Tatius*, in imitation of *Romulus*, formed a council of an hundred ſenators of his own nation, who were alſo ſtyled fathers, and enjoyed the ſame privileges with thoſe who had been inſtituted by the founder. The two councils aſſembled firſt at the houſes of their reſpective kings; but afterwards met at the ſame place, which from thence was called *comitium* (E). After this union of the two nations and ſenates, were inſtituted, according to *Livy* [e], the three bodies of *Roman* knights, called *Ramnenſes*, *Tatienſes*, and *Luceres*. The firſt body had its name from *Romulus*, the ſecond from *Tatius*, and the third from the *lucus* or *grove* where the aſylum ſtood, this order being formed out of thoſe who had peopled it. Theſe three bodies of horſe were incorporated into the *Roman* legions, which, from this time, conſiſted according to the moſt common opinion, of four thouſand men each; whence a legion was called *quadrata*. As *Rome* was chiefly indebted to the *Sabine* women for this happy increaſe of wealth and power, honourable privileges and marks of diſtinction were allowed them; every one was commanded to give way to them; all immodeſt and too free diſcourſes were forbidden in their preſence; no indecent objects were to be brought into their ſight; in capital cauſes they were exempted from the juriſdiction of the ordinary judges; and laſtly, their children were allowed to wear a golden ball hanging from their necks, and a particular robe, called *prætexta*, to diſtinguiſh them from the vulgar (F).

The creation of the firſt Roman *knights.*

THE

[e] Liv. l. i. c. 13.

this pool was a ſort of ſink, which received all the filth of the city. Some writers think, that it received its name from *Curtius* the conſul, collegue to *M. Genucius*, becauſe he cauſed it to be walled in by the advice of the aruſpices, after it had been ſtruck with lightning (39).

(E) The word *comitium* is derived from the antient *Latin* verb *cumire*, which ſignifies *to meet*. The comitium was at the foot of the hill *Palatinus* over-againſt the capitol. Not far from thence the two kings built the temple of *Vulcan*, where they uſually met to conſult the ſenate about the moſt important affairs.

(F) Authors are divided in their opinions about the form of this ornament, which the *Sabine* women were allowed to hang a-

(39) *Varro de ling. Lat. l. iv.*

bout

A Scenical Plan of Rome *representing its Situation after y^e Union between* Romulus *&* Tatius



A *The Hill* Palatinus
B *The* Capitol
C *The* Tyber
D *The Gate* Carmentalis
E *The Gate* Pandana
F *The Gate* Musonia
G *The Gate* Romanulis
H *The Hill* Janiculus
I *The Hill* Aventinus
K *The Hill* Cœlius
L *The Hill* Esquilinus
M *The Hill* Quirinalis
N *The Habit.^n of the* Rhamnenses
O *The Habit.^n of the* Tatienses
P *The Habit.^n of the* Luceres

THE two kings reigned jointly, and in great harmony, for the ſpace of five years, *Romulus* holding his court on the hill *Palatinus*,

bout the necks of their children. It was called *bulla*; and *Plutarch* ſays (40), that it was like the little bubbles which the drops of rain make, when they fall upon running water. It is therefore probable, that theſe little golden balls were hollow and light. Others think they were but half globes, being on one ſide flat, and on the other globular. *Macrobius* ſays, that *Tarquin* the elder extended the right of wearing this ornament to all the children of the patricians, and that he began with his own. The young men, when they attained the age of manhood, quitted the *bulla*, and made an offering of it to the *dii lares*, or *houſhold gods*. As to the *prætexta*, it had a border of purple round its edges; whence it took its name. This robe was wore by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were ſeventeen, when they took the *toga virilis*, or *manly robe*. But what in the time of *Romulus* was a mark of diſtinction for the children of the *Sabine* women, became afterwards very common; for even the children of the *liberti*, that is, of thoſe who were made *free*, wore robes bordered with purple in their youth. In proceſs of time the graveſt magiſtrates wore them, not only at *Rome*, but in the colonies and municipia. This *prætexta* was not only a mark of the quality of the perſon that wore it, but was beſides looked upon as a ſacred habit, and a kind of guard or defence againſt the injuries to which children are expoſed. Thus *Perſius* calls it *cuſtos purpura* (41); and *Quintilian*, in one of his declamations ſtyles it, *the ſacred habit of the* prætexta, *the robe, which raiſes in us a holy reverence and veneration to the helpleſs condition of childhood.* In proceſs of time the *bulla* became as common as the *prætexta*, all the ſons of the *ingenui* or *free-born* being allowed to wear it; but with this diſtinction, that their *bulla* was not of gold, but of leather, as *Juvenal* inſinuates in the following verſes:

——— Etruſcum puero ſi contigit aurum,
Vel nodus tantum, & ſignum de paupere loro (42).

The poet calls the *bulla aurea*, *Etruſcan* gold, becauſe that ſort of ornament was uſed by the *Etruſcans* long before it was introduced among the *Romans*. In the account we have given here of the *bulla aurea* and *prætexta*, we have followed *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* and *Livy*: but *Macrobius*, on the authority of ſome writers, relates the matter in a quite different manner; for he ſays, that *Herſilia*, being carried away with her daughter, fell in marriage to *Hoſtus*, an officer of great diſtinction, and was the firſt who bore a

(40) *Plut. ibid.* (41) *Perſius ſat. v.* (42) *Juvenal. ſat. v. ver.* 164.

Palatinus, and *Tatius* residing on the hill *Tarpeius*. The *Sabines* settled on a hill, called by them *Quirinalis*, either in memory of their city *Cures*, or in honour of their god *Quiris*. The place between the hills *Palatinus* and *Tarpeius* became a common market-place for the two united nations, and was called the *forum*. The union of the two nations soon produced a mixture of manners, customs, and religion. The *Sabines* adopted the *Roman* gods, and the *Romans* those of the *Sabines*. They unanimously instituted the festival called *matronalia*, in memory of the peace concluded by the mediation of *the women* (G). As to martial affairs, the conquest of *Cameria*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, was the only military atchievement under the two kings. Four thousand of its

child to *Rome*: To this child alone, who was called *Hostus Hostilius*, *Romulus* granted the privilege of wearing the *bullæ aureæ*. Some fansy, that *Tarquinius Priscus*, in a triumph for a victory gained over the *Sabines*, first honoured his own son with the *prætexta* and *bulla aurea*, for killing one of the enemy's chief commanders with his own hand. Others, without mentioning this victory, pretend, that *Tarquin*, among other wise constitutions, took particular care to assign the proper habit both to the boys and girls, and appointed the *prætexta* and *bulla aurea* for the sons of the senators and patricians, and the *prætexta* alone for their daughters, and also for the sons of those who had served among the horse the full time the law required. The figure of a man's heart was sometimes impressed on the *bullæ aureæ*, to put those who wore them in mind of this moral truth, that men are only valuable for the qualities of their *hearts*. In like manner the purple colour of the *prætexta* was to remind them of the modesty which became them at that age (43).

(G) This festival was celebrated on the first of *March*. *Ovid* (44) gives other reasons for the institution of it, *viz.* to obtain of *Mars* the blessing of bearing good children; a blessing which he first bestowed on *Rhea Sylvia*. But, at the same time, the poet owns, that the *matronalia* were chiefly instituted in memory of the benefits the *Romans* had received from the *Sabine women*. During this festival, the *Roman* women, such as were married, served their slaves at table, and received presents from their husbands, as the husbands did from their wives in the time of the *saturnalia*. As the festival of the *matronalia* was consecrated to *Mars*, and, as some will have it, to *Juno Lucina*, sacrifices were offered to both these deities. This feast was the subject of *Horace*'s ode,

Martiis cælebs quid agam calendis, &c.

(43) *Macrob. saturnal. l. i. c. 6. Vide Dacier. in Horat. l. v. od. 5.* (44) *Ovid. trist. l.* iii.

inhabitants

inhabitants were transplanted to *Rome*, and a colony sent from thence to *Cameria*. In the sixth year of *Romulus* and *Tatius*, the latter, having provoked the *Lavinians*, by protecting some of his friends who had ravaged their territories, was by them murdered at the foot of the altar, while he was offering a sacrifice together with *Romulus*, in the city of *Lavinium*, to the tutelary gods of the state. *Romulus* conveyed the body of his collegue to *Rome* with great pomp, and caused it to be honourably interred on mount *Aventine*. The *Lavinians*, fearing the resentment of *Romulus*, delivered up the assassins into his hands; but he sent them back unpunished, which gave occasion to suspect, that he was not at least displeased at the death of his collegue f.

Death of Tatius.

NOT long after, a cruel plague, attended with a great famine breaking out at *Rome*, the *Camerini* laid hold of this opportunity to shake off the yoke, and lay waste the *Roman* territory. But *Romulus* marching out against them, gave them battle, killed six thousand of them on the spot; and returning to *Rome*, entered the city in triumph, as he had done after the defeat of *Acron*. The like success attended him against the *Fidenates*, whose city, standing about forty furlongs from *Rome*, he took, and made it a *Roman* colony. This drew new enemies upon him; for the *Veientes* (H), reclaiming *Fidenæ*, as a city within their jurisdiction, laid siege to it; but their forces being defeated in two battles, and a great number of them taken prisoners, together with their commander, they were forced to prevent their total ruin by a timely submission. They therefore sent embassadors to *Rome* to sue for peace; and *Romulus* granted them a truce for a hundred years, upon the following conditions, *viz.* that they should deliver to him seven small towns on the *Tiber*, some salt-pits near the mouth of that river, and send fifty of their chief citizens to *Rome*, to be kept there as hostages. A war thus advantageously ended procured *Romulus* the honour of a third triumph, which, as the city was much increased both in riches and inhabitants, exceeded in all likelihood the two former. The prisoners were all sold for slaves; and what was done at this sale gave rise to a custom, which prevailed ever after; for when they returned thanks to the gods for any victory, they used to dress an old man in a purple

Romulus *defeats the* Camerini, Fidenates, *and* Veientes.

f DIO HAL. p. 110.

(H) *Veii* was situated on a craggy rock, about one hundred furlongs from *Rome*, and is compared by *Dionysius Halicarnassens* to *Athens* for extent and riches. *Cluverius* places it in the neighbourhood of the present *Scrofano*.

robe,

robe, with a child's bulla about his neck, and cry round him, *Sardians to ſell.* By this ceremony they alluded to the old king or governor of the *Veientes*, who, in this war, had behaved like a child; and to the *Veientes*, who, with the other *Hetrurians*, were a colony of *Lydians*, whoſe metropolis was the city of *Sardis* [g]. Other writers date this cuſtom from the time of the conqueſt of *Sardinia* by *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, when ſuch a number of ſlaves was brought from that iſland, that nothing was to be ſeen in the markets but *Sardinians*.

The laws of Romulus.

This was the laſt war in which *Romulus* engaged. He employed the remaining part of his life in ſettling the government on the ſureſt foundations. He made many good laws; but we have only ſome fragments of them remaining. The firſt relates to marriages, and forbids a wife to leave her huſband upon any pretence whatſoever; but, at the ſame time, allows the huſband to put away his wife, and even to puniſh her with death, in caſe ſhe were convicted of adultery, poiſoning, making falſe keys, or only of drinking wine. Each huſband was confined to one wife, their goods being in common between them; but under the adminiſtration of the huſband. In relation to children, *Romulus* gave their fathers an abſolute power over them; ſo that they could, by their own private authority, impriſon them, ſell them for ſlaves, and even put them to death, of whatever age they were, and whatever dignity, office, or employment they held [h]. He appointed no puniſhment for real parricide; but called all murder ſo, thinking the latter a deteſtable crime, but the former impoſſible; and indeed it was unknown in *Rome* for near ſix hundred years, as divorces were, notwithſtanding the power granted to huſbands, for five hundred and twenty years [i].

He provokes the ſenate by his arbitrary behaviour.

Romulus in the latter end of his reign, whether elated with his former ſucceſſes, or carried away with ſome pleaſing notions of arbitrary power, began to enlarge his prerogative beyond the bounds he had formerly ſet to it, and to pay no longer any deference to his great council. The ſenators were aſſembled indeed; but merely for form-ſake, and to ratify his commands. But what moſt of all provoked the fathers, was his ſharing the conquered lands among his ſoldiers, as he pleaſed, without conſulting them, and his reſtoring to the *Veientes* their hoſtages, againſt their opinion. This haughty and arbitrary carriage they could not brook, and therefore conſpired his deſtruction;

[g] Plut. & Dio. Hal. ibid. A. Gell. c. 23. [h] Dio. Hal. l. ii. p. 92. [i] Plut. ubi ſupra.

which

which they ſoon after effected. *Romulus* having appointed a review of his troops on a plain without the city, the ſenate attended him thither. While he was haranguing them, a hidden ſtorm of hail and thunder diſperſed the army; and the ſenators, remaining alone with the king, thought this too favourable an opportunity to be neglected. The king was therefore ſlain, and his body conveyed out of ſight in an inſtant. Some writers tell us, that, the better to conceal the fact, the ſenators cut him in pieces, each of them carrying away one under his robe (I). However that be, the ſenators took occaſion, from the ſecrecy of the fact and the concealment of the body, to perſuade the multitude, that the king was all on a ſudden ſurrounded by a flame and ſnatched up into heaven; but this ſtratagem did not appeaſe the ſoldiery, till *Julius Proculus*, a ſenator of great diſtinction, having aſſembled the curiæ, told them that *Romulus* had appeared to him, and injoined him to acquaint his people, that it had pleaſed the gods he ſhould return to heaven, from whence he originally came; but that he would be always a propitious god to them, under the name of *Quirinus*. As *Julius Proculus*, who was eſteemed a man of great probity, and had been always thought a friend to *Romulus*, ſwore to the truth of this ſtory, all ſuſpicions were laid aſide, and divine honours decreed to the new deity [k]. His death happened on the ſeventh day of *July*, in the thirty ſeventh year of his reign, and ſixtieth, or, as others ſay, fifty fifth, year of his age. Such was the end of *Romulus*, the founder and firſt king of *Rome*. He was thought to be the ſon of *Mars*, and it does not appear, that he ever acted unbecoming that character, having in a ſhort-time, made his ſmall co-

Is murdered. *Year after the flood* 2288. *Before Chriſt* 711 *Of* Rome. 37.

[k] DIO. HAL. l. ii. p. 119. PLUT. LIV. ibid.

(I) Hiſtorians differ about the place where *Romulus* loſt his life; ſome ſaying he was killed in the open field, while he was haranguing his troops; others that he loſt his life in the temple of *Vulcan*, or in the ſenate. Neither do they agree about the manner in which he was aſſaſſinated; ſome ſay, he was murdered by the people, for ſhewing more favour to thoſe who were newly come to *Rome* from the conquered cities, than to the ancient inhabitants; while others pretend, the ſenators ſtabbed him in full ſenate, and having cut his body in pieces, every one carried a part of it away under his robe. However that be, his death gave riſe, according to *Plutarch* (45), to the *caprotine nones*, or *populifugium*, that is, *the flight of the people*, a feſtival in the *Roman* kalendar, on the nones of *July*. But other authors give another origin to this feſtival; of which we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place.

(45) *Plut. ibid.*

lony,

lony formidable to all the neighbouring nations. Nor was his wiſdom and policy inferior to his courage; for in a few years, he increaſed his ſubjects from three thouſand three hundred men, to forty ſeven thouſand; and, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, formed a people out of a gang of ſlaves and profligates, who in proceſs of time became maſters of the world, and yet were long more renowned for their virtue, than for their courage or conqueſts. After the death of his grandfather *Numitor*, the ſovereignty of *Alba* devolved upon him; but he reſerved to himſelf no other power over it, than that of naming annually a magiſtrate, with the title of dictator, to govern it in form of a republic; which is ſomewhat ſurpriſing in a prince, who was ſo eagerly bent on extending his dominions, and ſubjecting all the ſtates around him.

His death is followed by an inter-regnum.

Romulus dying without iſſue, the city was greatly divided about the election of a new king. The *Romans* did not judge it by any means adviſeable to reſign the regal authority to the *Sabines*; and, on the other hand, the *Sabines* thought it was but juſt, that the king ſhould be choſen out of their nation, ſince they had peaceably ſubmitted to *Romulus*, and contributed, as much as the *Romans*, to the raiſing of the city to its preſent pitch of wealth and power. During theſe diſputes, the ſenators, to prevent anarchy and confuſion, took the ſovereignty into their own hands. The two hundred ſenators divided themſelves into decuries or tens. Theſe decuries drew lots which ſhould govern firſt, and the decury, to whoſe lot it fell, enjoyed the ſupreme authority for five days, yet in ſuch manner, that one perſon only of the governing decury had the badges of ſovereignty at a time. To theſe another decury ſucceeded, each of them ſitting on the throne in his turn, wearing the crown &c. This form of government, which was called *inter-regnum*, laſted little more than a year, when the people, growing weary of ſuch frequent change of maſters, obliged the fathers to reſolve on the election of a king. The *inter-rex* therefore for the time being, having ſummoned the people, addreſſed them thus: Elect yourſelves a king, O *Romans*; the ſenate gives their conſent; and, if you chuſe a prince worthy to ſucceed *Romulus*, the enate will confirm your choice. The people were ſo well pleaſed with this condeſcenſion of the ſenate, that they remitted the choice to them. But, as the old difficulty ſtill remained, whether the king ſhould be a *Sabine* or a *Roman*, this occaſioned long diſputes, till at length they came to this agreement among themſelves, that the *Romans* ſhould chuſe the king, but ſhould be obliged to elect a *Sabine*. There

was

was at this time an auſtere *Sabine* philoſopher, who led a ſolitary life, and was wholly taken up with the worſhip of the gods. His name was *Numa Pompilius*, and he was the fourth ſon of *Pompilius Pompo*, an illuſtrious *Sabine.* He had married *Tatia*, the daughter of king *Tatius*, and, together with her, remained in his native country, preferring the tranquillity of a private life to the ſplendor of a court. Upon the death of his wife, with whom he had lived thirteen years, he gave himſelf up *intirely* to the ſtudy of wiſdom; and, leaving the city of *Cures*, confined himſelf wholly to the country, wandering from ſolitude to ſolitude, in ſearch only of thoſe woods and fountains, which religion had made ſacred. This gave riſe to the fable, which was very early received among the *Sabines*, that *Numa* lived in familiarity with the nymph *Egeria* (K). This man both the ſenate and people pitched upon to be their king; and, without delay, diſpatched *Julius Proculus* and *Valerius Voleſus*, two ſenators of diſtinction, to acquaint *Numa* with their reſolution, and make him an offer of the kingdom. The *Sabine* philoſopher rejected at firſt their propoſal; but, being at laſt prevailed upon by the arguments and intreaties of the deputies, joined with thoſe of his father, and of *Martius* his near relation, he yielded at laſt; and, having offered ſacrifices to the gods, ſet out for *Rome*, where he was received by all ranks of people with loud ſhouts of joy. *Spurius Vettius*, the *inter-rex* for the day, having aſſembled the curiæ, he was elected in due form, and the election was unanimouſly confirmed by the ſenate [l].

Numa Pompilius *elected to ſucceed* Romulus.

THIS king's reign was no-ways memorable for battles or conqueſts; for he made it his chief ſtudy to quiet all conten-

[l] DIO. HAL. l. ii. p. 121. PLUT. LIV. ibid.

(K) *Numa*'s inclination to ſolitude, and his cuſtom of retiring into the ſecret places of the foreſt of *Aricia*, gave riſe to ſeveral popular opinions. Some believed, that the nymph *Egeria* herſelf dictated to him the laws, both civil and religious, which he eſtabliſhed. Of this perſuaſion he took advantage, when he was on the throne, to bring about a reformation of *Rome*. Others, leſs favourable to *Numa*'s reputation, have thought, that, under this affected paſſion for woods and caves, was concealed another, more real and leſs chaſte. This ſeems to have been the opinion of *Juvenal*, who, in ſpeaking of this grove, known to the *Romans* by the name of *Lucus Egeriæ*, or *the grove of* Egeria, ſays.

Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa conſtituebat amicæ (46).

(46) *Juvenal. ſatir.* iii *ver.* 12.

tions at home, to reform the manners of the *Romans*, and to eſtabliſh good policy in the city. The firſt thing he did was, to diſmiſs the royal guard of three hundred *celeres*, ſaying, He would not rule over a people, of whom he conceived the leaſt diſtruſt. In the next place, he applied himſelf to quiet the diſſentions at *Rome*, to bring all the citizens to a perfect concord and harmony among themſelves, and to moderate the warlike ardour of the *Romans*, by impreſſions of religion. *Plutarch* tells us [m], that he had true notions of the deity, that is, of a firſt principle of all things, impaſſible, inviſible, incorruptible, and purely intelligible; and therefore prohibited the repreſenting of God in the reſemblance of man or beaſt. The ſame author adds, that, for the ſpace of one hundred and ſixty years, there were no painted nor graven images in the *Roman* temples or ſanctuaries. But tho' *Numa* had, according to *Plutarch*, right notions of the deity, yet he did not introduce the true worſhip of the Supreme Being; but authorized both the *Sabine* and *Alban* ſuperſtitions, introducing only order and decency in the performance of them. With this view he divided the miniſters of religion into eight claſſes, *viz. Curiones*, *Flamines*, *Celeres*, *Augures*, *Veſtal Virgins*, *Salii*, *Feciales*, and *Pontifices*. The *Curiones* were the particular prieſts of each *curia*. The *Flamines* ſo called from the faſhion or colour of their *caps* (L), were prieſts, whoſe miniſtry was confined to ſome particular god, from whom they took their name, as the *Flamen Dialis*, the *Flamen Martialis*, *&c.* The *Celeres* were inferior miniſters, whoſe duty it was to take care of the ſacrifices, under the direction of the tribunes, who had commanded them when they were guards to *Romulus*. The *Augurs* not only foretold future events by the flying of *birds*, but had many other kinds of divination under their province. The *Veſtals* were wholly

He diſmiſſes the guard of 300 celeres.

Divides the miniſters of religion into eight claſſes.

[m] Plut. in Numa.

(L) Theſe prieſts were firſt called, as *Plutarch* informs us, *Pileamines*, from the *Greek* word πιλος, or the *Latin pileus*, which ſignified a ſort of *cap* which was peculiar to them. Others think they took their names from the *flame-coloured tufts* they had on their caps. They were choſen by the people, and inaugurated by the *pontifex maximus*. The *Flamines* could not be depoſed but for very great reaſons. Their wives, who were called *Flaminicæ*, partook of the prieſthood of their huſbands, and ſhared with them the care of the ſacrifices. A *Flaminica* could not be divorced on any account; and upon her death, the *Flamen* loſt his ſacerdotal dignity.

devoted

devoted to the goddeſs *Veſta*, and obliged, under the ſevereſt penalty, to keep the ſacred fire in her temple perpetually burning. The *Salii* were the guardians of the *ancilia*, or twelve ſhields, hung up in the temple of *Mars*. They took their name from their *dancing* in the celebration of the annual feſtival, inſtituted in memory of a miraculous ſhield, which, *Numa* pretended, fell down from heaven. The buſineſs of the *Feciales* was to demand ſatisfaction for the injuries *Rome* received from her enemies, to proclaim war againſt them, in caſe of refuſal, and to take care, that all treaties with the neighbouring nations were faithfully obſerved. The *Pontifices* (M) were the moſt venerable of all the claſſes; their office was, to give judgment in all cauſes relating to religion, to inquire into the lives and manners of the inferior prieſts, and to puniſh them, if they ſaw occaſion; to regulate the feaſts, ſacrifices, and all other ſacred inſtitutions; to determine what works ſhould be deemed lawful, and what unlawful, on feſtival days. They had a preſident over them, with the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, whoſe office was one of the moſt honourable in the commonwealth. Some ſay, that *Numa* reſerved this eminent dignity for himſelf; and others, that he conferred it on his relation *Numa Marcius*.

Numa's view, in thus multiplying the ceremonies of religion, was the more effectually to divert the *Romans* from purſuits of ambition, and violence of arms. For the ſame purpoſe, or, at leaſt, to put a check to the haſty temper of ſo fierce a people, ever ready, upon the ſligheſt occaſions, to begin a war, he dedicated a temple to *Janus*, the ſymbol of prudence, which looks two ways, and examines what is paſt and what may come. This temple was to ſtand open in time of war, and to be ſhut in time of peace. He likewiſe erected an altar to *Bona Fides*, or *Good Faith*, in order to bring the republic to be faithful to her treaties; and the private citizens to their private contracts with one another. The ſame ſpirit of equity made him introduce another kind of deities, under the name of *Termini*, or *Boundaries*, which he cauſed to

Dedicates a temple to Janus.

(M) The word *Pontifex* is by moſt authors derived from *pons* and *facere*, *the repairs of the bridges*, which were deemed ſacred, being committed to the *Pontifices*. But *Plutarch* finds fault with this etymology, and tells us, that the word *Pontifex* was in uſe at *Rome* before there were any bridges there. He derives it from the word *potis*, which, in old *Latin*, ſignified *powerful*. Others take it to be a compound of *potis* and *facere*, where *facere* ſignifies *to ſacrifice*. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of the functions of each claſs of prieſts in the courſe of this hiſtory.

placed on the borders of the *Roman* ſtate, and of each man's private lands. In honour of theſe deities he inſtituted a feſtival called *terminalia*, which was annually celebrated on the twenty ſecond or twenty third of the month of *February*. To remove the *Dii Termini* was deemed a ſacrilege of ſo heinous a nature, that any man might kill with impunity the tranſgreſſor[n].

Improves the laws.

THE reformation of religion was followed by an improvement of the laws, in which he had a particular regard to the preſerving of modeſty in women; nevertheleſs he permitted husbands to lend their wives after they had had children by them. This was a kind of temporary divorce in favour of thoſe men, whoſe wives were barren; but the husbands ſtill continued to have the ſame power over them, and could call them home, or lend them to others, as they pleaſed. He reformed the law made by *Romulus*, with relation to the power of parents over their children; for he would not ſuffer a father to ſell his ſon after marriage, thinking it unjuſt, that a woman who had married a freeman, ſhould be obliged to live with a ſlave.

Encourages agriculture.

FOR the encouraging of agriculture, *Numa* ſhared the lands, which the late king had obtained by conqueſt, among thoſe who had no other occupation. And the better to keep them conſtantly attentive to the improvement of their farms, he diſtributed them into *pagi* or *villages*, over each of which he appointed a chief or ſuper-intendant, whoſe buſineſs was to keep a watchful eye over the huſbandmen, to encourage them when diligent, to puniſh them when ſlothful, and to make a report of the progreſs of agriculture in his diſtrict to the king, who often advanced the induſtrious huſbandman to the firſt dignities in the ſtate. By this means the lands were cultivated, and the city diſburdened of the idle ſoldiery, who had been accuſtomed, under *Romulus*, to live by rapine [o].

Diſtributes the citizens into diſtinct bodies of tradeſmen.

BUT the maſter-piece of *Numa*'s policy was, his diſtributing the citizens of *Rome* into diſtinct bodies of tradeſmen. The city had been hitherto rent into two factions, occaſioned by the union of the *Sabines* and firſt *Romans*; and nothing could be more dangerous than ſuch a diviſion of the ſtate, as it were, into two different nations. *Numa* therefore, to take away all diſtinction of *Roman* and *Sabine*, divided all the inhabitants according to their ſeveral trades and occupations, making every profeſſion a particular company and ſociety, and appointing to each their reſpective courts and privileges. In this diviſion the muſicians had the firſt rank, becauſe employed in the offices of religion. The goldſmiths, carpenters, curriers, dyers,

[n] PLUT. LIV. & DIO. HAL. ibid. [o] PLUT. in NUMA.

taylors,

taylors, &c. formed alſo diſtinct communities, and were all allowed to make by-laws among themſelves, to have their own feſtivals, particular ſacrifices, &c. By this means the *Romans* and *Sabines*, being intermixed in the ſame ſocieties, forgot their party-names, and were brought to an intire union [p].

Reforms the kalendar.

THE laſt reformation which *Numa* undertook, was that of the kalendar. *Romulus* had divided his year into ten months, which, according to *Plutarch*, had no certain, or equal, number of days, ſome conſiſting of twenty, ſome of thirty five, and ſome of more [q]. But *Macrobius* tells us [r], that he ſettled the number of days with more equality, allotting to *March*, *May*, *Quintilis*, and *October*, one and thirty days; to *April*, *June*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *November*, and *December* thirty, making up in all three hundred and four days. *Numa* was better acquainted with the celeſtial motions, and therefore, undertaking to reform the kalendar, in the firſt place added the two months of *January* and *February*. To compoſe theſe two months, he added fifty days to the three hundred and four, in order to make them anſwer to the courſe of the moon; he then took ſix more from the ſix months that had even days, adding one odd day more than he ought to have done, merely out of ſuperſtition, to make the number fortunate (N). However, he could get but eight and twenty for *February*; and therefore that month was always counted unlucky. Beſides this, he obſerved the difference between the ſolar and the lunar courſe to be eleven days; and, to remedy the inequality, he doubled thoſe days after every two years, adding an interſtitial month after *February*, which *Plutarch* calls in one place *Mercidinus* [s], and in another *Mercidonius* [t] (O). As *Numa* was ſenſible, that the ſolar

[p] Idem ibid. l. i. c. 12.
[q] Idem ibid.
[r] MACROB. ſaturnal.
[s] PLUT. in Numa.
[t] Idem in Jul. Cæſ.

(N) The pagans look on an even number as the ſymbol of diviſion, becauſe it could be divided into two equal parts; whereas an odd number was, for the contrary reaſon, the ſymbol of concord. This prejudice gave birth to a thouſand ſuperſtitious practices, which, in ſome countries, are ſtill kept up by thoſe whom reaſon and religion ought to have undeceived.

(O) *Feſtus* ſpeaks of certain days, which he calls *mercidonii dies*, becauſe they were appointed for the payment of *workmen* and *domeſtics*. Perhaps the intercalary month was for the ſame reaſon called *mercedonius*, from the *Latin* word *merces*, ſignifying *wages*. As for the other months, *January* had its name from *Janus*; *February* was ſo called from the *expiations*, ſignified by the word *februa*, which were performed in this month; *March*, the firſt month of *Romulus*'s year.

lar year consisted of three hundred sixty five days and six hours, and that the six hours made a whole day in four years, he commanded, that the month *Mercidinus*, after every four years should consist of twenty three days; but the care of these intercalations being left to the priests, they put in or left out the intercalary day and month, as they fancied it lucky or unlucky, and, by that means, created such a confusion, that the festivals and solemn days came, in process of time, to be kept at a season quite contrary to what they had been formerly [a].

Numa dies.

Numa had now reigned near forty three years, and was in the eighty second of his age, when he died of a distemper, which gradually wore him away, without impairing the vigor of his mind. During the time of his long reign, peace had so softened the warlike temper of the *Romans*, that it might be literally said of them, that their weapons were changed into instruments of husbandry. No intestine seditions, no ambitious desires of the throne, not so much as any murmurs against the person of the king, or his administration, appeared among them. When he died, he was as sincerely lamented by the *Romans*, as if every man had lost his dearest friend or his own father. Strangers, to whom he was equally dear, upon the news of his death, flocked from all parts to *Rome*, to celebrate his obsequies, bringing along with them perfumes and crowns to be used at his funeral. As he had forbid the burning of his body, it was put into a stone coffin, and buried, pursuant to his own orders, with the greatest part of the books he had

[a] Idem ibid. Vide Censorin. de die natali, c. 20.

year, had its name from *Mars*, his supposed father; *April*, from *Venus*, called by the *Greeks* Ἀφροδίτη; *May* from *Maia*, the mother of *Mercury*, according to *Plutarch* (47); tho' *Macrobius* makes the *Maia*, to whom *May* was consecrated, the same with *Rhea*, *Ops*, or *the Earth*, and different from *Mercury*'s mother (48); *Ovid* brings it from the word *majores*, or *elders* (49). *June* either comes from *juventus*, because this is the *youthful* and gay part of the year (50); or is a contraction of *Junonius*, and dedicated to the goddess *Juno* (51). The other months had their names from their order, as *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November* and *December*. Only *Quintilis* and *Sextilis* afterwards changed their names into *July* and *August*, in honour of *Julius Cæsar* and his successor *Augustus*.

(47) *Plut in Numa.* (48) *Macrob. ibid.* (49) *Ovid. fast.* ver. 41. (50) *Plut ibid.* (51) *Macrob. ibid.*

writ,

writ, at the foot of the hill *Janiculus* (P); whither he was carried on the ſhoulders of his ſenators, and followed by all the people, who, with tears and lamentations, bewailed the loſs of ſo good a prince. He left behind him but one daughter, named *Pompilia*, who was married to *Numa Marcius*, by whom ſhe had *Ancus Marcius*, the fourth king of *Rome* [w] (Q).

THE death of *Numa* was followed by an inter-regnum, which proved very ſhort, *Tullus Hoſtilius* being unanimouſly choſen by the people, and accepted by the ſenate. *Hoſtus*, the grandfather of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, was originally of *Medulia*, a city of *Latium*, but had ſettled at *Rome* about four years after its foundation. There he married the famous *Herſilia*, or, as others will have it, her daughter, and had by her *Hoſtus Hoſtilius*, the father of *Tullus Hoſtilius* (R). *Tullus* began

Tullus Hoſtilius, *Year of the flood.* 233. *Of Chriſt,* 666. *Of* Rome 82.

[w] PLUT. DIO. HAL. & LIV. ibid.

(P) The books which he ordered to be buried with him, were dug up again four hundred years after his death, and burnt by a decree of the ſenate. He therein explained his reaſons for the novelties he had introduced into the *Roman* worſhip. We are indebted to *Varro* for this account (52). *One* Terentius, ſays he, *had a piece of ground near the Janiculum; and a huſbandman of his, one day accidentally running his plough over* Numa's *tomb, turned up ſome of the legiſlator's books, wherein he gave his reaſons for eſtabliſhing the religion of the* Romans *on the foot on which he left it. The huſbandman carried theſe books to the prætor, and the prætor to the ſenate, who, after having read his frivolous reaſons for his religious eſtabliſhments, agreed, that the books ſhould be deſtroyed, according to* Numa's *intentions; and it was accordingly decreed, that the prætor ſhould throw them into the fire.* St. *Auſtin* thinks there were ſome footſteps of magic in theſe books, of which *Numa* had been in his life-time ſuſpected. *Aurelius Victor* aſſures us, that *Numa*'s motives for the religion he eſtabliſhed at *Rome*, were found to be ſo trivial, that the ſenate thought fit to ſuppreſs them.

(Q) Some writers have given *Numa* four ſons, who, they ſay, were afterwards the ſtocks of four illuſtrious families. But the common opinion is, that he had only one daughter, named *Pompilia*; and ſhe is ſaid to have been born to him of a ſecond wife, by name *Lucretia*, whom he married after his election to the crown. *Ancus Marcius*, his grandſon, was only five years old when his grandfather died, and therefore paſſed by in the next election, as not being of an age fit to govern.

(R) *Hoſtus* had ſignalized himſelf under *Romulus* in his wars with the *Sabines* and *Fidenates*. He was the firſt who entered the breach

52) *Varro apud S. Auguſt. l. vii. de civit. Dei c.* 24.

at

began his reign, by diſtributing certain lands, which were the demeſnes of the crown, among ſuch of his ſubjects as had no lands of their own. This act of generoſity immediately gained him the hearts of his people. As he was of a bold and fiery temper, he was more inclined to tread in the ſteps of *Romulus* than of *Numa*; and it was not long before he had a favourable opportunity of ſeconding his martial inclination. *Cælius*, or, as *Livy* ſtiles him, *Cluilius*, who was at the head of affairs in *Alba*, being jealous of the growing greatneſs of *Rome*, privately commiſſioned ſome of the moſt indigent among his ſubjects to lay waſte the *Roman* territory, not doubting, but this would ſoon give occaſion to a war between the two nations: nor was he diſappointed in his expectation; for a *Roman* army, entering the territories of *Alba*, attacked the robbers, ſlew many of them, and took a great number of priſoners. *Cluilius*, having now a plauſible reaſon for engaging his people in a war with the *Romans*, convened an aſſembly; and by exaggerating the loſſes which *Alba* had ſuſtained, brought them to this reſolution, that an embaſſy ſhould be firſt ſent to *Rome*, to demand ſatisfaction; and, in caſe they refuſed it, that war ſhould be declared. When the embaſſadors arrived at *Rome*, *Tullus*, gueſſing at their errand, made uſe of various pretences to defer giving them audience; and, in the mean time, ſent an embaſſy to *Alba*, with orders to require ſatisfaction on the part of *Rome*. A fecialis was at the head of the embaſſadors, who, finding *Cluilius* in the

His war with the Albans.

at the taking of *Fidenæ*, and was on that account rewarded by *Romulus* with a *mural* crown. This was the reward beſtowed by generals on the perſon who firſt ſcaled the *walls* of a beſieged city. In the ſecond battle with the *Sabines*, *Hoſtus* was killed, and his death occaſioned the flight of the *Romans* (53). Nevertheleſs he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, before the *Roman* army was put to flight, in ſo eminent a manner, that the remembrance of his gallant behaviour was preſerved by an inſcription on a pillar erected on the field of battle (54). As for *Hoſtus Hoſtilius*, the ſon of *Hoſtus*, and father of *Tullus*, we find nothing worth mentioning ſaid of him. But *Tullus Hoſtilius* appeared both to the *Roman* people and ſenate to be poſſeſſed of all thoſe qualifications, which could be deſired in a ſucceſſor to *Numa*. What ſome hiſtorians ſay of his education, has no appearance of truth (55), *viz.* that he was brought up in woods, and there kept ſheep, as a common ſhepherd; it being no-ways credible, that one of the firſt and moſt wealthy of the *Roman* citizens ſhould employ his ſon in that mean office.

(53) *Plin. l. xvi. c. 4.* (54) *Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 136.* (55) *Val. Max. l. iii. c. 4.*

mi ſt

midſt of the public forum, diſcharged his commiſſion, and put him in mind of the antient treaty between the two nations, whereby it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould never make war upon one another, till a reparation of injuries on either ſide had been previouſly aſked in a friendly manner. To this *Cluilius* anſwered, That he had already ſent embaſſadors to *Tullus*, but to no effect; and therefore declared war againſt him. Hereupon the fecialis, calling the gods to witneſs, that the *Romans* had been firſt refuſed their demands, and that they might therefore declare war without any infraction of the treaty, left *Alba*, and ſet out for *Rome*. Upon the return of the *Roman* embaſſadors, *Tullus* ſent for the *Alban* deputies; and being told by them, that their errand was to demand ſatisfaction of him, and, in caſe of a refuſal, to declare war, the king replied, *Go, tell your maſter, that the king of* Rome *calls the gods to witneſs which of the two nations firſt refuſed the other ſatisfaction, that they may cauſe all the miſeries of this war to fall upon thoſe who firſt broke the treaty.* Thus did *Tullus* reduce to bare appearances that ſincerity, which his predeceſſor had laboured to eſtabliſh in *Rome* [x].

THE *Roman* fecialis had allowed *Cluilius* the ſpace of thirty days before hoſtilities were to begin; which was no ſooner elapſed, than both armies took the field. But when they came in ſight of each other, whatever was the cauſe of it, their ardour cooled, neither party caring to come to an engagement. This inaction raiſed great murmurs in the *Alban* army againſt *Cluilius*, as the author of a mock war; inſomuch that, not being able to bear their reproaches, he reſolved to offer the *Romans* battle, or, if they declined it, to force their intrenchments. But the next morning he was found dead in his tent in the midſt of his guards, without any ſigns of violence; which occaſioned various conjectures, ſome imputing his death to the friends of *Rome*, others to the anger of the gods, who, they ſaid, had thus puniſhed him for beginning an unjuſt and unneceſſary war; but the greater part looked upon it as a common accident, and therefore choſe in his room one *Metius Fuffetius*, or, as others call him, *Suffetius*, a man no leſs famous for his hatred to the *Roman* name than *Cluilius*. He had been one of the chief promoters of the war; but whether he diſtruſted his own ſkill in the management of it, or did not care to venture an engagement, he continued, under various pretences, in the ſame inactivity which he had

[x] LIV. l. i. c. 22.

blamed in his predeceſſor. In the mean time, he received certain advice, that the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* were preparing to fall upon both armies, when they ſhould be weakened by a battle. This intelligence ſtill increaſed his delays, and he now thought of nothing but coming to a conference with the king of the *Romans*, and changing the preparations of war into a ſincere reconciliation. With this view he marched out of his intrenchments; and *Tullus*, not doubting but his deſign was to offer him battle, went out to meet him: but he was greatly ſurprized to find, that the *Alban*, inſtead of coming to an engagement, demanded an interview. However, he readily granted him his requeſt, and the two commanders came to a parley at the head of their reſpective armies. After reciprocal ſalutations and proteſtations of friendſhip, as if it had never been interrupted, *Fuffetius* acquainted the *Roman* king with the conſpiracy of the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*, and produced the letters he had received from his friends in *Fidenæ*. *Tullus* acknowledged that he had received the ſame intelligence, which had induced him to keep within his camp, and prevented his undertaking any thing againſt the *Albans*. Both conſented to end the quarrel in an amicable manner, and expreſſed a willingneſs to unite the two nations; but, in order to make the union more durable and perfect, *Tullus* propoſed, that all, or at leaſt the chief, families of *Alba* ſhould remove to *Rome*; or, in caſe they were unwilling to leave their native city, that one common-council ſhould be eſtabliſhed to govern both cities, under the direction of one of the two ſovereigns. *Fuffetius* took aſide thoſe who attended him, to conſult with them about this propoſal; but they, tho' willing to come to an union with the *Romans*, abſolutely refuſed to leave *Alba*; ſo that the only difficulty remaining was, to ſettle which city ſhould have the ſuperiority. *Fuffetius* ſpoke in favour of *Alba*, alledging that ſhe was the metropolis or mother-city, whereas *Rome* was but a colony. *Tullus* urged in behalf of *Rome* her ſuperiority in wealth and power, and in the cloſe of his ſpeech propoſed to terminate the diſpute by a ſingle combat between himſelf and *Fuffetius*. The *Alban* general, not caring to enter the liſts with *Tullus*, declined this offer, and made a new propoſal, which was, that three champions ſhould be choſen out of each camp to decide the difference; and to this *Tullus* agreed. The agreement was no ſooner known in the two armies, than it excited a ſtrong emulation among the young warriors, for the honour of being choſen to this important combat. But while the choice of the champions was yet in ſuſpence, *Fuffetius* caſt his eyes upon

on three *Albans*, whose birth had something wonderful in it. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* [y] gives us the following account of it: *Sequinius*, an illustrious citizen of *Alba*, had two daughters; one he married to *Curiatius*, a citizen of *Alba*, and the other to *Horatius*, a citizen of *Rome*. These two sisters were brought to bed on the same day, each of three male children, who were now in the flower of their age, and remarkable for their strength and dexterity. The *Alban* general therefore, imagining that the gods had brought them into the world on purpose to determine the fate of their respective countries with their swords, communicated his thoughts to the king of *Rome*, and exhorted him to pitch upon the three *Horatii*, as he had fixed his choice on the three *Curiatii*. *Tullus* accordingly proposed the matter to the *Horatian* family, but would lay no restraint upon them. The three young heroes answered, that they could not dispose of their lives without his consent, from whom they had received them. Old *Horatius*, the father of the three brothers, was under no small apprehension of a combat, wherein much of the blood of his family would be spilt; and, as an additional matter of concern, one of his daughters was betrothed to one of the *Curiatii*. However, the love of his country getting the better of all other considerations, he left his children to their own choice; and when he understood that they, following the example of the *Curiatii*, preferred a glorious death, or important victory, to an inglorious life, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and, embracing his children, cried out, *I am a happy father*; and then commanded them to declare his consent to the king.

The Horatii and Curiatii.

AND now the combat of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* being proclaimed in both camps, *Tullus* led the former, and *Fuffetius* the latter, the people strewing the way, as they passed, with flowers, and putting garlands on their heads; for they were looked upon as victims who had voluntarily devoted themselves for their country. A great plain lying between the two camps was chosen for the place of the combat; and the two kings advanced with their champions and feciaels to the middle of it; and, before the engagement began, concluded a treaty, which served as a pattern for most of the treaties that were ever after made by the *Romans* (S). This done, the

The dispute between Alba *and* Rome *decided by them.*

[y] DIO. HAL. l. iii. p. 148.

(S) Of this treaty *Livy* gives us the following account: First, one of the college of the feciales, named *Marcus Valerius*, asked king *Tullus*, *Whether he gave him orders to conclude a peace with the*

the *Roman* and *Alban* champions advanced with a ſlow pace, each towards his antagoniſt. But when the people expected to

pater patratus *of the* Albans? The king anſwered, *He did. Give me then*, replied the herald, *the ſign of my commiſſion*: this ſign was to be ſome vervain plucked up by the roots. *Yes*, anſwered the king, *bring me ſome vervain that is pure.* At theſe words the fecialis went and gathered ſome vervain on a little hill, brought it, and went on thus: *Do you then appoint me to be ſecialis and plenipotentiary of* Rome *to the* Albans, *and engage to protect my equipage and retinue? Yes*, replied the king, *ſo far as is conſiſtent with my intereſt, and that of the* Roman *people.* Then *Valerius*, the fecialis, appointed *Spurius Fuſius* to be *pater patratus* of the treaty, by crowning him with vervain. His office, as ſuch, was to pronounce aloud the words of the oath in the name of the *Roman* king and people, and to repeat the whole form of the treaty. After this ceremonial, which paſſed only among the *Romans*, the new *pater patratus* read the articles of the convention in the preſence of the *Albans*, and then expreſſed himſelf thus: *Hear*, O Jupiter; *hear*, O pater patratus *of the* Alban *people*; *bear*, O Alban *people*; *of theſe articles, as I have juſt now read them out of thoſe waxen tablets, without fraud or deceit, and as they have been from one end to the other clearly underſtood, the* Roman *people will never be the firſt violators. If they ſhould violate them, by public authority and by fraud, may* Jupiter *at that inſtant ſtrike them, as I ſhall now ſtrike this victim! May thy ſtroke, great* Jupiter, *be as much heavier, as thy power is greater.* At which words he killed a ſow, which was to be offered up as a ſacrifice, in confirmation of the treaty, by a blow on the head with a flint. The heralds of the *Albans* took the like oaths, and alſo offered their ſacrifices (56).

As to the *pater patratus*, it is not eaſy to determine whether he was a conſtant officer, and chief of the feciales, or only a temporary miniſter elected for the denouncing of war, or making a peace, which were both done by him. *Roſinus* makes him the conſtant governor or head of the feciales (57); *Feneſtella* looks upon him as a diſtinct officer (58). *Pomponius Lætus* (59) and *Polydore Virgil* (60) are of opinion, that he was only choſen by one of the feciales upon ſuch occaſions as we have juſt now mentioned. No perſon was intruſted with this office, but who had a father and a ſon both alive, and therefore *pater patratus* is no more than a more perfect ſort of father, as they imagined him to be, whoſe own father was ſtill living, after he himſelf had been a father for ſome time. That a *pater patratus*, that is, one who had both a father alive,

(56) *Liv. l.* i. *c.* 25. (57) *Roſin. l.* iii. *c.* 21. (58) *Aul. de invent. ver. l.* iv. *c.* 14 (59) *Pomp Lætus de ſacerdot. Rom. c.* 61 (60) *Polydor. Virgil. l.* iv. *c.* 6.

and

to ſee them engage, they quitted their arms, and flew to embrace one another with all the marks of the moſt tender and ſincere friendſhip. At this moving ſight the ſpectators, not able to refrain their tears, began to complain of their kings, for engaging ſo near and affectionate relations to ſhed one another's blood. But the tenderneſs of the young heroes did not abate their courage: Each of them returned to his arms, and choſe his adverſary. The eldeſt of the *Horatii* engaged the eldeſt of the *Curiatii*, and the other two choſe their adverſaries, in the ſame manner, according to their age (T). The noiſe of their arms was already heard at a great diſtance, and the air rung with a confuſed mixture of ſhouts and acclamations from both camps, as either of the combatants appeared to have the advantage. The ſkill and dexterity of the champions kept the victory long in ſuſpenſe. At length the eldeſt of the *Horatii* received a mortal wound, and fell. At this ſight the *Albans* triumphed, and their joyful acclamations threw the *Romans* into the utmoſt conſternation, which was ſoon after changed into deſpair, when they ſaw the ſecond *Horatius*, being run through by another of the *Curiatii*, expire on the body of his brother. But the three *Alban* brothers were all wounded, and the remaining *Horatius* unhurt and vigorous. However, not thinking himſelf a match for the three brothers together, he made uſe of a ſtratagem to ſeparate them: he cunningly retreated, as if he fled; and the *Curiatii* purſuing him, but at unequal diſtances, as their wounds allowed them, the *Roman* champion turning ſhort upon them, ſlew them all, before one could come up to the aſſiſtance of the other; and, big with this victory, ſeized and was himſelf father of children ſtill alive, ſhould be always choſe for the above-mentioned purpoſes, was, according to ſome writers, a political law eſtabliſhed by *Numa*, that king being well appriſed, that a man, who had a father and children alive, would be more inclined to be faithful to his country, and promote the common intereſt. Some think that the *pater patratus* was ſo called a *patrando jure jurando*, that is, from *the oath* he was obliged to take to atteſt the juſtice of his demand. *Feſtus* ſays, he was ſo called, becauſe by virtue of his commiſſion he acted as *pater patriæ*; that is, *father of his country*.

(T) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, by telling us, that the eldeſt of the *Curiatii* choſe out the eldeſt of the *Horatii*, and that the other two choſe their adverſaries according to their age, ſeems to inſinuate, that the two ſiſters had each three children one after another, and at different births; for he plainly ſuppoſes that they were not all of the ſame age. But this difference of age moſt authors explain by the order in which the laws placed twins

the

the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, while the *Roman* camp reſounded with joyful acclamations in honour of their hero (U), Thus *Rome* gained the ſuperiority over *Alba*, her mother-city, which *Fuffetius* acknowledged on the very field of battle, ſaluting king *Tullus* as his ſovereign, and aſking him what were his commands? *Tullus* anſwered, *I command you nothing, but to keep the* Alban *youth in a readineſs to march at my orders, in caſe I make war with the* Veientes *.

Horatius kills his own ſiſter.

As *Horatius* was returning to the city in a ſort of triumph, he was met by his ſiſter, who, in ſeeing him loaded with the ſpoils of the three brothers, among which was a military robe, which ſhe had wrought with her own hands for the *Curiatius*, to whom ſhe had been betrothed, could not forbear tearing her hair, beating her breaſt, and reviling her brother with the moſt provoking and reproachful words, for imbruing his hands in the blood of his relations. Hereupon *Horatius*, fluſhed with his late victory, and inraged at his ſiſter's unſeaſonable grief, killed her upon the ſpot, and went on ſtrait to his father's houſe, who not only approved of the action, but would not allow his daughter to be buried in the ſepulchre of the *Horatian* family. However, when *Tullus* returned to *Rome*, young *Horatius* was brought by ſome illuſtrious citizens to his tribunal, to take his trial there. They thought it dangerous to abate the rigor of the laws in favour of conquerors; and therefore inſiſted on his being tried, and condemned if found guilty. *Tullus*, being divided between his regard for the laws, and the deſire he had to ſave the young *Horatius*, and foreſeeing he ſhould be cenſured by ſome for condemning, and by others for acquitting, the criminal, dexterouſly turned the affair into a ſtate crime, the cognizance of which did not belong to him, but to two commiſſioners, or *duumviri*, whom the king was to name. As the crime was notorious and not diſowned by the priſoner, the *duumviri*, without delay, pronounced ſentence againſt him in theſe words: *We judge you to be guilty of treaſon, go, lictor, and tie his hands.* As ſoon as judgment was given, *Horatius*, by the king's advice, appealed to an aſſem-

He is condemned by the duumviri, *but ſaved by the people.*

* Liv. l. i. c. 25. Dio. Hal. l. iii p. 156.

(U) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* ſays, that one of the *Curiatii* was killed in the beginning of the combat; ſo that there were but two *Curiatii* left to encounter the *Horatius*, who was conqueror. But all the *Latin* hiſtorians contradict him in this particular, and we have choſe to follow the greater number.

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bly of the people, by whom the ſentence againſt the criminal was revoked, rather through admiration of his courage, ſays *Livy*, than for the juſtice of his cauſe. However, that the crime might not go wholly unpuniſhed, *Horatius* was condemned to paſs under the yoke, an ignominy with which it was uſual to treat priſoners of war, who had cowardly ſurrendered their arms. The king alſo appointed expiations to pacify the anger of the gods, provoked by this violation of the laws. Nor was this all; the pontifices erected two altars, the one to *Juno*, and the other to *Janus*, which were ſtill remaining in the time of *Auguſtus*, together with the yoke, known by the name of *Sororium Tigillum*, under which they made the criminal paſs *.

Tullus makes war upon the Veientes.

Tullus, mindful of the ſuſpicious behaviour of the *Fidenates*, during his war with the *Albans*, cited them to appear before the ſenate of *Rome*, and anſwer for their conduct. But they, being conſcious of their guilt, and in private intelligence with *Fuffetius*, who had ſtirred them up under-hand, in hopes of ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke, refuſed to obey, and, in conjunction with the *Veientes*, took the field. *Fuffetius*, in compliance with *Tullus*'s orders, joined him with the *Alban* troops; but the day before the battle he acquainted his principal officers with his deſign, which was to ſtand neuter, till fortune had declared for one ſide, and then join the conqueror. His project was univerſally approved, and all, who were preſent, bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to conceal his deſign and obey his orders. In the mean time, both armies marched out of their intrenchments, and, while they were in motion, *Fuffetius*, leaving the place he had been poſted in, retired with his men to a riſing ground. *Tullus* being appriſed of his deſertion, in that diſtreſs made privately a vow to add twelve prieſts to the college of the *Salii*, and to build a temple to *fear* and *paleneſs*; and then diſſembling his fear, cried out with a loud voice, which was heard both by his own men and by the enemy; *Courage, friends, we have conquered; it is by my order, that the* Albans *are poſſeſſing themſelves of the hill, whence they are to fall down upon the enemy.* The confidence of the king inſpired his troops with courage; and the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, on the other hand, looking on the inaction of the *Albans* as ſuſpicious, began to diſtruſt them. And thus the diſcouragement one army was under, and the valour of the other, decided the day. The *Roman* cavalry fell upon the *Fidenates* with great reſolution, and obliged them to retire

The treachery of the Albans.

* LIV. & DIO. HAL. ibid.

in

in disorder to *Fidenæ*. *Tullus*, without losing time in pursuing them, returned upon the *Veientes*, who, being disheartened at the defeat of their allies, after a faint resistance betook themselves to flight, and perished for the most part either in the *Tiber*, while they attempted to save themselves by swimming, or on the banks of that river by the swords of the *Romans*, who overtook them [a]. Then *Fuffetius*, coming down from his hill, fell upon the remains of the dispersed *Fidenates* and *Veientes*. But *Tullus*, concealing his knowledge of *Fuffetius*'s treachery, went privately in the night to *Rome* to consult the senate, and returned to the camp by break of day. He then detached *Horatius*, who had conquered the three *Albans*, with a chosen body of horse and foot to demolish *Alba*, as had been concerted with the senate. While these orders were executing, *Tullus* commanded both the *Roman* and *Alban* troops to attend him unarmed; but with private instructions to the *Romans*, to bring their swords concealed under their garments. When they were all assembled, he laid open the perfidiousness and treachery of *Fuffetius* in a long speech; and in the conclusion ordered him to be fastened to two chariots drawn by horses, and to be torn asunder. His accomplices were all put to the sword; but the rest of the *Alban* soldiers were carried to *Rome* with the citizens, and the chief men among them were even admitted into the *Roman* senate. Others were promoted to the dignity of knights, and all without exception enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens [b]. Thus fell the city of *Alba*, famous for its riches, the number of its inhabitants, and above all for being the mother of *Rome*. This new increase of inhabitants obliged *Tullus* to inlarge the limits of the city; he took in mount *Cælius*, allowing the *Albans* to settle there, and built on the same hill his own palace. The next spring he marched against the *Fidenates*, defeated them in a pitched battle, and having obliged them to shelter themselves within their walls, by cutting off all succours and provisions, reduced them to such straits, that they surrendered at discretion. The ringleaders of the revolt were punished, but the rest suffered to continue in their native city, under the same form of government, only dependent upon *Rome*. So complete a victory procured him the honours of a triumph, in which the spoils of the conquered enemy were carried before him as trophies.

Alba *demolished, and the inhabitants transplanted to* Rome.

Tullus *defeats the* Fidenates.

As the power and wealth of *Rome* were much increased by these repeated victories, and the destruction of *Alba*, *Tullus* demanded satisfaction of the *Sabines*, who were a very powerful

[a] Liv. l. i. c. 27. Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 165. [b] Dio. Hal. p. 171. Liv. ibid.

nation,

nation, for the inſults which had been formerly offered to ſome *Roman* citizens at the temple of the goddeſs *Feronia*, which ſtood at the foot of mount *Soracte*, upon the banks of the *Tiber*, and was frequented both by the *Sabines* and *Romans* (W). The *Sabines*, having ſolicited in vain the neighbouring nations to join them, kept themſelves for ſome time on the defenſive only. But at length, being provoked by *Tullus*, who laid waſte their country, they came to an engagement, which proved ſo bloody, that both nations, terrified with the numbers of their ſlain, retired into their reſpective countries, without attempting any thing more that campaign. The next year the war was renewed with more fury than before. Both armies met in the neighbourhood of *Eretum*, a town about thirteen miles from *Rome*, and fought with incredible fury, victory inclining to neither ſide, till *Tullus*, giving his men new courage, by making a vow to inſtitute on the ſame day a feſtival in honour of *Saturn* and *Ops* (X), gained a complete victory.

Gains a complete victory over the Sabines,

(W) The goddeſs *Feronia* preſided over foreſts, gardens, and orchards, and is thought by ſome to be the ſame with *Flora* or *Proſerpine*. Her temple was frequented by the neighbouring nations, who came to pay their homage, and make offerings to the deity, which they worſhipped in common. A fair was kept annually near her temple, and the preceding years ſome *Roman* citizens had been on that occaſion robbed, and kept in captivity by the *Sabines*, who refuſed to ſet them at liberty, when demanded by their country, ſaying, that the *Romans* had uſed them in the ſame manner, by opening an aſylum, and peopling *Rome* with their fugitives.

(X) The feſtivals of *Saturn* and *Ops*, or *Rhea*, were kept in the month of *December*, under the name of *Saturnalia* and *Opalia*, which were, properly ſpeaking, one and the ſame ſolemnity, continued for ſeveral days together. The feſtival appropriated to *Saturn* was fixed to the ſixteenth of the calends of *January*, and that of *Ops* to the fourteenth. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* aſcribes the origin of them to *Tullus Hoſtilius*'s vow. But *Macrobius* aſſures us, that they were celebrated in *Italy* long before the building of *Rome* (61). Servants had at this time a right of being ſerved by their maſters, wearing their cloths, and reproving them for their faults. In this ſenſe *Horace* encourages his ſervant to ſpeak his mind freely, applying himſelf to him thus:

Age, libertate Decembri,
Quando ita majores voluerunt, utere: narra (62).

This, according to ſome, was done in memory of the liberty enjoyed in the golden age, before the names of ſervant and maſter

(61) *Macrob. Saturnal. l. i. c.* 7. (62) *Horat. l. ii. ſatir.* 7.

victory. The conquered had no other resource, but to implore the clemency of the conqueror; and *Tullus*, whose bare name made them tremble, granted them a peace upon his own terms c.

Takes Medulia a Latin city.

Tullus, flushed with success, summoned all the *Latin* towns, which had been dependent on *Alba*, to submit to the *Roman* laws, and follow the fortune of their metropolis. Upon this it was resolved in a general assembly of the *Latins* held at *Feronium*, that they should not by any means submit to *Rome*, but to the utmost of their power maintain their ancient independency. Two generals were elected by the assembly, viz. *Ancus Publicius* of *Cora*, and *Spurius Vetilius* of *Lavinium*, to whom a full power was granted of declaring war or making peace, as they should think fit. However, the *Romans* did not think it advisable to make war upon them in a regular manner; they contented themselves with making inroads and incursions, and destroying their harvest. *Medulia* alone, which had received a colony in *Romulus*'s time, and had now joined the *Latins*, was taken, and, as was then thought, put out of a condition of ever taking up arms again d.

Defeats the Sabines a second time.

Some years after, the *Sabines*, thinking themselves in a condition to repair their ancient losses, invaded the *Roman* territories, and dividing themselves into small parties, over-ran the whole country. As they met with little opposition, they began to entertain thoughts of laying siege to *Rome*. But *Tullus*, marching out against them, defeated them in a pitched battle, and made them once more sensible of the superiority of *Rome*.

Tullus, being now advanced in years, fell into superstition, and was easily imposed upon by stories of prodigies and voices from heaven. Sometimes they told him, that it had rained stones on the hill of *Alba*, and sometimes that a voice from heaven had been heard there, commanding the *Albans* to resume their ancient ceremonies. The king believed these prodigies, and appointed expiatory sacrifices for nine days, which gave rise to the custom of employing nine days to appease heaven, as often as men were alarmed with prodigies of this kind.

c Dio. Hal. p. 175. d Idem ibid.

were known. Besides, friends at this time sent presents to one another: no war was to be proclaimed, and no offender executed. One day only was kept at first, the fourteenth of the calends of *January*; but the number was afterwards increased to three, four, five, and, some say, to seven days (63).

(63) *Lipsius saturnal. l. i. c.* 3.

As

As to the manner of his death, authors diſagree; ſome tell us, that he was killed by lightning, with his wife, children, and his whole family (Y); others are of opinion, that he died by the hands of *Ancus Marcius*, his ſucceſſor, who ſlew him and his whole family, while they were performing a domeſtic ſacrifice, and then ſet fire to the palace to conceal his crime. He died after a reign of thirty three years, leaving the city greatly increaſed, but the dominions much the ſame as they had been in the time of *Romulus*. As he was looked upon as a man ſtruck by the gods, we find no mention in hiſtory of honours decreed to his aſhes, or even of the place of his burial. *His death.*

AFTER a ſhort inter-regnum, the people and ſenate unanimouſly choſe *Ancus* (Z) *Marcius*, the grandſon of *Numa*, by

(Y) He is ſaid by ſome to have ſtudied magic, and to have hid himſelf in a private place to perform a magical ſacrifice; but that, omitting ſome part of the neceſſary ceremonies, he ſo incenſed the god, to whom he was ſacrificing, that the inraged divinity ſet his palace on fire by lightning, and deſtroyed his wife and children in the flames (64).

(Z) Every *Roman* had, generally ſpeaking, three and ſometimes four names: the firſt was called *prænomen*, the ſecond *nomen* the third *cognomen*, and the fourth *agnomen*. The *nomen* ſhewed the family, from which he was ſprung; the *prænomen* and *cognomen* were often nick-names, taken from the circumſtances of the perſon's birth, or his defects, or bodily qualities; and the *agnomen* was a title of honour; as *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, &c. Thus the prince of the *Roman* orators was called *Marcus Tullius Cicero*. The prænomen *Marcus* ſignified that he was born in the month of *March*; his *nomen*, or name *Tullius*, was that of his family, and his *cognomen*, or ſurname *Cicero*, alluded to *the mark* or *wart* he had in his face, which was like *a vetch*, called by the *Latins cicer*. *Valerius* tells us that *Marcius* had the name of *Ancus* from the *Greek* word ἀγκων, becauſe he had *a crooked arm*, which he could not ſtretch out to its full length. We muſt obſerve here, that the *ingenui* alone, or thoſe who were free-born, were allowed to take three names. Hence *Juvenal*,

Si quid tentaveris unquam
Hiſcere, tanquam habeas tria nomina &c. (65).

For the ſlaves in antient times had no name, but what they borrowed from the *prænomen* of their maſters; as *Lucipor*, *Publipor*, *Marcipor*, that is, *Lucii puer*, *Publii puer*, &c. or the *ſlave* of *Lucius*, of *Publius*, &c. When this cuſtom grew out of faſhion, the

(64) *Dio. Hal. p.* 176. (65) *Juvenal ſat.* 5. *v.* 126

Ancus Marcius. Year of the Flood. 2366. Before Chriſt, 633. *Of* Rome, 115.

by his daughter *Pompilia*, and *Marcius* his relation, the ſon of that *Marcius*, who perſuaded *Numa* to accept of the kingdom, and afterwards killed himſelf, becauſe he was not choſe in his room. The new king began his reign, by endeavouring to reſtore the religious ceremonies, which had been neglected in the laſt reign, to their former uſe, and to revive huſbandry, adviſing his ſubjects to lay aſide all ſorts of violence, and to return to their peaceable employments. Notwithſtanding this ſeeming inclination to peace, *Ancus* in his heart loved war, and was deſirous of the honours of a triumph. However, the love he affected for the arts of peace, gained him the affections of his ſubjects; but at the ſame time drew upon him the contempt of the neighbouring nations. The *Latins* were the firſt who made him give way to his martial inclination. Theſe, pretending that their treaty with the *Romans* was no longer binding, than while king *Tullus* lived, made inroads into the territories of *Rome*. *Ancus* therefore reſolved to be revenged on them; but, out of reſpect to the laws of *Numa*, omitted no ceremony in declaring war, which that law-giver had appointed (A). He then took the field with an army

His war with the Latins.

ſlaves were uſually called by ſome name of their own, which was often taken from their country, as *Syrus*, *Geta*, &c. Upon their manumiſſion they took the *prænomen* and *nomen* of their maſters; but inſtead of the *cognomen* made uſe of their former name, *Marcus Tullius Tiro*, the *freed-man* of *Cicero*. After the ſame manner it was cuſtomary for any foreigner, who had been made free of *Rome*, to bear the *prænomen* and *nomen* of the perſon by whoſe means he had obtained that privilege.

(A) The ceremonies were as follow: A fecialis was ſent to the *Latins*, to demand ſatisfaction; he no ſooner arrived on their borders, but he cried out, *Great* Jupiter, *and ye confines of the* Latin *nation, hearken to juſtice. I come hither with a deputation from the* Roman people *in all the legal forms; and I demand that credit be given to what I ſay.* After this formal declaration, he laid open his demands; and then, calling *Jupiter* to witneſs the truth of what he ſaid, he purſued thus: *If I have unjuſtly and impiouſly made theſe demands, may'ſt thou, great god, never ſuffer me to return to my own country.* He repeated theſe words at his entering the *Latin* territory; then to the firſt perſon he met; afterwards at the gate of the city; and laſtly, in the market place. If in about thirty days his demands were not ſatisfied, he added to what he had ſaid before; O Jupiter, Juno, *thou* Romulus, *and all ye gods of heaven, of earth, and of hell, hearken; I call you all to witneſs, that the* Latins *are unjuſt. We will therefore enter into deliberations at* Rome *on the proper means of obliging them to give us juſt ſatisfaction.* No ſoon

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army conſiſting intirely of new-raiſed troops, marched to *Politorium* (B) a *Latin* city, and made himſelf maſter of the place before the *Latins* could relieve it. He ſpared the city, and only tranſplanted the inhabitants to *Rome*, ſettling them with thoſe of *Tillena* and *Ficana*, two other cities of *Latium*, which he likewiſe took, on the hill *Aventinus*. The next year he retook *Politorium*, which the *Latins* had re-peopled, and upon this ſecond reduction demoliſhed it intirely. He then laid ſiege to *Medulia*, a place of great ſtrength, which he took, after having led his troops four years ſucceſſively againſt it. He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of *Fitana*, deſtroying it with fire and ſword. This city he had taken in the beginning of the war; but, having neglected to demoliſh it, the *Latins* had poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he reduced it the ſecond time. The *Latins*, inraged, but not diſcouraged, at their loſſes, made great preparations, and took the field, with all the forces they could draw together. But *Ancus*, having defeated them in a pitched battle, obliged them to ſue for a peace, and triumph-

er was the fecialis returned, but the king referred the affair to the ſenate, addreſſing himſelf, according to the form preſcribed by *Numa*, to each particular ſenator in theſe words: *Say, what think you of the refuſal, which the* pater patratus *and the whole nation of the* Latins *have given the* pater patratus *of the* Romans, *of reſtoring and granting us what we demanded of them?* To which each ſenator gave this anſwer: *Let us again demand our rights by a juſt and lawful war, This is the opinion, for which I declare.* When the greater part of the ſenators had thus declared their opinion, the war was conſidered as unanimouſly agreed on. Then the fecialis went to the confines of the enemy's country, carrying in his hand a javelin, which was dipped in blood, and either headed with iron, or burnt at the end. When he arrived on the territories of the *Latins*, he pronounced the following form of words in the preſence of at leaſt three perſons, not under fourteen years of age: *On account of the damages which the* Latin *nation has done to the* Roman *people, and in obedience to a decree made by the ſenate and people of* Rome, *importing that war be declared againſt the* Latins; *I and the* Roman *people declare it, and begin it.* At theſe words he threw a dart upon the enemy's lands (66). 'Tis to be obſerved here, that at this time no uſe was made of the king's name or authority; he never being mentioned, but only the ſenate and people.

(B) It is not eaſy to aſcertain the true ſituation of *Politorium*, *Tillena*, and *Ficana*. All we know of them is, that they were all three *Latin* cities, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, not far from the mouth of the *Tiber*.

(66) *Liv. l. i. c.* 32.

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And the Fidenates, Sabines, Veientes, and Volſci.

ed at *Rome* for the advantages he had gained over them. The *Fidenates*, *Veientes*, and *Volſci*, felt likewiſe the effects of his martial diſpoſition. The *Fidenates* had revolted during the *Latin* war; and it was no ſooner ended, than *Ancus* marched againſt them, and took their city by ſap; this being the firſt inſtance we meet with in the *Roman* hiſtory of that kind of attack. The king dug a way under ground from his camp quite under the walls of *Fidenæ*; and his men, having by that means got into the city without being obſerved, opened the gates to their companions, and put *Ancus* in poſſeſſion of the place, in which he left a ſtrong gariſon, after having cauſed thoſe to be put to death, who had been moſt active in the revolt. He next marched againſt the *Sabines*, who had renewed their hoſtilities, defeated their united forces, and granted them a peace upon honourable terms. Over the *Veientes* he obtained two complete victories, for which a triumph was decreed him by the ſenate [c].

The Janiculum added to it.

Rome was greatly inlarged in this king's reign; for he not only carried the walls round the *Aventine* hill, but alſo incloſed the hill *Janiculum*, which ſtood on the other ſide of the *Tiber*, and made it a fort of citadel for *Rome*. In order to open a communication between the city and the new citadel, he built the bridge *Sublicius* (C) over the *Tiber*, where it waſhes the foot of the *Aventine* hill. He likewiſe made a large ditch, called *Foſſa Quiritium*, which was no ſmall defence againſt thoſe who came from the plains. And now, the city having received a vaſt increaſe, *Ancus*, to ſuppreſs the licentiouſneſs of ſuch multitudes of people, built a large priſon in the *Roman* forum. But he did not content himſelf with inlarging the city; he likewiſe extended his dominions; for having taken from the *Veientes* the *Meſian* foreſt, the territories of *Rome* reached quite to the ſea, where he built the port and city of *Oſtia* to ſecure the advantages of trade to his ſubjects. About this town he cauſed many ſalt-pits to be dug; and the diſtribution of ſalt, which he made among his ſubjects

Oſtia built.

[c] Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 172. Liv. ibid.

(C) Some writers derive the name *Sublicius* from *the piles* on which it ſtood, that being the import of the *Latin* word *Sublica*; others from the antient word *licio*, which ſignifies *to join*. Neither iron nor copper were made uſe of in building this bridge; both being equally prohibited, if we believe *Plutarch*, by an antient oracle. The care of keeping it in good repair belonged firſt to the pontifices, and afterwards to the quæſtors. It was the firſt bridge that was built over the *Tiber*, and perhaps in *Italy*.

at

at this time, gave riſe to thoſe public liberalities, called *congiaria*, from the word *congius*, a meaſure uſed among the antient *Romans*. He rebuilt the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius* after a more ſtately and magnificent manner, and ſpent the latter years of his reign in improving the city, and inriching the citizens. He died after a reign of twenty four years; during which he ſhewed himſelf no-ways inferior to any of his predeceſſors in the arts either of peace or war. *Plutarch* ſays, he died a violent death, but is therein contradicted by moſt of the antients. *Ancus* left two ſons behind him, one an infant, the other near fifteen years of age, both under the tuition of *Tarquin*, not ſuſpecting that a ſtranger, who had lately ſettled at *Rome*, could gain the ſuffrages of the people in competition with his ſon, and place the crown on his own head. *Tarquinius* was the ſon of a rich merchant of *Corinth*, who, to ſecure his great wealth from the rapines of *Cypſelus*, the tyrant of that place, had left his native country, and ſettled in *Tarquinii*, one of the moſt famous cities of *Hetruria*. There he married a woman of diſtinction, and had by her two ſons, to whom he gave *Hetrurian* names; calling the one *Arunx*, and the other *Leucumo*. *Arunx*, who was the eldeſt, died before his father; and though he left his wife with child, yet his father, not knowing it, and dying ſoon after, left his whole eſtate to *Leucumo*, his ſecond ſon, ſo that the poſthumous ſon of *Arunx* was diſinherited before he was born; and therefore took the name of *Egerius*, from *egere*, *to want*. *Leucumo*, being now in poſſeſſion of his father's immenſe riches, aſpired to the higheſt dignities in *Tarquinii*, his wife *Tanaquil*, who was of a noble extraction, ſtirred up his ambition. But, being looked upon in *Hetruria* as a ſtranger, he was debarred from riſing to any conſiderable poſt in the country where he dwelt. Rouzed therefore by the reproaches of the aſpiring *Tanaquil*, he reſolved to remove to *Rome*, where two *Sabines* had been raiſed to the throne, and where perſonal merit was the ſureſt and only means of arriving at the firſt dignities of the ſtate (D). He was no ſooner admitted

Ancus dies.

An account of Tarquin's family.

(D) The ſucceſs which attended the new-comers, gave riſe to the following fable; *viz.* that as *Tarquin* was on the road with his wife in an open chariot, an eagle, appearing over his head at the foot of the *janiculum*, ſnatched off his hat, and, ſoaring up again, was loſt for ſome time among the clouds; but at length came down again with great rapidity, and left the hat on *Leucumo*'s head. Hereupon *Tanaquil*, who is ſaid to have been ſkilled in the art of augury, embracing her huſband with tenderneſs, in a tranſport of joy, explained to him the happy preſage of his future grandeur (67).

(67) *Liv. ubi ſupra.*

citizen

citizen of *Rome*, but he endeavoured to appear intirely *Roman*, changing the prænomen of *Leucumo* into *Lucius*, and the Nomen, or name, *Damaratus*, which ſavoured too much of the *Greek*, into *Tarquinius*, borrowed from *Tarquinii*, where he had been brought up. As for the cognomen of *Priſcus*, or *Old*, it was not properly given him till after his death, when it was uſed to diſtinguiſh him from the other *Tarquin*. The polite and engaging behaviour of the *Greek*, now become a *Roman*, ſoon gained him the favour of the people, and made him known in the court of *Ancus*, into whoſe favour he artfully inſinuated himſelf; and leſt his immenſe riches ſhould create ſuſpicions, in a city which was yet poor, he offered to depoſit them in the public treaſury to ſupply the wants of the public. As he was well appriſed that military exploits were a ſure ſtep to great honours, he not only contributed to the expences of the war out of his eſtate, but in all expeditions diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner. In the war with the *Latins* he fought on foot, and againſt the *Veientes* ſignalized himſelf at the head of the *Roman* cavalry; ſo that the king, in conſideration of his gallant behaviour, raiſed him to the rank of a patrician and ſenator. As he was no leſs prudent in council, than formidable in arms, he ſhone in the ſenate from his firſt admiſſion into it; and his advice was always followed by the king in military expeditions [f].

Tarquin, looking upon the death of *Ancus* as a critical time to attempt mounting the throne, brought on the election with the utmoſt expedition, and cauſed the curiæ to be ſummoned before young *Marcius* was quite fifteen. For the greater precaution, he took care to keep his pupil out of the ſight of the people during the comitia; and for that purpoſe ſent him into the country on a hunting match. In the mean time, he carried on his intrigues, and gained ſome by money, others by promiſes. He was the firſt who introduced into *Rome* the cuſtom of ſoliciting for offices, and making intereſt to obtain them, the *Romans* having till his time concealed from the world the deſire they had of obtaining the higheſt poſts. But the *Greek*, who was above theſe timorous ſcruples, plainly begged the kingdom in an harangue, which he made to the people, urging the example of *Tatius* and *Numa*, the firſt an enemy as well as a ſtranger, and the ſecond wholly unacquainted with the city; whereas he was not only a great friend to the *Romans*, but had ſpent all his riches among

[f] Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 184, 185.

them,

them, and was ſo well acquainted with the laws and cuſtoms of *Rome*, that the late king had employed him in affairs both civil and military of the greateſt conſequence. Then he cunningly inſinuated his paſt ſervices, and as the people had a high opinion of his merit, they commanded him, for that was the term then uſed, to take upon him the management of public affairs. In the beginning of his reign, to ſtrengthen his party in the ſenate, and reward thoſe who had ſhewn moſt zeal in his election, he created an hundred new ſenators, who were called *Senatores Minorum gentium*, becauſe choſen out of the plebeian families. However, they had the ſame authority in the ſenate as the other ſenators, and their children were deemed patricians. *Tarquin elected king.* Year after the Flood, 2390. Before Chriſt 609. *Of* Rome 139.

His war with the Latins.

HIS firſt war was with the *Latins*, from whom he took the cities of *Apiolæ*, *Cruſtuminum*, *Nomentum*, and *Collatia*. The inhabitants of *Apiolæ* were ſold for ſlaves; but thoſe of *Cruſtuminum* and *Nomentum*, having ſubmitted after their revolt, were treated with great clemency. *Collatia*, which was more obſtinate, met with a more ſevere treatment: the inhabitants were diſarmed, and obliged to pay a large ſum of money. As for the city, he thought he might diſpoſe of it as he pleaſed, and therefore gave the ſovereignty of it to *Egerius*, his brother *Arunx*'s ſon, who from thence took the name of *Collatinus*, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. *Corniculum* was likewiſe beſieged, taken by ſtorm, and reduced to aſhes. *Tarquin*'s progreſs alarmed the other cities of *Latium*; ſeveral of them united their forces againſt the common enemy, but they were defeated in a bloody battle near *Fidenæ*, and obliged to enter into an alliance with the conqueror. Hereupon a national aſſembly of all the *Latins* being held at *Ferentiuum*, it was reſolved, that they ſhould employ all their ſtrength to oppoſe the torrent that threatened them. Purſuant to this reſolution, they drew together what forces they could, and, having engaged all *Sabinia* and great part of *Hetruria*, to join them, took the field with a very numerous army. But *Tarquin*, having defeated the confederate armies in two actions, forced thoſe *Latin* cities which had refuſed his alliance, to ſue for it, and ſubmit to a ſort of dependence upon *Rome* [g]. *Tarquin*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a triumph. The ſpoils he had taken in the conquered cities of *Latium*, eſpecially in *Apiolæ*, he employed in building a circus for the *Roman games*, otherwiſe called *the*

[g] DIO. HAL. l. iii. p. 188, 189. 190.

The Circus *great games* (E). The place choſe for the circus was the *Myrtian* Maximus or *built*.

(E) As *Tarquin* was of a *Greek* family, he was the firſt who thought of building a circus at *Rome*, in imitation of the chief cities of *Greece*. For the firſt circus we read of was built at *Elis*, where the *olympic* games were celebrated, and ſerved as a pattern for all the reſt. *Livy* aſſures us, that the *Roman* games were alſo called *the great games*; but we muſt not infer from thence, that all the ſports, which were celebrated in the circus, and called *Circenſes*, were *the great games*. Some were celebrated in the circus in honour of *Ceres*, *Apollo*, &c. which were different from the *Roman* or *great games*; as were alſo the *Megalenſes*. For the former were celebrated before the nones of *April*, and the latter on the eve of the nones of *September*. Beſides, *the great games* were celebrated in honour of *the great gods*; whence they were called *the great games*; and the latter in honour of *Cybele*. Laſtly, *the great games* were inſtituted by *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and the *Megalenſes* not till the time of *Junius Brutus*, who appointed them in honour of *Cybele*, then called μεγαλησια, or *the great goddeſs*. As to the name of circus, which was given to the magnificent ſtructure raiſed by *Tarquin*, ſome derive it from the word *circulus*, *a circle*, part of it being built in that ſhape. Others will have it to have been ſo named, becauſe the chariots, that diſputed the prize, were obliged to run ſeven times *round* the poſts, which were at each end of it. The poets mention only ſeven rounds, without expreſsly ſaying, whether they were about ſeveral poſts, or one only. But *Caſſiodorus* tells us in expreſs words, that it was neceſſary to turn round ſeven different poſts. However, it is generally thought, that there was but one poſt, round which the charioteers were obliged to drive ſeven times. From this *turning round* ſome derive the word *circus*. But *Tertullian* (68) pretends, that the *Roman* circus took its name from *Circe*, the fabulous daughter of the ſun; and imagines that ſhe was the firſt who invented the *Circenſian* ſports, intending by them to repreſent the courſe of the ſun her father, running round the globe of the earth in a chariot drawn by four horſes.

The circus had four fronts; one at the bottom, where the poſts ſtood; one at the oppoſite end, where the chariots ſtarted, and one at each ſide, whence the ſpectators beheld the ſhews. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* tells us, that this circus was three ſtades and a half long, and four *jugera* broad, and that one hundred and fifty thouſand men could ſit in it at their eaſe. *Pliny* (69) tells us, that the *Roman* ſtadium contained ſix hundred twenty five *Roman* feet, each of which contained twelve inches, or ſixteen fingers breadths; ſo that the circus, as it was, according to the above-

(68) *Tertull de ſpectac.* (69) *Plin. l.* i. *c.* 3.

mentioned

or *Murtian* valley, which reached from the *Aventine* to the *Palatine* hill (F).

THE war with the *Latins* was ſcarce ended, when all *Hetruria* combined againſt *Tarquin*, on account of his detaining the embaſſadors, whom they had ſent to demand ſome priſoners of theirs. It was even decreed in a general aſſembly of the twelve leucumonies, that if any city of *Hetruria* ſtood neuter, it ſhould be for ever cut off from the general alliance. Having by this means raiſed a conſiderable army, they took the field, ravaged the *Roman* territory, and made themſelves maſters of *Fidenæ* by the treachery of ſome of the inhabitants. The king did not appear the firſt year in the field, but quietly ſuffered them to go on without oppoſition, chuſing rather to let them triumph for a time, than to encounter them without the neceſſary preparations. The next year he armed all his legions, and, having applied to his allies for ſuccours, took the field early in the ſpring, and divided his army into two bodies. The *Romans* he commanded himſelf, and placed his couſin *Collatinus* at the head of the allies. *Collatinus* was defeated, while, preſuming too much on his ſtrength, he divided his army to plunder the enemy's country. But the king with his *Romans* made a more fortunate campaign, having routed the *Hetrurians* firſt near

Tarquin ſubdues the twelve leucumonies of Hetruria.

mentioned writer, three ſtadia and a half long, muſt have been two thouſand one hundred and eighty ſeven *Roman* feet in length. As it was four *jugera* broad, each of which contained, according to *Pliny*, two hundred and forty *Roman* feet, it is from thence manifeſt, that the circus was nine hundred ſixty *Roman* feet broad, and conſequently above twice as long as it was wide. So that the length of the circus was ſomewhat more than three *Engliſh* furlongs. It was called *the great circus*, either on account of its vaſt circumference, or becauſe *the great games* were celebrated in it, or, perhaps, becauſe it was conſecrated to *the great gods*, viz. to *Vertumnus*, *Neptune*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, and eſpecially to the *Dii Penates* of *Rome*, which were in a ſpecial manner called *the great gods*. This circus was extremely beautified and adorned by the *Roman* emperors, in whoſe time it was inlarged to ſuch a prodigious extent, that it contained in their proper ſeats two hundred and fifty thouſand ſpectators (70).

(F) This valley was ſo called, according to ſome, from a temple erected to a goddeſs of that name at the foot of the *Aventine* hill. Others ſtyle it *Myrtea*, from a temple built in that place to *Venus* ſurnamed *Myrtea*, becauſe *the myrtle* was conſecrated to her.

(70) *Plin. l.* xxxvi.

Veii, and afterwards under the walls of *Cære*. As *Fidenæ* was a key to the *Roman* dominions, *Tarquin* marched against it with all his forces, put the *Hetrurian* army, that covered it, to the rout, and made himself master of that important place. Such of the *Fidenates*, as were suspected to have been concerned in betraying it to the enemy, were whipped to death, and the reſt ſent into baniſhment, and their lands divided by lot among the *Roman* ſoldiers. Then *Tarquin* haſtened to fall upon the *Hetrurians* once more, before the whole ſtrength of the new army they were raiſing could be got together. He came up with them near *Eretum*, ten miles from *Rome*, and overthrew them with great ſlaughter; for which victory the ſenate decreed him a triumph [h]. And now the Ieucumonies, deſpairing of any future ſucceſs againſt the *Romans*, ſent deputies to the king, with an unlimited commiſſion to conclude a peace upon any terms whatſoever. As *Tarquin* was naturally inclined to clemency, and followed that inclination when he found it noways prejudicial to his ambition, he granted them a peace without inſiſting upon any other condition than their owning his ſovereignty over them. The *Hetrurians* readily agreed to this, and, in proof of their accepting the king of *Rome* for their ſovereign, ſent him all the enſigns of royalty, which were in uſe among them, *viz.* a crown of gold, a throne of ivory, a ſceptre with an eagle on the top of it, a tunic embroidered with gold, and adorned with figures of palm-branches (G), and a purple robe enriched with flowers of ſeveral colours.

[h] Idem, p. 192.

(G) This the *Latins* called *Tunica Palmata*, which we ought to diſtinguiſh from the *Tunica Picta*. The former was not, properly ſpeaking, a long hanging robe, but rather a veſt, which was partly hid under the robe. It had at firſt no ſleeves, and afterwards but very ſhort ones. As all the *Romans* wore tunics, they ſhewed the difference of their rank by that of their tunics. Some ſewed upon theirs purple flowers, which were ſtuck on like the heads of nails; and hence came the word *Laticlavium*. Only the chief magiſtrates, ſenators, and generals of the army, were allowed to wear theſe. The inferior magiſtrates, the *Roman* knights and ſome other officers in the army, wore indeed tunics with purple flowers; but theſe flowers were ſmaller than the others; and from thence comes the name of *Anguſticlavium*. Thoſe who triumphed, inſtead of the embroidered flowers, wore purple palm-branches upon their tunics or *tunicæ palmatæ*. As to the *Toga picta*, ſome think it was a robe common

colours. However, *Tarquin* deferred wearing theſe ſtately ornaments, till ſuch time as the people and ſenate had conſented to it by an expreſs law. He then applied theſe regalia to the decoration of his triumph, and never after laid them aſide. In his triumph he appeared in a gilt chariot drawn by four horſes, cloathed in a purple robe and a tunic embroidered *His triumph.*

common among the *Romans*, only of a purple colour: and as to the robe in general, it was nothing but a very long mantle hanging in great folds quite down to the ground, which they put upon their right ſhoulders, throwing one lappet of it over the left. The robes of the ſenators were adorned with great purple flowers, as well as their tunics; and thoſe of the knights with ſmaller The robes of thoſe who triumphed were probably adorned with palm-branches, as well as their tunics. At leaſt, it is certain, they were made of rich ſtuffs, and were called *togæ pictæ* Two perſons only had ever the privilege of wearing them out of a triumph, viz. *Paulus Æmilius* and *Pompey*.

We have followed here the moſt common opinion with relation to the *Laticlavium* and *Anguſticlavium*, about which critics are ſtrangely divided. Some are of opinion that the *clavi* were a kind of *flowers* interwoven in the cloth; others will have them to be *the buttons* or *claſps* by which the tunic was held together. A third ſort pretend, that the *Latus clavus* was nothing but a tunic *bordered* with purple *Scaliger* thinks the *clavi* did not belong to the veſt, but hung down from the neck, like *chains* and ornaments of that nature, *Rubenius* endeavours to refute all theſe conjectures, and to prove that the *clavi* were no more than purple *lines* or *ſtreaks* in the middle of the garment. According to that author they did not receive the name of *clavi*, as an immediate alluſion to *the heads of nails*, to which, he ſays, they bore no reſemblance, but were ſo called from their being of a different *colour* from the reſt of the garment. For the *Romans*, ſays that writer, uſed to inlay their cups, and other precious utenſils, with *ſtuds* of gold, or other ornamental materials. Theſe, from their likeneſs to nail-heads, they called in general *clavi*. So that it was very natural to bring the ſame word to ſignify theſe *lines*, of purple, or other colours, which were different from all the reſt of the garment, as thoſe *clavi* were of a different colour and figure from the veſſels, which they adorned. A modern critic, of no mean character (71), tells us, that the *clavi* were nothing elſe but purple *galoons*, with which they bordered the fore part of the tunic on both ſides of the place where it came together *The broad galoons*, ſays he, made the *Laticlavium*, and *the narrow* the *Angusticlavium* As to the name of *clavi*, he thinks the ancients gave that name to any thing that was made with a deſign to be put upon another.

(71) *Dacier. in Horat l* ii. *ſat.* 5.

with

with gold, attended by twelve lictors, with their axes and faſces, with a crown on his head, and a ſceptre in his hand. Thus ended the war with the *Hetrurians*, after it had laſted nine years.

Applies himſelf to the beautifying of Rome.

Tarquin having now an interval of reſt from his wars, applied all his thoughts to the beautifying, cleanſing, and fortifying of the city. He built the walls of *Rome* with hewn ſtone, and thoſe famous common-ſewers, which have been ſince looked upon as one of the wonders of the world (H). He likewiſe adorned the *forum*, ſurrounding it with galleries, in which were ſhops for tradeſmen, and building temples in it with ſchools for the youth of both ſexes, and halls for the adminiſtration of public juſtice.

His war with the Sabines.

The king had ſcarce ended theſe works, when he engaged in a war with the *Sabines*, under pretence that they had aſſiſted the *Hetrurians*. Both armies took the field, and came to an engagement on the confines of *Sabinia*, which laſted the whole day without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide; inſomuch, that the generals, ſtanding in awe of each other retired to their reſpective camps, and ſoon after returned home, without attempting any thing elſe that campaign.

(H) *Pliny*, who did not examine them till near eight hundred years after they were built, could not ſpeak of them without admiration (72). *Rome* contained at that time four hills within its compaſs, *viz.* the *Palatinus*, *Tarpeius*, *Quirinalis* and *Cælius*. In the vallies between theſe hills the rain-water and ſprings uniting, formed great pools, which laid under water the ſtreets and public places. The mud likewiſe made the way impaſſable, infected the air, and rendered the city unhealthy. This prompted *Tarquin* to undertake the cleanſing the city from its filth, by conveying off the waters through ſubterraneous canals into the *Tiber*. He made all the arches of theſe common-ſewers of hard ſtone, and ſpared neither expence nor labour to make the work durable. Their height and breadth were ſo conſiderable, that a cart loaded with hay could eaſily paſs thro' them under-ground. But what moſt increaſed the difficulty of the work, was the conveying of the waters, which thro' theſe ſewers were to carry off the filth, into the *Tiber*. It was neceſſary to cut through hills, and under the city through rocks, a channel large enough for a navigable ſtream, andcovered with arches ſtrong enough to bear the weight of houſes, which were often built upon them, and ſtood as firm as on the moſt ſolid foundations. The expence of this great work was never ſo well underſtood, as when it came to be repaired. For the cenſors gave no leſs than a thouſand talents to the perſon who undertook the cleanſing of it.

(72) *Plin. l.* xxxiii. *c.* 15.

Tarquin

Tarquin employed the winter in making the neceſſary preparations againſt the next year. He conſidered, that he had been often prevented from purſuing the advantages of a victory for want of horſe. For though the infantry was very numerous, the cavalry continued on the ſame foot, on which *Romulus* had left it. He therefore reſolved to add ſome new bodies of knights to thoſe of the firſt inſtitution. In any ſtate leſs ſuperſtitious than that of the *Romans*, this deſign would have been put in execution without any diſpute. But in *Rome* the innovation, which *Tarquin* had a mind to introduce, met with great oppoſition. As the firſt diviſion of the horſe into three bodies had been determined by auguries, *Actius Nævius*, the moſt famous augur of that time, obſtinately withſtood the king's will, and took upon him the defence of *Romulus*'s inſtitution. *Tarquin* could not perſuade himſelf, that the augur was ſerious in his oppoſition; and therefore commanded him to be brought into his preſence, fully reſolved to confound and diſcredit the diviner in the art, which ſuperſtition maintained to the diminution of the royal authority. As ſoon as *Nævius* appeared before *Tarquin*, in the midſt of the forum, and in the ſight of all the people; *Canſt thou diſcover by thy art, diviner*, ſaid the king, *whether what I am thinking of can be done, or not? Go and conſult thy birds.* The augur did as he was ordered, and returning quickly, anſwered with great compoſure; *Yes*, Tarquin, *my art tells me, that what you are thinking of may be done.* Upon this the king, pulling out a razor from under his robe, and taking a flint in his hand, replied with a contemptuous ſmile; *I was thinking whether it was poſſible to cut this flint with this razor. I have taken thee in thy own craft; the introducing the gods into thy deciſions is all cheat and impoſture. If thou canſt perform what is impoſſible, do.* At theſe words the people burſt out a laughing. But *Nævius*, without diſcovering the leaſt ſurpriſe, addreſſed the king with an air of aſſurance, and ſaid, *Put the razor to the flint, and try; I readily ſubmit to any puniſhment, if you don't do what you thought on.* The king did as he was directed, and ſaw, to his great ſurprize, the flint give way to the edge of the razor, which cut through it with ſo much eaſe, that it reached the king's hand, and drew blood from it [i]. *Livy* ſays, that *Nævius* took the flint into his own hand, and cut it in *Tarquin*'s preſence [k]. Be that as it will, the people teſtified their ſurpriſe by loud acclamations; and *Tarquin*, turning his contempt for augury into admiration,

The adventure of Nævius *the augur.*

[i] DIO. HAL. p. 203. [k] LIV. l. i c. 36.

admiration, laid aſide his project of increaſing the number of the corps of horſe, and contented himſelf with augmenting the number of the knights of each corps, making the *Roman* cavalry amount in all to eighteen hundred men. From this time no determination was made, either in the camp or city, without the approbation of the augurs. As for *Navius*, *Tarquin* erected a ſtatue of braſs to his memory in the comitium, which continued there till *Auguſtus*'s time. The razor and flint, which were kept as monuments of the miracle, were buried near it, under an altar, at which witneſſes were afterwards ſworn in civil cauſes. This event, though related with ſo many circumſtances, atteſted by all the writers of the *Roman* hiſtory, and adopted by ſome of the fathers of the church, who impute it to magic, is without all doubt a mere fabulous invention, and was looked upon as ſuch by *Tully*, who, though himſelf an augur, writes of it thus: *Look with contempt* (he ſpeaks to his brother *Quintus*) *on the razor and flint of the famous* Attius; *when we reaſon as philoſophers, we ought to lay no ſtreſs upon fables* [1].

Tarquin *renews the war with the* Sabines.

Tarquin early in the ſpring took the field againſt the *Sabines*, who, having received conſiderable reinforcements from *Hetruria*, were beforehand with him, and had incamped near the conflux of the *Anio* and the *Tiber*. The *Hetrurians* were poſted on one bank of the *Tiber*, and the *Sabines* over-againſt them on the other. The confederate armies had a communication by a bridge of boats; and this *Tarquin*, who had incamped on a hill near the banks of the *Anio*, found means to ſet on fire, by ſending down the river flat-bottom'd boats, loaded with dry wood, ſulphur, and roſin. The *Sabines* haſtened to extinguiſh the flame, leaving, as is very frequent on ſuch unforeſeen and ſudden accidents, their camp unguarded. Then *Tarquin*, laying hold of this opportunity, attacked, and made himſelf maſter of it; while a detachment, which he had ſent out, having paſſed the *Tiber* in the night, came and fell ſuddenly on the camp of the *Hetrurians*. The enemy being thus attacked on both ſides, betook themſelves to flight, and in that confuſion periſhed, ſome by the flames, ſome by the ſword, and others by leaping into the river. By this means the arms of the enemy, which came floating down the ſtream, brought the news of the victory to *Rome*, before the arrival of the couriers diſpatched by the king. After this victory, *Tarquin*, without allowing the enemy any reſpite,

[1] Cic. l. i. de divin.

entered

entered the territory of the *Sabines*; who, having with incredible expedition drawn together another army, faced him a ſecond time; but, being once more routed with great ſlaughter, they had at laſt recourſe to the clemency of the conqueror, and ſued for peace; but *Tarquin* did not think fit to grant them more than a truce, which was no ſooner expired, than they paſſed the *Anio*, and made incurſions on the *Roman* lands. Hereupon *Tarquin*, leaving the city, fell upon the free-booters, and having taken their booty from them, incamped with the few forces he had then with him over-againſt the enemy, while the reſt of the army haſtened after him. The *Sabines*, whoſe courage was not in the leaſt abated by their former misfortunes, did not fail to offer him battle; and the king, as ſoon as he was joined by the forces he expected, accepted the challenge. As the *Sabines* were no-ways inferior to the *Romans*, either in numbers or bravery, the victory continued doubtful, till a body of horſe, which *Tarquin* had detached before the battle, having taken a great compaſs, fell unexpectedly on the enemy's rear in the heat of the action. Then the *Sabines*, ſeized with a ſudden panic, betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. Few of them reached the neighbouring cities, their retreat being cut off on one ſide by the main body of the *Roman* army, and on the other by the detachment of horſe. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſwords of the conquerors, fled to their camp, which, though well fortified, was attacked and taken, almoſt without reſiſtance, by the *Romans*. Thus ended this campaign. The next year, the *Sabines*, having choſen a more experienced commander, appeared early in the field, but declined a battle. *Tarquin*, not thinking it ſafe to attack the enemy's camp, ſurrounded it on all ſides; and by cutting off their communication with the neighbouring country, reduced the *Sabines* to the utmoſt extremity. The *Romans* looked upon them as a ſure prey; but the *Sabine* general, taking advantage of a dark and ſtormy night, marched his army out of his intrenchments, and, without being obſerved, got out of the enemy's reach, leaving only in the camp ſome wounded men and a few cattle [m]; and thus the campaign ended.

THE next year, the *Romans* and *Sabines* appeared anew in the field, as ſoon as the ſeaſon was fit for action, and having incamped over-againſt each other, the two generals agreed to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle. As *Tarquin* had divided his army, which was very numerous into three bodies, he

[m] Idem, p. 197.

commanded the *Romans* himself, put his nephew *Arunx* at the head of the *Hetrurians*, and gave the command of the *Latins* and other allies to *Servius Tullius*, a foreigner, who from a slave was become a *Roman* citizen. The two armies engaged with the utmost fury, and fought the whole day with equal intrepidity and resolution; but in the end the *Romans* gained the victory, after *Tarquin* had inspired his men with fresh courage, by making a vow to build a magnificent temple in honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. The *Sabines* being routed and dispersed, *Tarquin* entered their country, which now lay open to him; and having plundered their lands and open places, returned to *Rome*, loaded with booty, and crowned with fresh glory. During the winter he made the necessary preparations for the besieging of their fortified places, which was to be the work of the next campaign. But in the mean time, the *Sabines*, despairing of success, humbled themselves so far as to send deputies to *Tarquin*, offering to put him in possession of all their strong holds upon honourable conditions. The king treated them as favourably as he had done the *Hetrurians*, delivered up to them their prisoners without ransom, and, having taken possession of their country, returned to *Rome*, and entered the city in triumph [n].

The Sabines *subdued.*

Tarquin, being now advanced in years, thought only of enjoying the sweets of repose, after his great labours and continual victories. However, mindful of the vow he had made to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, he levelled the top of the hill *Tarpeius*, marked out the plan of the temple, and laid the foundations of that glorious structure, which afterwards became the principal place of the *Roman* worship. And now the celebrated *Nævius* appeared again upon the stage. This augur, being consulted about what part of *Rome Jupiter* would like best, declared for the hill *Tarpeius*, formerly *Saturnius*. But when they came to consecrate the area, a difficulty arose about removing the gods, who had already altars on the hill, without giving them offence. By the help of augury all these gods were consulted, and found willing to be removed, except the god *Terminus*, and the goddess *Youth*, who insisted upon not being displaced, and were consequently inclosed within the walls of the temple, which was afterwards consecrated to *Jupiter*, his wife *Juno*, and his daughter *Minerva*. Not long after *Nævius* disappeared; and as the manner as well as the author of his death were utterly unknown, the sons of *Ancus Marcius* endeavoured to fix the calumny on the king, and by that

The temple of Jupiter, *&c on the capitol.*

[n] Idem ibid.

means

means ſtir up the people againſt him. But their accuſation being found groundleſs, the ſons of *Ancus* were deteſted for having calumniated their king, and delivered up to him by the incenſed multitude. *Tarquin* who was naturally inclined to mercy, pardoned them, in conſideration of the favours he had received from their father. Motives of religion prompted him to be more ſevere on a proſtitute veſtal, by name *Pinaria*, whom he condemned to be buried alive. As this is the firſt inſtance we meet with of this kind of puniſhment, *Tarquin* is thought to have been the author of it. It was ever after inflicted on ſuch of thoſe prieſteſſes as diſhonoured their conſecration. However, the king did not ſhew leſs eſteem to the college of the veſtals, but on the contrary added two to their number, and increaſed it to ſix [o].

The ſons of Ancus conſpire the death of Tarquin.

As *Tarquin* was now about eighty years of age, and drew near his end, the ambition of the ſons of *Ancus* grew daily more active. They had not forgot the arts, by which *Tarquin* had ſecured to himſelf their father's kingdom, and had long watched an opportunity of ſeizing it for themſelves. But finding it impoſſible to put their deſign in execution, they lived quietly under the government of *Tarquin* till ſuch time as he began to take proper meaſures for the continuing of the crown in his family, by marrying one of his daughters to *Servius Tullius*. Then they ſet no bounds to their reſentment, but reſolved to put the king to death, before the intereſt of his ſon-in-law was well eſtabliſhed among the people. The method they took for the execution of their deſign was this: They hired two young men, who, dreſſing themſelves like peaſants, with hatchets on their ſhoulders, as if they were wood-cleavers, began a feigned quarrel near the king's palace. Many of the conſpirators crouded about them under pretence of putting an end to the diſpute, which ſtill continued, till they got to the gate of the palace. Then they called out to the king for juſtice, and were brought before him by the officers of the court. At firſt they began to bawl and rail at each other, till they were reſtrained by a lictor, and ordered to ſpeak by turns. Then one of them began to tell his ſtory, and while the king was wholly intent on what he ſaid, the other gave him a great blow on the head with his hatchet, and, leaving his weapon in the wound, fled with his companion out of the palace. But while ſome of the king's attendants haſtened to his aſſiſtance, others, purſuing the aſſaſſins, ſeized them. When they were put to the torture, they con-

He is aſſaſſinated in his own palace.

[o] Idem, p. 204.

ſeſſed that they had been employed by the ſons of *Ancus*. Queen *Tanaquil*, who had courage and wiſdom above her ſex, did not loſe her preſence of mind even at the ſight of her dying huſband. She immediately commanded the palace to be cleared of the croud, and gave ſtrict orders, that no perſon whatſoever ſhould be admitted within the gates. Then ſhutting herſelf up in the apartment of the expiring king, with her ſon-in-law *Servius Tullius*, his wife, and *Ocriſia* his mother, ſhe encouraged *Servius* to aſcend the throne. She then opened the window which looked into the ſtreet, where this ſudden accident had brought the people together; and, with an air of aſſurance, told them, that the wound was not deep; that the king was ſtunned with the ſudden blow, but was come to himſelf again, and hoped to have the pleaſure of ſeeing his people again very ſoon; but in the mean time, ordered them to obey *Servius Tullius*, who would adminiſter juſtice to them, till the king was perfectly recovered. This wiſe diſſimulation of *Tanaquil* had all the ſucceſs ſhe could expect from it. The ſons of *Ancus*, believing that the king was ſtill alive, went of their own accord into baniſhment; ſo that the plot, which perhaps would have ſucceeded, had the people ſeen *Tarquin* dead, was quite defeated, upon their believing that he was ſtill alive. The ſecond day after the murder of *Tarquin*, *Servius Tullius* heard cauſes from the throne in the royal robes, and attended by the lictors. But as he pretended only to ſupply the king's place, when any difficult caſe occurred, he promiſed to report it to the king. As he thought it incumbent upon him to inquire into the wicked attempt upon the king, and revenge it, he cited the ſons of *Ancus* to appear before his tribunal; and upon their non-appearance cauſed them to be declared infamous, and their eſtates to be confiſcated. After he had thus managed affairs for ſome time, and by his prudent adminiſtration gained the hearts of the people, the death of *Tarquin* was publiſhed, as a thing recent, with great lamentations in the palace; and *Servius*, after having performed his obſequies with great pomp, appeared in public with a ſtrong guard, and all the marks of royalty, without waiting for the election either of the ſenate or people[p]. *Livy* indeed tells us, that he took poſſeſſion of the kingdom with the conſent of the ſenators. But as he was not duly elected, the people looked upon him rather as governor, than king, of *Rome*[q].

Queen Tanaquil *by a ſtratagem ſecures the kingdom to her ſon-in-law.*

[p] Idem ibid. [q] Liv. l. i.

The

THE moſt probable account authors give of the birth and education of *Servius Tullius* is, as follows: He was the ſon of *Ocriſia*, a native of *Corniculum*, who was made captive by the *Romans* at the taking of that place. But who his father was, is uncertain. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* tells us, that one *Tullius* an officer of royal extraction, who was killed in the defence of his country, was the husband of *Ocriſia*, whom he left with child at his death. *Tarquin* made a preſent of this beautiful captive to his queen *Tanaquil*, who, being appriſed of her extraction and taken with her polite behaviour, reſtored her to her antient freedom. But as her ſon was born while ſhe was ſtill in a ſtate of ſlavery, the name of *Servius* was added to that of *Tullius*, which he received from his father. This is *Dionyſius*'s account [r]. But *Plutarch* pretends, that *Ocriſia* was very young when ſhe was carried into captivity, and that ſhe was afterwards married to one of *Tarquin*'s clients, by whom ſhe had *Servius* [s]. Some have given this prince a divine origin, and made him the ſon of *Vulcan*, or at leaſt of the *Lar*, or houſhold god, of *Tarquin*'s palace. Perhaps by the god of the royal palace they meant *Tarquin* himſelf. But however that be, it is certain, that *Tarquin* ſhewed all the tenderneſs of a father for *Servius*, and took particular care of his education. *Tanaquil*, who was no leſs fond of him than her husband, in order to gain him the greater veneration and eſteem among the people, with what political view is not known, ſpread the following report, which the credulous people believed; *viz.* that a ſudden flame, in form of a crown, ſurrounded the head of *Servius*, while he was a child and aſleep in her apartment [t]. However, notwithſtanding the great favour ſhewn him by the king and queen, it was chiefly by an uniform and wiſe conduct, that he raiſed himſelf to the throne. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the army by his gallant behaviour; and his extraordinary abilities in council ſo gained him the eſteem and affection of the people, that he was unanimouſly raiſed to the rank of a patrician, and a place in the ſenate. The king then married him to an illuſtrious *Roman* lady, by name *Gegania*; and upon her death, as his merit and fame daily increaſed, *Tarquin* thought it no diſhonour to his family to give him his daughter *Tarquinia* in marriage. From this time the court ſet no bounds to the favours they beſtowed upon him. The king repoſed an intire confidence in him, truſting him with

Servius Tullius. Year after the Flood, 2427. Before Chriſt, 572. *Of* Rome 176.

His birth and education.

[r] DIO. HAL. l. iv. p. 206. [s] PLUT. de fort. Rom. [t] LIV. l. i. c. 39.

the

the management both of his domeſtic concerns and the affairs of the public; in which latter he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the people were no leſs ſatisfied with his conduct, than with the king's; and this, upon the death of his father-in-law, paved him the way to the throne.

The honours he pays to the goddeſs Fortune.

As *Servius*, notwithſtanding his ſuperior merit, looked upon himſelf as chiefly indebted to *Fortune* for his grandeur, he erected an incredible number of temples and altars to her, under the names of *Fortuna Primigenia*, *Fortuna Obſequens*, *Fortuna Privata*, *Fortuna Virgo*, *Fortuna Virilis*, &c. As he propoſed *Numa* for his pattern, and deſigned to eſtabliſh as much order in the civil, as that wiſe prince had done in the religious, polity of *Rome*, to gain himſelf reſpect from the people, he pretended to have a private correſpondence with the goddeſs *Fortuna*, as *Numa* had had with *Egeria*[a]. However, the beginning of his reign was not without diſturbances and diſſenſions. The ſons of *Ancus Marcius* had a ſtrong party among the patricians, who thought it beneath them to be governed by a man born in ſlavery. Beſides it, had been hitherto cuſtomary in *Rome* not to proceed to the election of a king, till after an inter-regnum; and this order, eſtabliſhed ever ſince *Romulus*'s time, *Servius* had broken through, taking the power into his own hands, without the order or conſent of the people. Complaints of this nature were at firſt dropped, as it were accidentally, in private aſſemblies; but at laſt brought on an almoſt general conſpiracy. The ſenators agreed among themſelves to force the new king, the firſt time they aſſembled, to lay down his authority, to eſtabliſh an inter-regnum, and then to proceed to the free election of another king. *Servius*, in this emergency, made it his ſtudy to gain the people, and make uſe of them againſt the ſenate. As he was therefore a man of great eloquence, inſtead of calling the ſenate together, he aſſembled the people, and placing one of the two grandſons of the late king on each ſide of him, made an artful and moving ſpeech to the multitude, intreating them to be joint guardians with him of the off-ſpring of a prince, whoſe memory ought to be dear to them, and promiſing to protect the people againſt the patricians, to pay all their debts, and to divide the lands taken from the enemy among them. Nor were his promiſes empty words; a few days after he commanded all thoſe who were in debt, to ſend him an account of their debts and the names of their creditors; and opening compting-houſes in the fo-

[a] Plut. de fort. Rom.

rum,

rum, paid there all the debtors bills with his own money. Nor was this all; he publiſhed an edict, commanding all thoſe who had uſurped lands belonging to the public, to quit them at an appointed time, and ordered the *Roman* citizens, who had no lands of their own, to petition for them. In ſhort, he revived many of the laws of *Romulus* and *Numa*, which diſuſe had aboliſhed, and made ſeveral new ones in favour of the common people, who were in many things put upon an equality with the ſenators and patricians w.

THOUGH *Servius* was naturally more inclined to works of peace than to military exploits, yet he found himſelf obliged to imbarque in a long war with the *Veientes* and the reſt of the *Hetrurians*, who had ſhaken off the yoke, pretending, *that their obligations to be ſubject to* Rome, *were dead with* Tarquin, *who had ſubjected them.* But *Servius*, taking the field, ſoon ſubdued them anew, and depriving them of their lands, transferred the property of them to ſuch of the new citizens of *Rome* as had yet no lands of their own. For this victory he obtained by the favour of the people, in ſpite of the ſenate, the honours of a triumph, and entered *Rome* with all the pomp, which *Tarquin* had introduced in ſuch public ſhews x.

He defeats the Hetrurians.

Servius, now finding the people intirely attached to his intereſt, reſolved to take advantage of their preſent favour, to render his title to the throne leſs diſputable. Accordingly, he aſſembled the citizens, and in a moving ſpeech, which drew tears from their eyes, complained of a deſign formed by the patricians to take away his life, and to bring back the ſons of *Ancus*; and this for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was too kind to the common people. In the cloſe of his ſpeech, he left the kingdom to their diſpoſal, begging them to determine between him and his pupils on one ſide, and their competitors on the other. He had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, than he came down haſtily from the tribunal, in order to leave the aſſembly; but they even uſed violence to ſtop him, intreating him to be their king, and incouraging him not to fear the plots of his enemies. Then ſome whom the king had diſperſed among the multitude for that purpoſe, cried with a loud voice, *Let the curiæ be aſſembled without delay, that we may elect* Servius *to be our king.* In the mean time, the prince, though at the bottom of the whole intrigue, affected to act only in compliance with the inclination

w Idem, p. 213.

x FAST. CAPIT. & DIO. HAL. p. 216.

of

of the people. *I am glad*, ſaid he, *to find you have gratitude for the good offices I have done you. You may*, continued he, with an air of indifference, *do juſt as you pleaſe.* Accordingly, a day was appointed, and *Servius* elected by the curiæ by a greater unanimity than any of his predeceſſors [y]. However, as the ſenate, whoſe faction was formidable, could never be brought to confirm the election, *Servius* deliberated with himſelf, whether he ſhould not renounce the dignity conferred on him by the people. But having imparted his uneaſineſs and perplexity to *Tanaquil*, ſhe removed his apprehenſions, and even prevailed upon him to take an oath, whereby he engaged never to reſign the crown. This great queen died ſoon after, and *Servius* omitted nothing that could contribute towards tranſmitting the remembrance of her noble actions to poſterity. To immortalize her domeſtic virtues, the true glory of a woman, he hung up her diſtaff in the temple of *Hercules* [z].

He is legally elected by the curiæ.

Servius ſoon after his election marched againſt the rebellious *Hetrurians*, reduced them, and was on that account honoured with a ſecond triumph. After this victory he applied all his thoughts to the adorning and inlarging of the city. To the hills *Palatinus*, *Tarpeius*, *Quirinalis*, *Cælius*, *Aventinus*, he added the *Eſquilinus* and *Viminalis*, incloſing them within the limits of the city, and fixing his own palace on the *Eſquilinus*, in order to draw inhabitants thither. He likewiſe added a fourth tribe to the three originally eſtabliſhed by *Romulus*, calling it *Tribus Eſquilina*. The public impoſts and taxes were raiſed by laying a certain ſum on every *tribe*, and hence the public ſubſidies were called *tributes*; and thoſe who commanded the tribes in war, were from them named *tribunes*, though that name was afterwards given to ſeveral ſorts of magiſtrates. The law which obliged each inhabitant to continue in the tribe in which he was born, eſtabliſhed great regularity in levying both the militia and the taxes *Servius* made likewiſe a law, that a piece of money ſhould be paid upon every death into the temple of the goddeſs *Libitina*, who preſided over funerals; another into the temple of *Juno Lucina*, upon every birth; and another into the temple of *Youth*, as ſoon as any perſon was paſt the ſtate of childhood. By this means the number of *Roman* citizens was known, eſpecially of ſuch as were able to bear arms. No regard had hitherto been had at *Rome* to ſlaves; but *Servius*, perhaps to do honour to his firſt condition, extended his care even to them, ordering

He inlarges Rome.

Adds a fourth tribe to the three old ones.

[y] Liv. l. i. c. 46. Dio. Hal. l iv. p. 218 [z] Plin. l. iii. c. 7.

little

little wooden oratories to be erected in all the croſs-ways of the ſeveral quarters of the city; theſe he conſecrated to the *Dii Compitales*, or *gods of the croſs-ways*, and appointed ſlaves only to be prieſts of theſe gods, who had their particular feſtival, on which maſters gave their ſlaves reſt from all labour, and by this act of humanity gained their good-will. *Inſtitutes the* Compitalia.

THAT an equal order might be eſtabliſhed in the country, as well as in the city, the king divided the whole *Roman* territory into diſtinct tribes, commanding that there ſhould be at leaſt one place of refuge in each tribe, ſituated on a riſing ground, and ſtrong enough to ſecure the effects of the peaſants, in caſe of a ſudden alarm. Theſe ſtrong-holds he called *Pagi*, that is, *villages*, and commanded that each of them ſhould have their peculiar temple, tutelary god, and magiſtrates. Each of them had likewiſe their particular feſtival, called *paganalia*, when every perſon was to pay, into the hands of thoſe who preſided at the ſacrifices, a piece of money, the men of one kind, the women of another, and the children of a third. By this means an exact computation was made of the men, women, and children in each tribe [a]. *Divides the* Romans *into tribes.*

IN the mean time his two wards, *Lucius Tarquinius* and *Aruns*, the grand-children of *Tarquin*, being grown up, in order to ſecure their fidelity, he married them to his two daughters. And though the elder of theſe daughters, who was of a mild and tractable diſpoſition, reſembled in character the younger of his pupils, as the elder of his pupils did the younger of his daughters, who was of a violent and vicious temper, yet he thought it adviſeable to give his elder daughter to *Tarquin*, and the younger to *Aruns*; for by that means he matched them according to their ages, and at the ſame time hoped, that the elder *Tullia*'s ſweet diſpoſition would temper *Tarquin*'s impetuoſity, and the younger *Tullia*'s vivacity rouſe the indolence of *Aruns* [b]. *Marries his two daughters to the grand-ſons of the late king.*

DURING the public rejoicing for this double marriage, the twelve *leucumonies* of *Hetruria*, uniting their forces, attempted to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke; but were in ſeveral battles defeated by *Servius*, and obliged to ſubmit to him on the ſame conditions, on which they had ſubmitted to his predeceſſor. For this ſucceſs *Servius* was honoured with a third triumph [c].

THE king being thus diſengaged from a troubleſome war, returned to the purſuit of his political ſchemes, and put in execution that maſter-piece of policy, which *Rome* made uſe of

[a] DIO HAL. p. 220. [b] Idem ibid LIV. ubi ſupra.
[c] FAST. CAPIT.

ever after, and which eſtabliſhed a perpetual order and regularity in all the members of the ſtate, with reſpect to wars, to the public revenues, and the ſuffrages of the comitia. The public ſupplies had hitherto been raiſed upon the people at ſo much a head, without any diſtinction of rich and poor. Whence it likewiſe followed, that when levies were made for the war, the rich and poor were equally obliged to take the field, according to the order of their tribe; and as they all ſerved at their own expence, the poorer ſort could, with much ado, bear the charges of a campaign. Beſides, as the moſt indigent of the people ſaw themſelves burdened with the ſame taxes as the rich, they pretended to an equal authority in the comitia: ſo that the election of kings and magiſtrates, the making of peace or war, the judging of criminals, were given up into the hands of a populace, who were eaſily corrupted, and had nothing to loſe. *Servius* formed a project to remedy theſe evils, and put it in execution, by enacting a law, injoining all the *Roman* citizens to bring in an account in writing of their own names and ages, and of thoſe of their fathers, wives, and children. By the ſame law all heads of families were commanded to deliver in upon oath a juſt eſtimate of their effects, and to add to it the places of their abode, whether in town or country. Whoever did not bring in an account of his effects, was to be deprived of his eſtate, to be beat with rods, and publicly ſold for a ſlave. *Servius* from theſe particular accounts, which might be pretty well relied on, undertook to eaſe the poor by burdening the rich, and at the ſame time to pleaſe the latter by encreaſing their power.

Divides the Roman *citizens into ſix claſſes, and theſe into centuries.*

To this end he divided the *Roman* people into ſix claſſes: the firſt claſs conſiſted of thoſe, whoſe eſtates and effects amounted to the value of ten thouſand drachmæ, or an hundred thouſand aſſes of braſs; the firſt way of computing being uſed by the *Greeks*, and the latter by the *Latins*. This claſs was ſubdivided into fourſcore centuries, or companies of foot. To theſe *Servius* joined eighteen centuries of *Roman* knights, who fought on horſeback, and appointed, that this conſiderable body of horſemen ſhould be at the head of the firſt claſs; becauſe the eſtates of theſe knights, without all doubt, exceeded the ſum neceſſary to be admitted into it. However, the public ſupplied them with horſes, for which a tax was laid upon widows, who were exempt from all other tributes. This firſt claſs including infantry and cavalry, conſiſted of ninety eight centuries. The ſecond claſs comprehended thoſe whoſe eſtates were valued at ſeven thouſand five hundred drachmæ,

drachmæ, or ſeventy five thouſand aſſes of braſs. It was ſubdivided into twenty centuries, all foot. To theſe were added two centuries of carpenters, ſmiths, and other artificers. In the third claſs were thoſe, who were eſteemed worth five thouſand drachmæ, or fifty thouſand aſſes. This claſs was ſubdivided into twenty centuries. The fourth claſs was of thoſe whoſe effects were rated at the value of five hundred drachmæ, or twenty five thouſand aſſes, and was divided into twenty centuries; to which were added two other centuries of trumpeters and blowers of the horn, who ſupplied the whole army with this martial muſic. The fifth claſs included thoſe only, whoſe whole ſubſtance did not amount to more than twelve hundred and fifty drachmæ, or twelve thouſand five hundred aſſes; and this claſs was divided into thirty centuries. The ſixth claſs comprehended all thoſe who were not worth ſo much as thoſe of the fifth claſs. They exceeded in number any other claſs, but nevertheleſs were reckoned but as one century [a].

THE wiſe king drew from theſe regulations all the advantages he had expected. Levies for the army were no longer raiſed by tribes, nor were taxes laid at ſo much a head, as formerly; but all was levied by centuries. When, for inſtance, an army of twenty thouſand men, or a large ſupply of money, was wanted for the war, each century furniſhed its quota both of men and money; ſo that the firſt claſs, which contained more centuries, though fewer men, than all the other together, furniſhed more men and more money for the public ſervice, than the whole *Roman* ſtate beſides. And by this means the *Roman* armies conſiſted, for the moſt part, of the rich citizens of *Rome*, who, as they had lands and effects to defend, fought with more reſolution, while their riches enabled them to bear the expence of a campaign. As it was but juſt the king ſhould make the firſt claſs amends for the weight laid on it, he gave it almoſt the whole authority in public affairs, changing the comitia by curiæ, in which every man gave his vote, into comitia by centuries, in which the majority was not reckoned by ſingle perſons, but by centuries, how few ſoever there might be in a century. Hence the firſt claſs, which contained more centuries than the other five taken together, had every thing at its diſpoſal. The votes of this claſs were firſt taken; and if the ninety eight centuries happened to agree, or only ninety ſeven of them, the affair was determined, becauſe theſe made the majority of the hundred and

[a] DIO. HAL. l. iv. p. 223. LIV. l. i. c. 43. AUL. GELL. l. xvi.

ninety three centuries, which compoſed the ſix claſſes. If they diſagreed, then the ſecond, the third, and the other claſſes in their order, were called to vote; though there was very ſeldom any occaſion to go ſo low as the fourth claſs for a majority of votes. So that, by this good order, *Servius* brought the affairs of the public to be determined by the judgment of the moſt conſiderable citizens, who underſtood the public intereſt, much better than the blind multitude, liable to be impoſed upon, and eaſily corrupted.

The cenſus and luſtrum.

And now the ſtate being thus divided into different orders, according to the cenſus or valuation of their eſtates, *Servius* reſolved to ſolemnize this prudent regulation by ſome public act of religion, that it might be the more reſpected and the more laſting. Accordingly, all the citizens were commanded to appear, on a day appointed, in the *Campus Martius*, which was a large plain, lying between the city and the *Tiber*, formerly conſecrated by *Romulus* to the god *Mars*. Here the centuries being drawn up in battalia, a ſolemn luſtration, or expiatory ſacrifice, was performed in the name of all the people. The ſacrifice conſiſted of *a ſow*, *a ſheep*, and *a bull*, whence it took the name *Suovetaurilia*. The whole ceremony was called *luſtrum*, *à luendo*, that is, from *paying*, *expiating*, *clearing*, or perhaps from the goddeſs *Lua* (I), who preſided over expiations; and to whom *Servius* had dedicated a temple. This wiſe king, conſidering that in the ſpace of five years there might be ſuch alterations in the fortunes of private perſons, as to intitle ſome to be raiſed to a higher claſs, and reduce others to a lower, enjoined, that the cenſus ſhould be renewed every five years. As the cenſus was uſually cloſed by the luſtrum, the *Romans* henceforth began to compute time by luſtrums, each luſtrum containing the ſpace of five years. However, the luſtrums were not always regularly obſerved, but often put off, though the cenſus had been made in the fifth year. Some writers are of opinion,

(I) The name of this goddeſs was loſt through the ignorance of editors; but brought to light again by *Juſtus Lipſius* in his commentaries on *Tacitus*. For that antient writer tells us, that *Servius Tullius* conſecrated an altar to the goddeſs *Lua*. But the editors, not knowing who this goddeſs was, changed the word *Lua* into *Luna*, as if *Servius* had dedicated an altar to *the moon*. *Lipſius* corrects this miſtake, and ſhews that *Lua* was the goddeſs, to whom the ſacrifice of the luſtrum was offered. As ſhe was the goddeſs of expiations, the luſtrum probably took its name from her, as ſhe did hers from the word *luo*, which ſignifies *to pay*, becauſe on that day every one paid his quota of the tax laid on his century.

that

that *Servius* at this time coined the firſt money which had ever appeared at *Rome*, and add, that the circumſtances of the luſtrum probably led him to ſtamp the figures of the animals there ſlain on pieces of braſs of a certain weight. It is paſt all doubt, that money was called *pecunia*, from the word *pecus*, which ſignifies *cattle*, a name which continued to be given to all coins, when the impreſſions on them were changed into more noble figures [e].

The government of the city being thus eſtabliſhed in ſo regular a manner, *Servius*, remembering his former ſervile condition, and touched with compaſſion on thoſe, whom the misfortunes of an unſucceſsful war had reduced to ſlavery, thought, that ſuch of them as had by long and faithful ſervices deſerved and obtained their freedom, were much more worthy of being made *Roman* citizens, than untractable vagabonds from foreign countries, who were admitted without diſtinction. He therefore gave the freedmen their choice, either to return to their own country, or continue at *Rome*. Thoſe who choſe to continue there, he divided into four tribes, and ſettled them within the city; and though they were diſtinguiſhed from the *Plebeians* by their old name of *liberti*, or *freed-men*, yet they enjoyed all the privileges of free citizens. The ſenate took offence at the regard which the king ſhewed to ſuch mean people, who had but lately ſhaken off their fetters; but *Servius*, by a moſt humane and judicious diſcourſe, intirely appeaſed the fathers, who paſſed his inſtitution into a law, which ſubſiſted ever after.

He gives the freedmen the privilege of Roman citizens.

THE wiſe king, having thus eſtabliſhed order among the people, undertook at laſt to reform the royal power itſelf, his equity, which was the main ſpring of all his reſolutions, leading him to act contrary to his own intereſt, and to ſacrifice one half of the royal authority to the public good. His predeceſſors had reſerved to themſelves the cognizance of all cauſes both public and private; but *Servius*, finding the duties of his office too much for one man to diſcharge well, committed the cognizance of ordinary ſuits to the ſenate, and reſerved that only of ſtate crimes to himſelf.

Reforms the royal power.

ALL things being now regulated at home, both in the city and country, *Servius* turned his thoughts abroad, and formed a ſcheme for attaching the *Sabines* and *Latins* to the *Romans*, by ſuch ſocial ties as ſhould be ſtrengthened by religion. He ſummoned the *Latin* and *Sabine* cities to ſend their

Secures the fidelity and friendſhip of the Latins and Sabines.

[e] DIO. HAL. & LIV. ibid.

their deputies to *Rome*, to conſult about an affair of great importance. When they were come, he propoſed to them the building of a temple in honour of *Diana*, where the *Latini* and *Sabines* ſhould meet once a year, and join with the *Romans* in offering ſacrifices to that goddeſs; that this feſtival ſhould be followed by a council, in which all diſputes between the cities ſhould be amicably determined; that there proper meaſures ſhould be taken to purſue their common intereſt; and laſtly, that, in order to draw the common people thither, a fair ſhould be kept, at which every one might furniſh himſelf with what he wanted. The king's deſign met with no oppoſition. The deputies only added to it, that the temple ſhould be an inviolable aſylum for the united nations, and that all the cities ſhould contribute towards the expence of building it. It being left to the king to chuſe a proper place for it, he pitched upon the *Aventine* hill, where the temple was built, and aſſemblies annually held in it. The laws which were to be obſerved in theſe general meetings were engraved on a pillar of braſs, and ſtill to be ſeen in *Auguſtus's* time, in the *Latin* tongue, but in *Greek* characters [f].

The wicked intrigues of Tarquin and the younger Tullia.

But now *Servius* was grown old, and the ambition of *Tarquin*, his ſon-in-law, revived in proportion as the king advanced in years. His wife uſed her utmoſt endeavours to check the raſhneſs and fury of her huſband, and to divert him from all criminal enterprizes; while her younger ſiſter, a domeſtic fury, was ever inſtigating *Aruns*, who placed all his happineſs in a private life, to the moſt villainous attempts. She was continually lamenting her fate in being tied to ſuch an indolent huſband, and wiſhing ſhe had either continued unmarried, or were become a widow. Similitude of temper and manners formed by degrees a great intimacy between her and *Tarquin*. At length ſhe propoſed to him nothing leſs than the murdering of her father, ſiſter, and huſband, that they two might meet and aſcend the throne together. Soon after they paved their way to an inceſtuous marriage; he by poiſoning his wife, and ſhe her huſband; and then had the aſſurance to aſk the king's and queen's conſent to their marriage. *Servius* and *Tarquinia*, though they did not give it, were ſilent, through too much indulgence for a daughter, in whom now was their only hope of poſterity. But theſe criminal nuptials were only the firſt ſtep towards a yet greater iniquity. The wicked ambition of the new-married couple firſt ſhewed itſelf againſt the king; for they publicly de-

[f] Dio. Hal. l. iv. p. 230.

clared,

clared, that the crown belonged to them; that *Servius* was an uſurper, who being appointed tutor to *Tarquin*'s grandchildren, had deprived his pupils of their inheritance; that it was high time for an old man, who was but little able to ſupport the weight of public affairs, to give place to a prince, who was of a mature age, *&c.* The patricians, whom *Servius* had taken great pleaſure in humbling during the whole time of his reign, were eaſily gained over to *Tarquin*'s party; and by the help of money many of the poorer citizens were alſo brought over to his intereſt. The king, being informed of their treaſonable practices, endeavoured to diſſuade his daughter and ſon-in-law from ſuch proceedings, which might end in their ruin, and exhorted them to wait for the kingdom till his death. But they, deſpiſing his counſels and paternal admonitions, reſolved to lay their claim before the ſenate, which *Servius* was obliged to ſummon; ſo that the affair came to a formal proceſs. *Tarquin* reproached his father-in-law with having aſcended the throne without a previous inter-regnum, and with having bought the votes of the people, and deſpiſed the ſuffrages of the ſenate. He then urged his own right of inheritance to the crown and injuſtice of *Servius*, who, being only his guardian, had kept poſſeſſion of it, when he himſelf was of an age to govern. *Servius* anſwered, that he had been lawfully elected by the people, and that, if there could be an hereditary right to the kingdom, the ſons of *Ancus* had a much better one than the grandſons of the late king, who muſt himſelf have been an uſurper. He then referred the whole to an aſſembly of the people, which being immediately proclaimed all over the city, the forum was ſoon filled, and *Servius* harangued the multitude in ſuch a manner, as gained all their affections. They all cried out with one voice; *Let* Servius *reign*; *let him continue to make the* Romans *happy*. Amidſt their confuſed clamours, theſe words were likewiſe heard; *Let* Tarquin *periſh*; *let him die*; *let us kill him*. This language frightened him ſo, that he retired to his houſe in great haſte, while the king was conducted back to his palace with the acclamations of the people [g].

Tarquin regains the king's favour.

THE ill ſucceſs of this attempt cooled *Tarquin*'s ardent deſire of reigning; and his ambition made him act a new part. He undertook to regain the favour of his father-in-law, by careſſes, ſubmiſſions, and proteſtations of a ſincere regard and affection for him; inſomuch, that the king, who judged of the probity of others from his own, was ſincerely reconciled

[g] DIO. HAL. LIV. ibid.

to him, and tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed inthe royal family. But it was not long, ere *Tarquin*, rouſed by the continual reproaches of his wife, began to renew his intrigues among the ſenators; among whom he had no ſooner gained a conſiderable party, than he put in execution a ſtratagem, which ſurpriſed the people by its novelty, and ſucceeded by the boldneſs of its execution. He cloathed himſelf in the royal robes, and cauſing the faſces to be carried before him by ſome of his domeſtics, croſſed the *Roman* forum, entered the temple, where the ſenate uſed to meet, and ſeated himſelf on the throne. Such of the ſenators as were of his faction he found already in their places, for he had given them private notice to be there early; and the reſt, being ſummoned to aſſemble in king *Tarquin*'s name, made what haſte they could to the appointed place, thinking that *Servius* was dead, ſince *Tarquin* aſſumed the title and functions of king. When they were all aſſembled, *Tarquin* made a long ſpeech, reviling his father-in-law, and repeating the invectives againſt him, which he had ſo often uttered, calling him a ſlave, an uſurper, a favourer of the populace, and an enemy to the ſenate and patricians. While he was yet ſpeaking, *Servius* arrived; and raſhly giving way to the motions of his courage, without conſidering his ſtrength, drew near the throne to pull *Tarquin* down from it. This raiſed a great noiſe in the aſſembly, which drew the people into the temple; but no-body ventured to part the two rivals. *Tarquin* therefore, being more ſtrong and vigorous, ſeized the old man by the waiſt, and hurrying him through the temple, threw him down from the top of the ſteps into the forum. The king, who was grievouſly wounded, raiſed himſelf up with ſome difficulty; but all his friends had abandoned him; only two or three of the people, touched with compaſſion, lent him their arms to lead him home to his palace. As they were dragging him on ſlowly, the cruel *Tullia* appeared in the forum, whither ſhe had haſtened in her chariot on the firſt report of what had paſſed in the ſenate. She found her husband on the top of the ſteps of the temple, and, tranſported with joy, was the firſt who ſaluted him king; and her example was immediately followed by the ſenators of *Tarquin*'s party. Nor was this enough for the unnatural daughter. She took aſide her huſband, and ſuggeſted to him, that he would never be ſafe ſo long as the uſurper of his crown was alive. Hereupon *Tarquin* inſtantly diſpatched ſome of his domeſtics to take away the remains of the unfortunate king's life. The orders for the wicked parricide were no ſooner given, than *Tullia* mount-

ed

ed her chariot again with an air of triumph to return home. The way to her houſe was through a narrow ſtreet called *Vicus Cyprius* (K), or, *the good ſtreet*. There the aſſaſſins had left the king's body, which was ſtill panting. At this ſight the charioteer, ſtruck with horror, checked his horſes, and made a ſtop: *Why don't you go on?* cried *Tullia* to him. *What ſtops you?* The charioteer turning about to her, *Alas!* ſaid he, *it is the body of the king your father.* At theſe words *Tullia*, catching up a ſtool that was in the chariot, and throwing it at his head, *Go on*, ſhe cried, *and don't be afraid of driving over a dead body.* The charioteer obeyed, and the blood of the father is ſaid to have dyed the wheels of the chariot, and even the cloaths of the inhuman daughter. And hence the ſtreet was called ever after *Vicus Sceleratus*. Such was the end of *Servius Tullius*, after he had lived ſeventy four, and reigned forty four, years. He was a prince of eminent juſtice and moderation, and made *Rome* more formidable by a peace of twenty years, than his predeceſſors had done by many victories. He was beloved by the people, eſteemed by the patricians, and perhaps would have had no enemies, if he could have preſerved the affections of his own family. *Tarquin* not ſuffering his obſequies to be performed with the uſual pomp, leſt the people might on that occaſion riſe up in arms and revenge his death, *Tarquinia* conveyed the body of her husband privately by night to his tomb, and the night following died herſelf; but whether of grief, or by her own hands, or by the wickedneſs of *Tullia*, is uncertain. The veneration which the people had for this king's memory, ſeems to have placed him among the gods; for the ſlaves annually celebrated his feſtival in the temple of *Diana Aventina* on the day he loſt his life.

Servius murdered by Tarquin, who uſurps the throne.

Tarquin, having thus poſſeſſed himſelf of the throne by a moſt wicked parricide, behaved himſelf during the whole time of his reign like a moſt cruel and deſpotical tyrant. In the very beginning of it the ſurname of *proud* was given him, on account of his capricious humour and haughty behaviour. As he had aſcended the throne without a previous inter-regnum, and deſpiſed the ſuffrages of the people and approbation of the ſenate, he communicated no affairs of ſtate either to the ſenate or people. All controverſies whatſoever he decided himſelf, aſſiſted by his intimate friends, and baniſhed, fined,

Tarquin II. Year of the Flood, 2471. Before Chriſt, 528. *Of* Rome 220.

(K) The word *Cyprus*, according to *Varro*, is an old *Sabine* word, ſignifying *good* or *happy*; for this ſtreet, as the ſame author informs us, was firſt inhabited by the *Sabines*.

and even executed whom he pleaſed. To prevent the natural conſequences of his tyranny, he kept conſtantly a ſtrong guard about his perſon, moſtly conſiſting of ſtrangers, who were ready on all occaſions to execute his pleaſure. Wealth and merit became unpardonable crimes, as plainly appeared in the murder of *M. Junius*, a venerable old man, the father of the famous *Brutus*, who afterwards deſtroyed the regal power. This *Junius* was deſcended of a noble family, and had an ample patrimony, on which conſiderations *Tarquin the elder* had given him his daughter in marriage. The new king, to get poſſeſſion of his eſtate, cauſed both him and his other ſon to be aſſaſſinated, *Brutus* eſcaping by counterfeiting madneſs. The flower of the ſenate retired from the city into voluntary baniſhment, to avoid the effects of the king's cruelty and avarice. The people, who had rejoiced at firſt to ſee the ſenate humbled, were in their turn as ill treated as the ſenators, and all the laws made in their favour annulled. Informers were diſperſed all over the city to watch the words and behaviour of every citizen, and the worſt conſtruction was put upon every thing. All aſſemblies of the people, even for diverſion and recreation, were prohibited both in the city and country. But, as he was well appriſed that the people would ſooner or later attempt to ſhake off the yoke, and recover their antient privileges and freedom, he turned his thoughts to gain a ſtrong party among foreigners; and with this view married his daughter to *Octavius Mamilius*, a man of great intereſt among the *Latins*. *Mamilius* indeed did his utmoſt to bring over a great many leading men of his country to the intereſt of his father-in-law, and his ſolicitations ſucceeded. But the king had like to have loſt them again by his haughty behaviour. He had invited the *Latins* to meet in a national aſſembly at *Ferentinum*, on a day appointed by himſelf. The deputies came and took their places in the ſacred grove. But, as *Tarquin* did not appear after they had waited ſome hours, the aſſembly grew impatient, and *Herdonius*, an enterprizing man, who hated *Tarquin*, took this occaſion of inveighing againſt him. His ſpeech made no ſmall impreſſion upon the aſſembly; but *Mamilius* prevailed upon them to adjourn the council to the next day. Then *Tarquin* appeared, and, having firſt made a frivolous excuſe for his abſence, acquainted the aſſembly, that his buſineſs with them was to demand his right of commanding the *Latin* armies, a right which he derived by inheritance from his grand-father. Upon this a profound ſilence enſued, till *Herdonius*, ſtepping forth into the midſt of the aſſembly, made a bitter invective againſt

His tyranny.

againſt *Tarquin*, and repreſented the fatal conſequences of admitting his propoſal. *Tarquin*, diſconcerted by the boldneſs of the orator, deſired, that the aſſembly might ſit again the following day, when he promiſed to anſwer the invectives of *Herdonius*. In the mean time, having corrupted ſome of his domeſtics, he engaged them to hide a great quantity of arms in their maſter's baggage. The next morning he entered the aſſembly with an air of confidence, and after having told them that the malice of *Herdonius* againſt him was wholly owing to his having refuſed him his daughter in marriage, he accuſed his adverſary of having laid a plot to cut off all the deputies there preſent, and to uſurp a tyranny over the *Latin* cities. In proof of this, he informed them of the arms concealed in *Herdonius*'s baggage. The accuſed, knowing nothing of thoſe arms, conſented to be adjudged guilty, if upon examination the fact alledged ſhould be found true. Accordingly, his baggage was ſearched, and the arms being found and brought into the aſſembly, the innocent *Herdonius* was immediately ſentenced to be thrown into a baſon at the head of the ſpring of *Ferentinum*; where, a hurdle being laid upon him, and ſtones heaped upon it, he was preſſed down into the water and drowned [h].

His treacherous contrivance to deſtroy Turnus Herdonius

THE *Latins*, not doubting but *Herdonius* was guilty of the crime laid to his charge, looked upon *Tarquin* as their deliverer, renewed the treaty made with his grandfather, and declared him general of the *Latin* armies. Not long after the *Hernici* and two cantons of the *Volſci* entered into an alliance with him upon the ſame terms. *Tarquin*, to ſecure the fidelity of his new allies, erected, with their approbation, a new temple in the midſt of them, on a hill near the ruins of *Alba*, which he conſecrated to *Jupiter Latialis*. There the diets of the confederate cantons were to aſſemble; and theſe aſſemblies were called *Latia*. The twenty ſeventh of *April* was the day appointed for their annual meeting, and had the name of *Feriæ Latinæ*. The *Romans*, as the chief members of the alliance, always preſided at the ſacrifices and deliberations. The diet conſiſted of forty ſeven deputies from ſo many cities, who formed the *Latin* aſſociation, which was afterwards the beſt part of the *Roman* ſtrength, and contributed more than all the reſt of *Italy* to the conqueſt of the world.

The Feriæ Latinæ.

[h] DIO HAL. l. iv. p. 247. LIV. l. i. c. 50.

Aſſiſted by the Latins, he defeats the Volſci, and ſubdues the Sabines.

WITH the aſſiſtance of the *Latins*, *Tarquin* thought himſelf in a condition to make war upon thoſe *Volſci*, who had refuſed to enter into an alliance with him. But as he could not depend upon the fidelity of the *Romans*, he blended them in the ſame legions with the *Latins*, who till his time had been a ſeparate corps. The inhabitants of *Sueſſa Pometia* (L), one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of the *Volſci*, were the firſt who felt the effects of this new alliance. They had plundered the territories of their neighbours, and *Tarquin*, laying hold of this pretence to begin the war, marched againſt them, defeated their army, laid ſiege to their city, and, having taken it by ſtorm, gave the plunder of it to his troops, reſerving only the tenth part of the ſpoil towards the expence of finiſhing the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. He then turned his arms againſt the *Sabines*, who had committed ſome depredations in the *Roman* territories, gained two complete victories over them, and made the whole *Sabine* nation tributary. Upon his return to *Rome*, where we are told he triumphed twice [i], he undertook the finiſhing of the common ſewers, and the great circus, and having obliged the idle populace to work without any other reward, but that of a poor maintenance, ſoon brought to perfection thoſe two ſtructures, which his grandfather had begun [k].

His war with the people of Gabii.

IN the mean time, many of the diſcontented patricians, abandoning their native country, took refuge at *Gabii*, a city of *Latium*, about a hundred furlongs from *Rome*, and prevailed upon the inhabitants to eſpouſe their cauſe, and make war upon *Tarquin*. This war laſted ſeven years with various ſucceſs, during which time the *Romans* who could neither ſow nor reap, being afflicted with a great famine, began to murmur, and at length to demand of *Tarquin*, in a tumultuous manner, either a peace or proviſions. Their complaints and murmurs being fomented by emiſſaries ſent privately from the exiles at *Gabii*, the whole city was in the utmoſt confuſion, and ſeemed only to wait for a favourable opportunity to take up arms, and drive out *Tarquin*, the cauſe of all their misfortunes. The king, being on one ſide

[i] Faſti Capitol. [k] Dio. Hal. p. 251. Liv. l. i. c. 52.

(L) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* reckons *Sueſſa Pometia* among the moſt wealthy cities of the *Volſci*. It was called *Pometia*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Sueſſa* in the country of the *Aurunci* beyond the *Liris*. It ſtood between *Cora* and *Velitræ*, at a ſmall diſtance from theſe two cities.

unwilling

unwilling to make a ſhameful peace, and apprehending on the other a general revolt of his ſubjects, was at a loſs what reſolution to take, and under the greateſt uneaſineſs. But his ſon *Sextus Tarquinius* found out an expedient, no leſs diſhonourable than artful, for extricating him out of this difficulty. He pretended to be upon very ill terms with his father, and openly inveighed againſt him as a tyrant. Hereupon the king, as it had been agreed on before-hand, commanded him to be publicly beaten with rods as a rebel. This was no ſooner known at *Gabii*, but the inhabitants, deſirous to have *Sextus* among them, made him privately great offers; which he readily accepted, after they had ſolemnly promiſed never to deliver him up to his father upon any pretence whatſoever. It is not to be imagined, how agreeable *Sextus*'s arrival was to the *Gabini*, or what hopes they founded on their gaining over a prince, who was ſo much valued by the *Romans*. From that time they looked upon *Rome* as already reduced. And indeed the artful *Sextus* played his game with all imaginable dexterity. His public and private diſcourſe turned upon nothing but the tyranny of the king of *Rome*. From words he proceeded to actions. No enemy *Rome* ever had was more active. He often ravaged the *Roman* lands, and returned to *Gabii* loaded with booty. His father took care to facilitate his military exploits, and ſacrificed ſuch ſoldiers and officers as he ſuſpected, to the glory of his ſon. His reputation being thus increaſed by the craft of his father, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of any intelligence between them, the *Gabini* placed ſo much confidence in his fidelity and valour, that they appointed him commander in chief of their army. His authority being now ſufficiently eſtabliſhed in *Gabii*, he diſpatched a ſlave, in whom he could confide, privately to *Rome*, to inquire of his father what he ſhould do. The king, not thinking fit to anſwer, either in writing or by word of mouth, took the ſlave into a garden, and there ſtruck off the heads of all the talleſt poppies. This done, he ſent back the meſſenger. *Sextus* underſtood the hint, and, having aſſembled the *Gabini*, pretended to have diſcovered a plot to deliver him up to his father. The people preſſed him to declare the conſpirators, and extorted from him, as it were, by force the name of *Antiſtius Petro*, a man whoſe merit had made him the moſt conſiderable perſon in his country. *Sextus* had bribed his ſervants to convey among his papers ſome letters from the king of *Rome*, which being produced and read, the incenſed multitude, without further examination, immediately ſtoned him, and committed to *Sextus* the care of diſcovering his accomplices,

The ſtratagem by which he became maſter of that city.

complices, and inflicting on them such punishments as he should judge proper. Upon this he ordered the gates of the city to be shut, and having sent officers into the several quarters of it, caused all the eminent men in *Gabii*, who gave him umbrage, to be inhumanly massacred. In the midst of this desolation and confusion, he opened the gates to his father, whom he had acquainted with his design, and put him in possession of the city. The *Gabini* sunk into the utmost despair at the sight of the tyrant, who now had their lives, their estates, and their liberty, at his disposal. But *Tarquin*, on this occasion consulting good policy more than revenge, treated them with great humanity, and even entered into an alliance with them, the articles of which were written on a shield made of the hide of an ox sacrificed on that occasion. This treaty was still to be seen at *Rome* in *Augustus*'s time, in the temple of *Jupiter Pistius*, or *Sancus*, that is, *the god of fidelity* [1].

As *Tarquin* was jealous even of his own children, he took care to keep them at a distance from *Rome*. With this view he left *Sextus* at *Gabii*, declaring him king of that city, and sent *Titus* and *Arunx* to found two new colonies, the one at *Signia*, the other at *Circæum*, a promontory on the coast of the *Tyrrhenian* sea. As for his fourth son *Lucius Tarquinius*, he kept him in *Rome*, he not being yet of an age to give him umbrage.

The books of the Sybyl.

The *Romans*, being now accustomed to the yoke of an imperious master, bore it with great patience, and allowed *Tarquin* to enjoy a profound peace. It was at this time, that an unknown woman appeared at court, loaded with nine volumes, which she offered to sell, but demanded a very considerable price. *Tarquin* refusing to purchase them at her rate, she withdrew and burnt three of them. Some time after she returned, and demanded the same price for the remaining six. She was therefore looked upon as a mad woman, and driven away with scorn. However, having burnt the half of them, she ventured to return a third time, asking as much for the remaining three as she had done for the whole nine. *Tarquin* surprized at the novelty of this proceeding, caused the books to be put into the hands of the augurs, who, finding them to be the oracles of the *Sibyl* of *Cuma*, declared them to be an invaluable treasure, and advised the king to buy the three at the same price, which the woman had asked for the nine. *Tarquin* followed their directions, and the woman, hav-

[1] Dio. Hal. p. 255. Liv. l. i. c. 54.

ing

ing received the ſum ſhe demanded, ſoon after diſappeared, having firſt exhorted the *Romans* to preſerve her books with great care. *Tarquin* appointed two perſons of diſtinction, ſtyled *Duumviri*, to be guardians of them (M); and ordered them to be locked up in a vault under the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, as ſoon as that building was finiſhed; and there they were kept, till they were burnt with the temple itſelf [m].

Rome ſtill continuing to enjoy peace, though the people were as much diſcontented as ever, *Tarquin*, in order to keep them employed, undertook the finiſhing of the temple of the capitol, which his grandfather had begun. He hired for this purpoſe architects and ſkilful workmen out of *Hetruria*, and obliged his own ſubjects to perform the laborious part, making them the drudges, as he had done in ſo many other undertakings. This temple, which was dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, ſtood on the top of the hill *Tarpeius*, made ſometime ſince a part of *Rome*. The original of the name of *Capitol* is by hiſtorians ſaid to be this: As the workmen were digging the foundations of the temple of *Jupiter*, they are ſaid to have found very deep in the earth *the head* of a man, whoſe features were preſerved intire, and the blood as red and freſh as if it had been but newly ſhed. The *Romans*, looking upon this as a prodigy, conſulted the augurs, who declared it to preſage, that *Rome* would ſome time or other become the miſ-

The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

[m] DIO. HAL. p. 259. VARRO apud Lactant.

(M) Theſe officers were afterwards increaſed to ten, and then to fifteen; and, as their numbers increaſed, were called *Decemviri*. *Qui decemviri, ſacris faciundis.* It was their buſineſs to conſult the *Sybilline* books, when the ſenate thought proper. But recourſe was never had to them, unleſs the republic was under, or threatened with, ſome great calamity; as when a dangerous ſedition was like to break out, when the *Roman* armies had been defeated, or when any of thoſe prodigies appeared, which were thought fatal to *Rome*. Then the *Duumviri* had the care of putting in execution whatever they thought commanded by the books of the *Sybils*. They alſo preſided over the ſacrifices and public ſports, which they appointed to appeaſe the wrath of heaven. And laſtly, they ordered every thing that related to the *Ludi Seculares*. Their office was for life, and they were exempted from taxes, and from all civil and military employments. This magiſtracy continued at *Rome* from the time of *Tarquin the Proud* to the reign of the emperor *Theodoſius*, when this and many other antient ſuperſtitions were intirely aboliſhed.

trefs

treſs and *head* of *Italy* (N). This anſwer encouraged *Tarquin* to ſpare no pains nor expence in raiſing a ſtructure to the honour of thoſe gods, who were the authors of ſo glorious a deſtiny. Accordingly the foundations were laid, and the temple built in a moſt ſtately manner. It ſtood upon eight acres of ground, and was two hundred foot broad, and about two hundred and fifteen long. The front of this magnificent ſtructure was to the ſouth, facing the hill *Palatinus* and the *Forum Romanum* m. An hundred ſteps led up to it from the forum, which were divided at certain diſtances by large landing-places. This front conſiſted of three rows of pillars, and the two ſides of the temple were adorned with a periſtyle, conſiſting of a double row of pillars. It was in after-ages burnt down more than once (O); but the *Romans* always rebuilt it, ſtill preſerving the ſame proportions. The whole arch of this prodigious building was gilt both within and without (P). It contained three chapels, or rather three temples, under the ſame roof, one dedicated to *Jupiter*, another to *Juno*, and the third to *Minerva* (Q). As this was a religious undertaking, the *Romans* aſſiſted *Tarquin* in carrying it on with more chearfulneſs than uſual; but the honour of putting the laſt hand to this ſtately work, and conſecrating it, was reſerved for a *Roman* conſul in the time of the republic.

(N) *Arnobius* tells us (73), that the name of the man, to whom this head belonged, was *Tolus*; ſo that the word *Capitol* is, according to him, compounded of *caput* and *Tolus*. Other writers ſay, that the hill *Tarpeius* was called *Capitol*, becauſe it was the *capital* or *chief fortreſs* in *Rome*.

(O) It was burnt in *Sylla*'s time by the negligence of thoſe who kept it; but *Sylla* rebuilt it in a more magnificent manner. It was burnt a ſecond time in the reign of *Vitellius*, and repaired by *Veſpaſian*. It underwent the ſame misfortune under *Titus*, and was rebuilt by *Domitian*; but always on the old foundations of *Tarquin*.

(P) The gilding of the whole arch of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was a work undertaken by the *Romans*, as *Pliny* informs us (74), after the deſtruction of *Carthage*. This undertaking, if *Plutarch* is to be credited (75), coſt twelve thouſand talents, a ſum, which ſeems to exceed all belief. The gates of the temple were of braſs, covered with large plates of gold. The inſide of the temple, and the columns which ſupported it, were all of marble.

(Q) The inſide of the temple was divided into three parts by two rows of columns, which made the nave and the two iſles. The nave formed the chapel of *Jupiter*, and the two iſles the chapels of *Juno* and *Minerva*.

(73) *Arnob. contra gentes. l.* vi. (74) *Plin. l.* xxxiii. (75) *Plut. in Octav.*

While

WHILE *Tarquin* and the *Romans* were thus employed, a cruel plague breaking out at *Rome*, the king ſent his two ſons, *Titus* and *Aruns*, to conſult the oracle of *Delphos* about the cauſe and cure of the contagion. The princes prepared magnificent preſents for *Apollo*, and *Junius Brutus*, who was to attend them for their amuſement, reſolved to carry his offering too. He was the ſon of that venerable patrician, whom *Tarquin* had cauſed to be murdered in the very beginning of his reign, and had long acted the part of an idiot at court, which procured him the name of *Brutus*. His affected follies had ſomething inexpreſſibly amuſing in them, and he knew how to make uſe of them at proper times, and ſuppreſs them when unſeaſonable. He had been brought up, ever ſince his father's death, in the king's palace, with the princes his couſins, who were greatly diverted with his follies. He was therefore appointed to attend them to *Delphos*. The preſent he choſe for the god was an elder-ſtick; which was matter of diverſion for the whole court. However, as he was well appriſed, that the gods of thoſe times, or their miniſters, were affected with the value of the preſents, he had the precaution to incloſe a rod of gold in his ſtick without any body's knowledge. This was a true ſymbol of his own mind and conduct; for he concealed the moſt valuable gifts of nature under a contemptible outſide. All things being got ready, they ſet out for *Delphos*, and the young princes, having executed their father's commands, inquired of the oracle, which of them ſhould be prince of *Rome?* The god anſwered, that the government of *Rome* was reſerved for him who ſhould firſt kiſs his mother; which the princes miſunderſtanding, agreed to do it both together, and reign jointly. But *Brutus* knowing the meaning of the oracle, as ſoon as they arrived in *Italy*, pretended to fall down by chance, and kiſſed the earth, the common mother of all men [n].

Tarquin *ſends his two ſons with* Brutus *to conſult the oracle of* Delphos.

THE two princes on their return to *Rome* found the city in a great commotion, on account of the war, which the king had declared with the *Rutuli*, under pretence that they had entertained ſome *Roman* exiles. He had already inveſted *Ardea* their metropolis, which lay ſixteen miles ſouth-eaſt of *Rome*. While they lay before this place, the officers, having a good deal of leiſure, uſed to make mutual entertainments for one another in their quarters. One day, when *Sextus Tarquinius* was entertaining his brothers, and his kinſman *Collatinus*, the converſation happened to turn upon the merit of their wives, every one extolling the good qualities of his own. This occaſioned a kind of quarrel, and, in order to end

[n] Idem ibid.

it, they agreed to mount their horſes, as they were heated with wine, and go and ſurprize their wives. She, whom they ſhould find employed in the manner moſt agreeable to her ſex, was by common conſent to have the preference. Away therefore they poſted firſt to *Rome*, where they found the king's daughters-in-law ſpending their time in feaſting and diverſions. From *Rome* they haſtened to *Collatia*, where they found *Lucretia*, the wife of *Collatinus*, in the midſt of her maids ſpinning, and working in wool, though the night was far advanced before their arrival. Hereupon they unanimouſly gave her the preference, and, after a noble entertainment, returned the next day to the camp before *Ardea*. *Sextus*, captivated with her beauty, found a pretence to return very ſoon to *Collatia*, where he was entertained by *Lucretia*, in her huſband's abſence, with great civility and reſpect. At midnight he found means to convey himſelf into her bed-chamber, approached her bed with his drawn ſword, and laying his hand on her breaſt, threatened her with preſent death, if ſhe offered to ſtir or ſpeak. *Lucretia* awaking, and ſeeing death ſo near, was in the greateſt confuſion imaginable, while *Sextus*, declaring his paſſion, endeavoured by intreaties, mixed with menaces, to make her yield to his deſires. But when he found that all was in vain, and that even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to conſent, he threatened her with ignominy, telling her, that if ſhe would not yield, he would firſt kill her, then lay one of her ſlaves dead by her ſide, and declare to all the world, that he had only revenged the injured honour of *Collatinus*. The dread of infamy got the better of *Lucretia*'s conſtancy; and *Sextus*, having obtained his wiſhes, returned early the next morning to the camp. *Lucretia*, not being able to endure the thoughts of life after the violence ſhe had ſuffered, wrote to her huſband to meet her at her father's houſe; and then came to *Rome* in her chariot. *Livy* tells us, that ſhe deſired her father and huſband to meet her at her own houſe. With her father *Lucretius* came *Publius Valerius*, afterwards *Poplicola*, and with her huſband *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and many other *Romans* of diſtinction; for *Lucretia* had acquainted them, that ſhe had an affair of the utmoſt conſequence to impart to them. When the aſſembly was pretty numerous, ſhe diſcloſed in few words the whole matter, declared her firm reſolution not to outlive the loſs of her reputation, and conjured them not to let the crime of *Sextus Tarquinius* go unpuniſhed. They all endeavoured to comfort her, telling her, that there could be no guilt where the heart was innocent. But the *Roman* heroine, embracing her father and huſband with a flood of tears, plunged a dagger, which ſhe had concealed

The rape of Lucretia.

concealed under her garment into her breaſt, and fell dead at their feet. While ſo tragical a ſight filled the ſpectators with grief and conſternation, *Brutus*, throwing off his long diſguiſe, drew near the body of *Lucretia*, and, ſnatching the poniard out of her boſom, told her relations there preſent, that tears and lamentations could never be heard, whilſt vengeance cried ſo loud. Then ſhewing the bloody poniard to the aſſembly, *I ſwear*, ſaid he, *by this blood, which was once ſo pure, and which nothing, but the deteſtable villainy of* Tarquin, *could have polluted, that I will purſue* Lucius Tarquinius the Proud, *his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and ſword; nor will ever ſuffer any of that family, or any other whatſoever, to reign at* Rome. *Ye gods, I call you to witneſs this my oath.* At theſe words he preſented the dagger to *Collatinus*, *Lucretius*, *Valerius*, and the reſt of the company, and engaged them to take the ſame oath. Theſe noble *Romans*, ſurprized at the ſudden and unexpected appearance of ſo much wiſdom in an idiot, thought him inſpired, and gave themſelves intirely up to his counſels. He then let them know, that his folly had been feigned, exhorted them to revenge the death of *Lucretia*, and encouraged them to ſhake off the ſhameful yoke, under which they had ſo long groaned. Finding them all reſolved to ſubmit to his conduct, and take what meaſures he ſhould judge moſt proper for the execution of the deſign, he commanded the gates to be ſhut, that all might be kept ſecret from *Tarquin*, till ſuch time as the people might be aſſembled, the dead body expoſed, and a public decree paſſed for the baniſhing of the king. The ſenate being aſſembled, no one oppoſed the baniſhment of *Tarquin*; but as they were divided in their opinions with reſpect to the new form of government, *Brutus* repreſented to them the abſolute neceſſity of coming to a ſpeedy reſolution, ſhewing them, that the regal power was not conſiſtent with the ſecurity of the ſtate and ſafety of the people, and therefore was not to be truſted with one man; but two were to be choſen, who ſhould govern with equal authority and power. Then, becauſe names alone gave ſome people offence, he adviſed them to change the name of kingdom for that of commonwealth, and inſtead of the title of king and monarch, to give thoſe, who ſhould govern, ſome more modeſt and popular name. He added, that the main thing to keep theſe magiſtrates in awe was to prevent their perpetual power, and that, if they were annual, after the manner of *Athens*, they might learn both how to obey, and how to command. Laſtly, that the name of king might not be wholly loſt, he was for

Brutus *procures the baniſhment of the* Tarquins.

giving it to one, who ſhould be charged with the care of religious matters, and be called *Rex Sacrorum* (R). This employment was to be for life, and attended with immunity from warfare; but the *Rex Sacrorum* ſhould only concern himſelf with thoſe religious rights, which the king had charge of before. The particulars of his ſpeech were all approved of by the ſenate; and a decree was immediately iſſued out, baniſhing the king and all his poſterity °.

Brutus having thus gained the ſenate, cauſed the yet bleeding *Lucretia* to be carried to the place where the comitia were uſually held; and placing the dead body where it might be ſeen by all, he ordered the people to be called together. When the multitude were aſſembled, he began his ſpeech to them by explaining the myſtery of his paſt conduct, and the neceſſity he had been under, for more than twenty years together, of counterfeiting folly, as the only means of preſerving his life, after the murder of his father and elder brother. Then he proceeded to acquaint them with the reſolution the patricians had taken to depoſe the tyrant, and preſſed them in the ſtrongeſt terms to concur in that deſign. He enumerated the many crimes which had rendered *Tarquin*

° Liv. l. i. 58, 59.

(R) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* gives us the following account of this inſtitution: Becauſe the kings, ſays he, had in a great many reſpects been ſerviceable to the ſtate, the founders of the commonwealth thought it very proper to keep always up the name of king in the city. Upon this account they ordered the augurs and pontifices to chuſe a fit perſon, who ſhould engage never to meddle with civil affairs, but devote himſelf wholly to the care of the public worſhip, and to the ceremonies of religion, with the title of *Rex Sacrorum* (75). *Livy* informs us, that this dignity was inferior to that of *Pontifex Maximus*, the eſtabliſhers of the commonwealth having made the *Rex Sacrorum* but a ſubordinate officer even in the affairs of religion, leſt the name of *king*, which had been formerly ſo odious to the people, ſhould ſtill in ſome meaſure prove prejudicial to their liberty (76). His wife was called *queen*, and was one of the chief prieſteſſes. None but patricians were admitted to this dignity. The *Rex Sacrorum* was always choſen in the comitia of the people, aſſembled in the *Campus Martius* by centuries. As he was not allowed to have any hand in civil affairs, when the uſual ſacrifices before the electing of magiſtrates or generals were over, he was obliged to withdraw. So jealous were the *Romans* even of the ſhadow, we may ſay, of a king.

(75) *Dio. Hal. l. v. antiq.* (76) *Liv. l. vi.*

odious

odious to his ſubjects; that he had poiſoned his own brother and wife, murdered his lawful ſovereign, and filled the common-ſewers with the bodies of the nobility; that he came to the throne as an uſurper, and continued on it as a tyrant; being treacherous to his beſt friends, and inhuman to all his ſubjects; that his three ſons were of a temper as tyrannical as himſelf, eſpecially the elder, of which they had a diſmal inſtance before their eyes; that ſince the king was abſent, and the patricians reſolved to ſhake off the yoke, neither men, money, nor foreign aid, ſhould be wanting, had they but courage for the enterprize. He urged in the end of his ſpeech, that it was ſhameful in them to think of commanding the *Volſci*, the *Sabines*, and other nations abroad, while they were ſlaves at home; and to maintain ſo many wars, in order to gratify the ambition of a tyrant, while they had not courage enough to undertake one for their own liberty. As for the army before *Ardea*, he told them, that he did not doubt, but they would readily join in whatever ſhould be agreed on in the city [P].

A common-wealth eſtabliſhed at Rome. Year after the Flood 2494. Before Chriſt 505. Of *Rome* 243.

THE multitude, tranſported with joy at the thoughts of liberty, gave their conſent with loud acclamations, and called out for arms. But *Brutus* did not think fit to arm the people, till they had confirmed by their ſuffrages the decree of the ſenate baniſhing *Tarquin*. This decree deprived him of all the prerogatives belonging to the regal authority, condemned him and all his poſterity to perpetual baniſhment, and devoted to the infernal gods every *Roman*, who ſhould by word or deed attempt his reſtoration. The curiæ being aſſembled and the decree propoſed, they were all unanimous in confirming it. And now the adminiſtration being reduced to an inter-regnum, *Lucretius* was by the ſuffrages of the people declared inter-rex; ſo that it was his buſineſs to prepare every thing for the election of the new magiſtrates. He therefore called the people together once more, not by curiæ, but by centuries, and directed them to come armed into the *Campus Martius*, in order to elect their new governors, who, according to the plan of government propoſed by *Brutus*, and approved by the people, were to be called *conſuls* (S). The inter-rex propoſed

[P] LIV. ibid. DIO. HAL. p. 276.

(S) *Pomponius* the civilian is of opinion, that the name of *conſul* was taken from the word *conſulere*; as ſignifying *to watch for the public good*. *Varro* derives it from the ſame word, but in a different ſignification, *viz.* as importing *to conſult* or *aſk counſel*; becauſe the intent

posed to the people *Junius Brutus*, the head of the conspiracy, and *Tarquinius Collatinus*, the husband of *Lucretia*; and they were unanimously elected to the new dignity, and proclaimed consuls. In the mean time *Tarquin*, being informed by some who had got out of the city before the gates were shut, that *Brutus* was raising commotions to his prejudice, hastened to *Rome*, attended only by his sons and a small number of his most trusty friends; for he was little apprehensive of a conspiracy carried on by one whom he despised as an idiot. But finding, to his great surprize, the gates shut, and the people in arms upon the walls, he returned with all possible expedition to the camp. There the army, during his short absence, had been gained over by the conspirators to their party. *Livy* tells us, that *Brutus* went in person to the camp, and that he arrived before *Ardea* at the same time that *Tarquin* appeared at the gates of *Rome*. Others

intent of those who first instituted the consuls was, that they should do nothing without the advice of the people and senate. The law, which placed them at the head of the republic, calls them *prætors* and *judges*. We have this law still remaining, as quoted by *Tully* in the third book of laws. When it was made in the *comitia*, which changed the monarchy into a republic, it was couched in the following words: *Reges imperio duo sunto, iique præeundo, judicando, & consulendo, prætores, judices, consules, appellentur. Militiæ summum jus habento. Nemini parento. Ollis salus populi summa lex esto.* They were indeed allowed the common use of the sceptre, crown, and an habit of distinction. But *Livy* assures us, that on the days of their triumphs, in the public sports, and at solemn sacrifices, they wore a crown of gold, an ivory staff or sceptre, and an habit striped with purple, as the kings did (77). *Valerius Maximus* (78) tells us, that they retained at first as many lictors as the kings, *viz.* twenty four; he adds, that the consul *Poplicola* reduced them to twelve. But each consul was not attended by twelve lictors, neither did they divide them so as to have six a-piece. They were only guarded by twelve lictors alternatively, each in his month. This ceremonial began with the two first consuls; the consul who was the oldest, or had most children, or most suffrages for the consulship, had the lictors the first month. *Brutus* was attended with the fasces before his collegue *Collatinus*, as appears from the following verse of *Virgil*:

Consulis imperium hic primus saevasque secures
Accipiet ——— (79).

(77) *Liv l. xxx.* (78) *Val. Max. l. vii.* (79) *Virgil. Æneid. l. vi.*

lay,

ſay, that the new conſuls ſent letters to the camp, giving an account of the reſolutions taken at *Rome*, and exhorting the troops to ſhake off the tyrannical yoke. However that be, it is certain, that, before *Tarquin* returned, the ſoldiers, being convened by centuries, had unanimouſly agreed to receive the decree paſſed in the city; ſo that when *Tarquin* returned, they refuſed to admit him. The tyrant, being thus driven from his capital and abandoned by his troops, was forced, at the age of ſeventy ſix, to fly with his wife and children to *Gabii*, or, as *Livy* will have it, to *Cære* in *Hetruria*. *Titus Herminius*, and *Marcus Horatius*, who commanded the army under *Tarquin*, made a truce with the *Rutuli* for fifteen years, and, having raiſed the ſiege of *Ardea*, returned to *Rome* with all their forces [q]. Thus ended the regal ſtate of *Rome*, two hundred and forty three, or two hundred and forty five, years, according to the common computation, after the building of the city (T); and a new

[q] DIO. HAL. ibid. LIV. l. i. c. 60.

(T) We have followed the common computation with regard both to the ſeven kings of *Rome* and to the fourteen kings of *Alba*. But we cannot help thinking Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s computations to be better grounded, and nearer the truth. We ſhall deliver his opinion in his own words: When the *Greeks* and *Latins*, ſays that writer, were forming their technical chronology, there were great diſputes about the antiquity of *Rome*. The *Greeks* made it much older than the olympiads; ſome of them ſaid it was built by *Æneas*, others by *Romus* the ſon or grandſon of *Latinus*, king of the *Aborigines*; others by *Romus* the ſon of *Ulyſſes*, or of *Aſcanius*, or of *Italus*; and ſome of the *Latins* fell in at firſt with the opinion of the *Greeks* ſaying, that it was built by *Romulus*, the ſon or grandſon of *Æneas*. *Timæus Siculus* repreſented it built by *Romulus*, the grandſon of *Æneas*, above an hundred years before the olympiads; and ſo did *Nævius* the poet, who was twenty years older than *Ennius*, and ſerved in the firſt *Punic* war, and wrote the hiſtory of that war. Hitherto nothing certain was agreed on; but about a hundred and forty or a hundred and fifty years after the death of *Alexander the Great*, they began to ſay, that *Rome* was built a ſecond time by *Romulus* in the fifteenth age after the deſtruction of *Troy*; by ages they meant the reigns of the *Latins* at *Alba*, and reckoned the firſt fourteen reigns at about four hundred and thirty two years, and the following reigns of the ſeven kings of *Rome* at two hundred and forty four years; both which numbers made up the time of about ſix hundred and ſeventy ſix years from the taking of *Troy*, according to thoſe chronologers; but

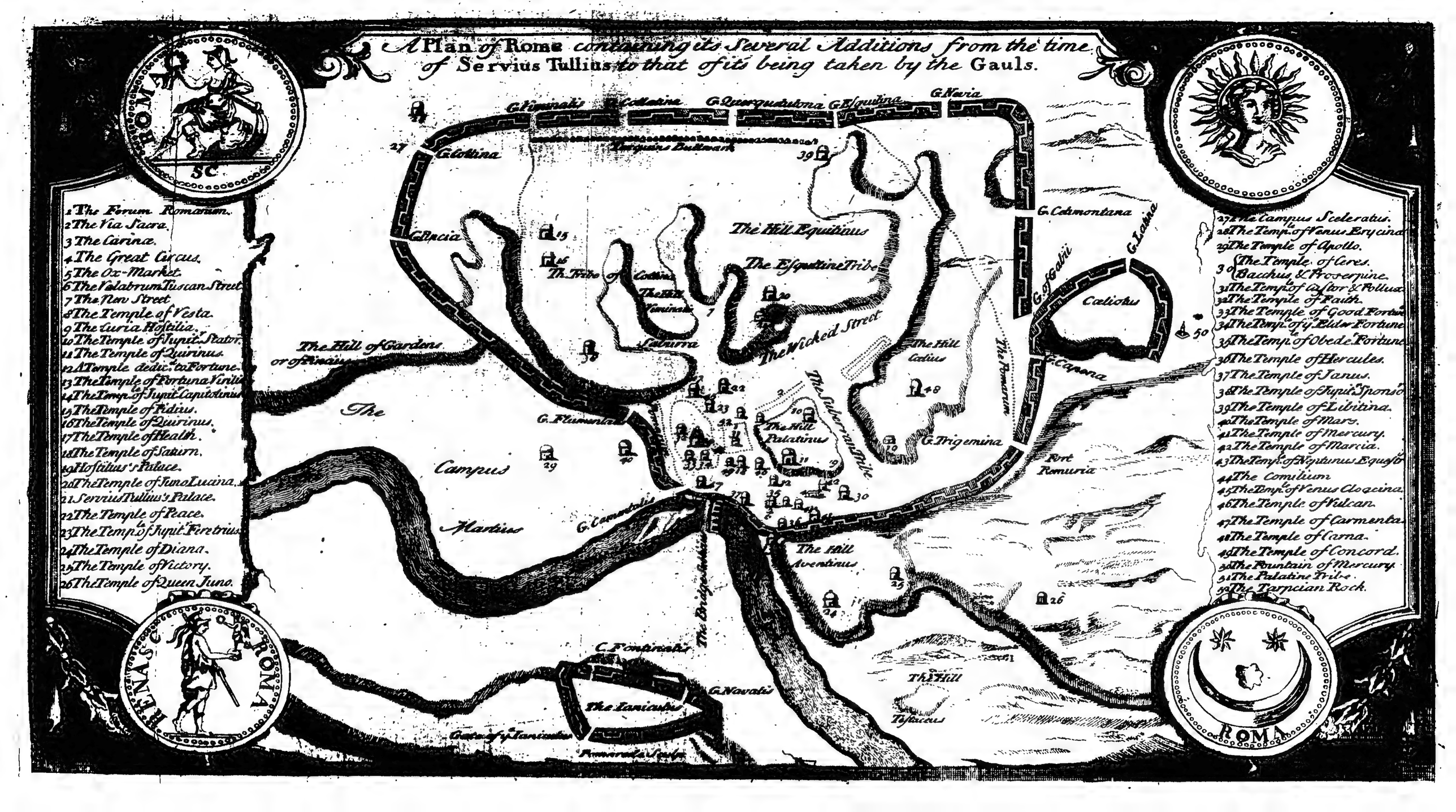
new form of government was introduced, which, without any conſiderable alteration, ſubſiſted till the times of the emperors.

but are much too long for the courſe of nature: and by this reckoning they placed the building of *Rome* upon the ſixth or the ſeventh olympiad. *Varro* placed it on the firſt year of the ſeventh olympiad, and was therein generally followed by the *Romans*. But this can ſcarce be reconciled to the courſe of nature; for I do not meet with any inſtance in all hiſtory, ſince chronology was certain, wherein ſeven kings, moſt of whom were ſlain, reigned two hundred and forty four years in continual ſucceſſion. The fourteen reigns of the kings of the *Latins* at twenty years a-piece, one with another, amount to two hundred and eighty years; and theſe, counted from the taking of *Troy*, and in the thirty eighth olympiad: and the ſeven reigns of the kings of *Rome*, four or five of them being ſlain, and one depoſed, may, at a moderate reckoning, amount to fifteen or ſixteen years a-piece, one with another. Let them be reckoned at ſeventeen years a piece, and they will amount to a hundred and nineteen years; which being counted backwards from the regifuge, end alſo in the thirty eighth olympiad: and by theſe two reckonings *Rome* was built in the thirty eighth olympiad, or thereabout. The two hundred and eighty years, and the hundred and nineteen years together make up three hundred and ninety nine years; and the ſame number of years ariſes by counting the twenty and one reigns at nineteen years a-piece: and this being the whole time between the taking of *Troy* and the regifuge, let theſe years be counted backward from the regifuge, *An* 1. olymp. 68, and they will place the taking of *Troy* about ſeventy four years after the death of *Solomon* (80). The death of *Solomon* Sir *Iſaac* places nine hundred and ſeventy nine years before Chriſt; ſo that the taking of *Troy* by the *Greeks*, after which *Æneas* began his voyages, will be about nine hundred and five years before Chriſt: and as he makes the building of *Carthage* by *Dido* to be eight hundred and eighty three before the chriſtian æra, there are, according to him, little more than twenty years between theſe two laſt-mentioned events. This computation clears *Virgil* from that monſtrous anachroniſm of near three hundred years, with which he has been ſo often reproached.

(80) *Sir* Iſaac Newton's *chron. p.* 128.

CHAP.

A Plan of Rome containing its Several Additions from the time of Servius Tullius to that of its being taken by the Gauls.



1 The Forum Romanum.
2 The Via Sacra.
3 The Carina.
4 The Great Circus.
5 The Ox-Market.
6 The Velabrum Tuscan Street.
7 The New Street.
8 The Temple of Vesta.
9 The Curia Hostilia.
10 The Temple of Jupit. Stator.
11 The Temple of Quirinus.
12 A Temple dedic. to Fortune.
13 The Temple of Fortuna Virili.
14 The Temp. of Jupit. Capitolinus.
15 The Temple of Fidius.
16 The Temple of Quirinus.
17 The Temple of Health.
18 The Temple of Saturn.
19 Hostilius's Palace.
20 The Temple of Juno Lucina.
21 Servius Tullius's Palace.
22 The Temple of Peace.
23 The Temp. of Jupit. Fretrius.
24 The Temple of Diana.
25 The Temple of Victory.
26 The Temple of Queen Juno.

27 The Campus Sceleratus.
28 The Temp. of Venus Erycina.
29 The Temple of Apollo.
30 The Temple of Ceres.
Bacchus & Proserpine.
31 The Temp. of Castor & Pollux.
32 The Temple of Faith.
33 The Temple of Good Fortune.
34 The Temp. of y. Blind Fortune.
35 The Temp. of Obede Fortune.
36 The Temple of Hercules.
37 The Temple of Janus.
38 The Temple of Jupit. Sponsor.
39 The Temple of Libitina.
40 The Temple of Mars.
41 The Temple of Mercury.
42 The Temple of Marcia.
43 The Temp. of Neptunus Equestr.
44 The Comitium
45 The Temp. of Venus Cloacina.
46 The Temple of Vulcan.
47 The Temple of Carmenta.
48 The Temple of Lara.
49 The Temple of Concord.
50 The Fountain of Mercury.
51 The Palatine Tribe.
52 The Tarpeian Rock.

CHAP. III.

The conſular ſtate of Rome, *from the beginning of that government to the burning of the city by the* Gauls.

ROME enjoyed a profound peace in the beginning of the new government. The army, which had ſerved under *Tarquin* before *Ardea*, being returned to the city, the conſuls, ſuſpecting they might preſerve ſome inclination for their general, called them together in the *campus Martius*, and, after having exhorted them to concord, they cauſed the decree, which was paſſed againſt the *Tarquins*, to be renewed in their preſence. After this, the conſuls, ſtanding before the altars, on which the intrails of the victims had been offered, took an oath in the name of their children and all their poſterity, that they would never replace either *Tarquin* or his ſons, or any of his family, on the throne, nor create any other king of *Rome*, nor ſuffer any to be elected. Then the conſuls made the people take the ſame oath, and proceeded, after that ſolemn ceremony was over, to the election of a *Rex Sacrorum*, when *Manius Papirius*, a man of patrician extraction, was by the ſuffrages of the people raiſed the firſt to that dignity. The conſuls having now nothing to fear from the people, who were reſtored to all their antient rights, employed their thoughts about ſecuring the ſenators, among whom *Valerius* had great intereſt. He had expected to be named conſul at the firſt election; and the preference, which the people gave to *Collatinus*, had diſpleaſed him to ſuch a degree, that he had abſented himſelf from the ſenate, and public affairs; inſomuch, that he began to be ſuſpected of favouring the baniſhed king. But the public apprehenſion ceaſed, when he appeared in the ſenate on the day appointed for the ſenators to take the ſame oath which

The conſuls and people ſwear, that they will never ſuffer the Tarquins, *or any other to reign at* Rome.

people had taken. He then ſignalized anew his love for liberty, and ſwore the firſt, that he would never favour the pretenſions of the *Tarquins*, nor ſuffer them, or any other, ever to reign at *Rome*[r].

The inhabitants of Tarquinii *ſend an embaſſy to* Rome *in favour of the* Tarquins.

THUS *Rome* was in tranquillity at home, but *Tarquin* was raiſing her many enemies abroad. He had made *Tarquinii* in *Hetruria* his place of reſidence, and prevailed upon the inhabitants to ſend an embaſſy to *Rome*, with a letter from him to the *Roman* people. The embaſſadors delivered the letter to the ſenate, demanding that it might be read to the people aſſembled in the comitia. But *Valerius* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed ſo dangerous a proceeding, and, by his intereſt in the ſenate, defeated the firſt attempt of the artful *Tarquin*. As this body of the new commonwealth was above all others concerned to exclude kings, by whom they had been kept in a ſtate of dependence, the conſuls thought it neceſſary to reſtore the ſenate to its antient majeſty, and to gain the reſpect of the people, as well by the number of the ſenators, as by their dignity. With this view the antient number of three hundred was once more completed, the vacant places being filled up by men of prudence and intereſt, choſen from among the *Roman* knights. Theſe new ſenators were called *Conſcripti*, that is, *perſons written* or *inrolled on the ſame liſt*, for they were added to the old ſenators.

BUT though *Tarquin* himſelf was hated both by the people and patricians, yet his ſons had a great number of young debauchees in their intereſt. The *Tarquins* building their hopes on theſe young noblemen, who regretted the loſs of their companions, and the ſupporters of their extravagance, prevailed with the *Tarquinienſes* to ſend a ſecond embaſſy to *Rome*, under pretence of demanding the eſtates of the exiles; but in reality to ſtir up a faction againſt the conſuls. The embaſſadors being admitted into the ſenate, ſpoke with great modeſty and reſerve; they only deſired, that the king might have his paternal eſtate reſtored to him, that at leaſt, which had been tranſmitted to him by his grandfather *Tarquinius Priſcus*, who had deſerved no ill treatment at their hands. *Collatinus* was for complying with the demand, ſince the king promiſed, in caſe it was complyed with, never to attempt the recovery of the kingdom by force of arms. But *Brutus* oppoſed the demand, thinking it no good policy to furniſh an enemy with money, which, without all doubt, would be employed againſt themſelves. The affair being at laſt referred to the people,

[r] Dio. Hal. l. v. p. 279.

it

it was carried by one vote in the comitia, that the *Tarquins* ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of their paternal eſtates [c].

WHILE the people were employed in loading carriages with the effects of the exiles, and ſelling what could not be carried off, the embaſſadors laid hold of that opportunity, to engage ſome young noblemen in a plot againſt the conſuls. Among theſe were three of the *Aquilian* family, the ſons of *Collatinus*'s ſiſter, and two *Vitellii*, whoſe ſiſter *Brutus* had married. The latter engaged in the ſame conſpiracy *Titus* and *Tiberius*, the two ſons of *Brutus*. The conſpirators met at the houſe of the *Aquilii*, and there the reſolution of putting the conſuls to death, and letting the *Tarquins* into the city by night, was taken in the preſence of the embaſſadors. They all bound themſelves by ſolemn oaths, with the deteſtable ceremony of drinking the blood of a murdered man, and ſwearing over his trembling bowels, that they would do all that lay in their power to deſtroy the conſuls and reſtore the king. After the ceremony was over, each of them wrote a letter to the king, as an authentic proof of their zeal for his intereſt, and put them into the hands of the embaſſadors. But, in ſpite of all the precaution uſed by the conſpirators to keep the ſecret from their ſervants, *Vindicius*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Vindex*, a ſlave of the *Aquilii*, ſuſpecting his maſter's deſign, ſtaid at the door of the apartment, and through a crevice ſaw all the myſteries of the conſpiracy. However, he was afraid to diſcloſe the ſecret to either of the conſuls, apprehending that *Brutus*, to ſave his ſons, and *Collatinus*, to ſecure the lives of his nephews, might think fit to deſtroy the ſingle evidence of their crime. He went therefore ſtrait to *P. Valerius*, whoſe houſe was always open to the meaneſt of the people, and unburdened his mind to him. *Valerius* took the ſlave under his protection, and having ſhut him up in a room under the care of his wife, he went out attended by his friends, clients, and domeſtics, whom he divided into two bands; one he poſted, under the conduct of his brother *M. Valerius*, at the entrance of the houſe of the *Aquilii*, while he himſelf with a ſtrong guard entered the apartment of the embaſſadors, who lodged in the ſame houſe, and there found and ſeized the letters, which the conſpirators had writ the night before. As he was coming out, he met the *Aquilii*, who being ſurprized to ſee him, and ſuſpecting that their letters were ſeized, endeavoured to force them from him. But all their endeavours were in vain; for *Valerius* not only kept them, but with the aſſiſtance of his attendants, took all

The embaſſadors engage ſome of the young patricians in a plot.

The plot is diſcovered.

[c] DIO. HAL. ibid. p. 281, 282. LIV. l. ii. c. 3. PLUT. in Poplic.

the heads of the conſpiracy priſoners. *M. Valerius*, his brother, had alſo the good luck to intercept other letters, concealed among ſome cloaths, which the domeſtics of the *Aquilii* were carrying away [t].

Early the next morning, the people were ſummoned to the *Comitia*, where *Brutus* and his collegue ſat on the tribunal of juſtice. The priſoners, being brought before their judges, were, one after another, tied to ſtakes with their hands bound behind them. This was ſo melancholy a ſight, that the people could ſcarce refrain from tears, when they beheld in that condition the ſons of *Brutus*, whom they looked upon as their d liverer. The minds of the multitude were in ſuſpence about the ſentence, which the conſuls were to pronounce, the one againſt his ſons, the other againſt his nephews. But *Brutus*, without betraying the leaſt concern, began the trial with the examination of his ſons. *Vindicius* appeared againſt them; and his teſtimony was found unanſwerable. Then *Brutus* ordered the letters to be read, which his ſons had wrote to the *Tarquins*. The proof being clear, the priſoners made no defence but with their tears. Titus, ſaid he, ſpeaking coldly to the two priſoners without calling them ſons, *and you*, Tiberius, *what have you to offer in your defence?* They were thrice called upon to make their defence; but tears were ſtill their only anſwer. Upon which the greater part of the ſenators were moved with compaſſion, and a confuſed murmur was heard among them, *baniſh them*; *baniſh them*. *Collatinus* wept, and *Valerius*, ſevere as he was, did not utter a ſingle word. This favourable diſpoſition gave the two guilty youths ſome hopes. But the whole aſſembly trembled, and expected the deciſion with horror. As the two criminals offered nothing in their defence, *Brutus* at length roſe up to give ſentence. Upon which enſued a profound ſilence, every one preſent being concerned for the young men as for their own children. But *Brutus* with a ſteady voice, not interrupted by a ſingle ſigh, turning to the lictors, who were the executioners, *To you, lictors*, ſaid he, *I deliver them, execute the law upon them.* At theſe words a loud ſhriek was heard in the aſſembly, diſtreſs ſhewed itſelf in every face, and the mournful looks of the people pleaded for pity. But the conſul ſhewing no regard to their tears, the whole aſſembly cried out, with one voice, *We give them back to their country and to their family.* But neither theſe interceſſions, nor the bitter lamentations of the young men, who called upon their father with the moſt indearing names, could ſoften the inflexible judge. He would not even abate of the puniſhment which was in ſuch

Brutus *condemns his own ſons to death.*

[t] Dio. Hal. p. 283. Put. in Poplic.

caſes

cases inflicted on the greateſt criminals. The lictors ſeized them, and having ſtripped them naked, and tied their hands behind them, they firſt beat them with rods, and then ſtruck off their heads, *Brutus* all the time gazing on the cruel ſpectacle, with a ſteady look, and an unaltered countenance. When this execution was over, *Brutus* came down from the tribunal, quitted the comitia, and left the reſt of the criminals to the diſcretion of his collegue [u]. *Collatinus*, inclined to ſpare his nephews, allowed them one day to clear themſelves, and even ordered, that *Vindicius* ſhould be taken out of the hands of the accuſers, and delivered up to his maſters. This rouzed the zeal of *Valerius*, who had promiſed to protect the evidence. The lictors attempted in vain to force the important witneſs from him, and the people called for *Brutus*, inſiſting upon his coming back to the comitia. The unfortunate father had had but a few minutes to recollect himſelf, and ſecretly bewail the misfortunes of his family. However, he appeared again with the ſame firmneſs of mind he had ſhewn before, and, aſcending the tribunal, told the multitude, that what he had done was by virtue of his paternal authority over his children; but that for the reſt of the delinquents, it belonged to them to determine their fate, and either condemn his ſeverity by inſtances of lenity, or approve his firmneſs by examples of juſtice.

Collatinus *is inclined to ſpare his nephews.*

THUS three articles of great importance to the riſing commonwealth were left to the deciſion of the curiæ, *viz.* 1. What puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the reſt of the conſpirators; 2. What puniſhment the embaſſadors of the *Tarquinienſes* had deſerved; 3. What reward ſhould be given to the diſcoverer of the conſpiracy. As to the firſt, they determined, that the conſpirators ſhould, without exception, ſuffer as rebels; which decree was accordingly executed. As to the ſecond, the embaſſadors were ſpared out of reſpect to the law of nations. In the third place, it was decreed, that *Vindicius* ſhould enjoy that liberty which he had ſecured to the *Romans* (U), and beſides, that he ſhould be rewarded with all the

But they are executed.

[u] DIO. HAL. & PLUT. ibid.

(U) It is commonly believed, that the *Latin* phraſe, *vindicare in libertatem*, that is, *to ſet free*, had its riſe from the name of *Vindicius*. Some indeed derive it from the word *vindicta*, which ſignifies *a wand*, with which the prætor uſed to ſtrike the ſlave, whoſe maſter had a mind to ſet him at liberty. But in all likelihood the *vindicta*, or *wand* itſelf, took its name from *Vindicius*. The ceremony of granting freedoms publicly was thus performed: the ſlave was brought before the conſul, and in after-ages before the

the privileges of a *Roman* citizen, and with twenty five thouſand aſſes of braſs, to be paid him out of the public treaſury. And now, though the people had formerly decreed, that the eſtates of the *Tarquins* ſhould be reſtored to them, the ſenate refuſed to the declared enemies of *Rome* thoſe means which they deſigned to make uſe of for its deſtruction; ſo that their palace, with its beautiful portico, was deſtroyed, and their lands diſtributed among thoſe indigent citizens who had none of their own. The public kept only a piece of ground, lying between the city and the *Tiber*, and bordering on the *campus Martius*, which the king had, by an incroachment on the city, added to his demeſnes, and cultivated for his own profit. This piece of ground was conſecrated to *Mars*, and became afterwards a common field, where the *Roman* youth exerciſed themſelves in running and wreſtling. After the field was conſecrated, the *Romans* ſcrupled making any advantage of the corn, which they found ready reaped to their

the prætor, by his maſter, who, laying his hand upon his ſlave's head, ſaid to the prætor, *hunc hominem liberum eſſe volo*, and with that took him by *the hand*, and immediately let go his hold; whence came the *Latin* word *manumiſſio*, and the phraſe *e manu emittere*. Then he gave him a blow on the cheek, and preſented him to the conſul or prætor, who ſtriking him gently with his *vindicta* or *wand*, pronounced theſe words, *aio te liberum eſſe more Quiritium*. Hence *Perſius*,

Vindicta poſtquam meus a prætore receſſit.

This ceremony being ended, the ſlave was regiſtered upon the roll of freed-men. Then he was ſhaved, and received a cap in token of his liberty. But this ceremony of taking the cap was performed in the temple of *Feronia*, the goddeſs of freed-men In this temple there was a ſeat of ſtone with this inſcription, *Bene meriti ſervi ſedeant, ſurgant liberi.* The *pileus*, or *cap*, was among the *Romans*, as is well known, a ſymbol of liberty. Another way of conferring freedom was by teſtament. A ſlave was ſaid to be free by teſtament, when his maſter, in conſideration of his faithful ſervice, had left him free by his laſt will. This kind of *liberti* or *freed-men* were ſtyled *Orcini*, becauſe their maſters were gone to *Orcus*, or *the infernal regions* In alluſion to this cuſtom, thoſe ſenators were merrily diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Senatores Orcini*, who, upon the death of *Julius Cæſar*, thruſt themſelves into the ſenate without any juſt claim to the ſenatorial dignity (81). From theſe two manners of conferring freedom came the *Latin* expreſſions, *liber manumiſſione, liber teſtamento.*

(81) *Suet. in Octav. c.* 35.

hands,

hands, and therefore threw it, together with the trees which encompaſſed the field, into the *Tiber*. The water being at that time very low, the trees and ſheaves of corn, ſtopping in a muddy place, began to form that iſland, which, from the many temples built on it, was afterwards called the *holy iſland* w (W).

IN the mean time, the weakneſs which *Collatinus* had betrayed at the trial of the conſpirators, had turned the ſuſpicions, which the people entertained of him, into hatred. *Brutus*, obſerving this, took the advantage of the diſpoſition of the multitude to get him depoſed. In a numerous aſſembly of the people he made a ſpeech, in which he bitterly inveighed againſt him, as if he had attempted the deſtruction of that liberty, which his honour obliged him to defend. He ended his harangue with theſe words; 'His ſoliciting you to 'reſtore to the enemies of *Rome* their eſtates, and to grant 'impunity to cruel conſpirators, have unmasked a partiſan 'of the *Tarquins*, concealed under the appearance of a con'ſul. Let us prevent, O *Romans*, the evils, which a do'meſtic enemy is preparing for us. Let us deprive him of 'that authority which he abuſes, and wreſt that ſword out 'of his hand, with which he threatens us. In my judgment 'he ought to be depoſed. I therefore order you to aſſemble 'by curiæ, to determine by your ſuffrages, whether *Col*'*latinus* or *Brutus* is to be your conſul, you cannot have 'both; for I from this moment renounce the conſulſhip, if '*Collatinus* is to ſhare the government with me.' Theſe words made ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of the multitude, that they would not hear *Collatinus*, when he began to ſpeak in his own defence. His only reſource was to forbid the people, by virtue of his authority as conſul, to hold the aſſembly, which his collegue had appointed; but this prohibition was a new provocation, which raiſed the indignation of the people to ſuch a height, that they cried out to have their votes inſtantly taken, and were going to depoſe *Collatinus* with ignominy, and baniſh him by a public decree. But

w DIO. HAL. & PLUT. ibid.

(W) The *Romans* built ſeveral temples on this iſland, particularly three frequently ſpoke of by the antients, *viz* one dedicated to *Faunus*, another to *Jupiter*, and the third to *Æſculapius*, which was a very magnificent ſtructure. From theſe temples it was called *the ſacred iſland*. It was joined to the city, and to the *Janiculum* by two bridges, whence it took the name of *the iſland of the two bridges*.

Spurius

Spurius Lucretius, his father-in-law, having obtained leave of the conſuls to ſpeak to the aſſembly, adviſed *Collatinus* voluntarily to reſign into the hands of the people that authority which he had received from them. Then he exhorted *Brutus* not to inſiſt on the diſgraceful baniſhment of a colleague who, jointly with him, had been one of the principal authors of the common liberty, adding, that if *Collatinus* ſhould of his own accord, diveſt himſelf of the conſulſhip, it would be but reaſonable, that the *Romans* ſhould mitigate the uneaſineſs of his voluntary retirement by their liberality, ſo as to enable him to ſupport the dignity of a *Roman* conſul in his retirement. This advice was received with univerſal applauſe. *Collatinus* reſigned the conſulſhip; and *Brutus*, after having commended his wiſdom, to ſhew that he had no perſonal enmity to him, procured him a preſent of twenty talents out of the public treaſury, to which he added five talents of his own. *Collatinus* retired to *Lavinium*, where he led a quiet life, and died in a very advanced age [z] (X).

Collatinus is forced to abdicate the conſulſhip.

[z] Dio. Hal. p. 287. Plut. ibid.

(X) *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* differs in his account of this whole matter from *Plutarch*, whom we have followed, thinking his relation of theſe tranſactions more agreeable to the temper of *Brutus*. The former writer tells us, that *Brutus*, immediately after the execution of his children, cauſed the *Aquilii* to be brought before him, and gave them leave to make their defence; and that they, after their letters were read aloud, having recourſe to tears and entreaties only, owned the crimes that were laid to their charge. Whereupon the inflexible *Brutus* ordered the lictors to ſeize them, and execute the law upon them. *Collatinus* ſuſpended the execution, and made the warmeſt remonſtrances in favour of the conſpirators; but being piqued at the obſtinacy of *Brutus*, he had recourſe to his authority, and pardoned the criminals. This ſo exaſperated *Brutus*, that he committed the *Aquilii* to priſon, in ſpite of the oppoſition of his collegue, and accuſed him before the people of treaſon and perfidiouſneſs. *Collatinus* finding the people obſtinately bent againſt him, and thoſe whoſe defence he had undertaken, thought he could no longer exerciſe the office of conſul with dignity, and therefore abdicated. *Brutus*, upon his abdication, put all thoſe to death, who had been any-ways concerned in the conſpiracy. *Livy* ſays, that *Collatinus* was obliged to lay down the conſulſhip, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had the misfortune to be deſcended from the *Tarquins*. The ſame author places the conſpiracy of the *Vitellii* and *Aquilii* in the conſulſhip of

Brutus

Brutus, that the people might have no room to ſuſpect that he intended to govern ſingly, immediately aſſembled the people by centuries in the *campus martius*, for the election of a new conſul, when *Publius Valerius* was choſen, a man remarkable for his eloquence, for the talent of reconciling differences, an exceſſive abſtemiouſneſs, ſeverity to himſelf, and compaſſion for the miſeries of other men (Y). As the two conſuls were equally eminent for their love of virtue and of the public good, there was a perfect harmony between them. They began their adminiſtration by paſſing a law, which granted a general amneſty to all thoſe who had followed the fortune of the *Tarquins*, provided they returned to the city within twenty days. This wiſe precaution deprived the baniſhed king of a great number of friends and ſoldiers, and brought back to *Rome* many perſons of eminent parts [y]. However, *Tarquin* was not ſo diſcouraged by the deſertion of the *Romans*, as to loſe all hopes of recovering the kingdom, and getting by force what he could not carry by ſtratagem. He had recourſe to the *Veientes*, the old enemies of *Rome*, and having engaged them and the *Tarquinienſes* to unite their forces in the ſupport of his cauſe, he advanced towards *Rome*. The conſuls, without delay, marched out to meet him. *Brutus* commanded the horſe, and *Valerius*

P. Valerius *is choſen to ſucceed him.*

The Tarquinienſes *and* Veientes *declare for* Tarquin.

[y] DION. HALICAR. p. 288.

Brutus and *Valerius*, after *Collatinus* was depoſed; but therein he is contradicted both by *Plutarch* and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, who place the circumſtances of the conſpiracy in the order we have related them.

(Y) *Valerius* was originally a *Sabine*, and ſtill preſerved that auſterity of manners, which was profeſſed in the country of his anceſtors. The firſt of his family, who ſettled at *Rome*, was *Valerius Voleſus*, or, as *Feſtus* and the *Faſti Capitolini* call him, *Veluſus*. *Plutarch* gives him the honour of negotiating the peace between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. *Valerius Voleſus*, the father of *P. Valerius*, left him a great eſtate, the beſt part of which he applied to the relief of the indigent in the time of the kings, when his liberality could not proceed from any hopes of preferment. He was a man of great eloquence, conſidering the ruſticity of the *Romans* in thoſe days; but is ſaid never to have made uſe of the art of perſuaſion but to defend the oppreſſed, as he made no other uſe of his great wealth, but to relieve the miſerable. However, he was not free from ambition, and had taken it very much amiſs, that the people, in the former election, had preferred to him one of the blood of the *Tarquins*.

the foot, drawn up in a ſquare battalion. When the two armies were in ſight of one another, a motion was made on both ſides to begin the onſet. *Brutus* advanced with his cavalry, and *Aruns*, one of *Tarquin*'s ſons, at the ſame time came forward at the head of the enemy's horſe. *Aruns* no ſooner diſcovered *Brutus*, attended with lictors, but inflamed with rage, he cried out, *There he is, the enemy of my family, the uſurper of my father's throne.* This ſaid, he puſhed on his horſe, and *Brutus* flew to meet him. As the two champions were hurried on more by hatred and rage, than the love of glory, paſſion left no room on either ſide for ſkill or precaution. They ruſhed on to the encounter with ſuch fury, that they were both run through the body. Their horſes, meeting each other with a violent ſhock, threw their dying riders; and the death of theſe generals was the prelude to the battle, which continued till night with dubious ſucceſs, it not being known in either camp which ſide had gained the victory, or which had loſt the greater number of men; but in the night the *Hetrurians*, being terrified by a voice, which was heard out of the neighbouring wood of *Arſia*, declaring the *Romans* conquerors, without doubt a ſtratagem of *Valerius*, abandoned their camp in great confuſion, diſbanded, and returned into their own country. Hereupon *Valerius*, remaining maſter of the field, plundered the enemy's camp; and, having cauſed the ſlain to be numbered, found, that the *Hetrurians* had loſt eleven thouſand three hundred men, and the *Romans* but one man ſhort of that number. For this victory *Valerius* triumphed on his return to the city, after a more magnificent manner than any before him. Soon after he buried his collegue *Brutus* with great pomp, and gave *Rome* the firſt example of thoſe funeral orations, which were ever after made in commendation of great men. The women diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, for looking upon *Brutus* as the avenger of the honour of their ſex, they mourned for him a whole year (Z). As *Valerius* deferred ſome time convening

Brutus *ſlain in the engagement.*

(Z) *Brutus* is deſervedly counted by all the antients among the moſt illuſtrious heroes we find mentioned in hiſtory. He reſtored liberty to his country, ſecured it with the blood of his own ſons, and died in defending it againſt an uſurper. The *Romans* looked upon him as a ſecond founder of their city, and owned, that he had undergone more hardſhips and dangers in eſtabliſhing the commonwealth, than *Romulus* had done in founding the kingdom The *Romans* afterwards erected his ſtatue in the capitol, where he was placed in the midſt of the kings of *Rome*, with a naked ſword

vening the centuries for the election of a new conſul, the *Romans*, who carried their love of liberty to an exceſs, began to put a bad conſtruction upon his delays; and their jealouſy was in ſome meaſure countenanced by his building at that time a fine houſe, on a ſteep part of the hill *Palatinus*, which commanded the forum. But *Valerius*, being informed of their uneaſineſs, cauſed the houſe to be levelled with the ground the very next night; and having called the people together as ſoon as it was day, expoſtulated with them about their groundleſs ſuſpicions, bid them go ſee the ruins of that building which had given them umbrage, and told them, that he deſigned to fix his habitation in the valley, that they might, from the top of the hill, cruſh him with ſtones, if he was ſtill the object of their jealouſy. When he had ended his ſpeech, he ordered the comitia to aſſemble for the election of a new conſul. On this occaſion *Rome* gave a freſh proof of her gratitude to the firſt authors of her liberty; for *Sp. Lucretius*, the father of *Lucretia*, was unanimouſly choſen to ſucceed *Brutus*. He was the only perſon who remained unrewarded of the four patricians, who had bound themſelves by oath to deliver their country from ſlavery. He was therefore pitched upon for the conſular dignity; but the new conſul died a few days after his election, ſo that *Valerius* was once more ſole governor. And now the many proofs which he gave the people of his zeal for their intereſt, gained him the name of *Popli-cola*, or *Popular*, which he ever after retained. He began his adminiſtration by ordering the axes, which were ſo apt to ſtrike terror, to be taken out of the faſces, which he obliged the lictors to lower in the aſſemblies of the people. He made ſeveral laws in favour of the people, which greatly retrenched the conſular power. By one he allowed an appeal from the conſuls to the people. By another he exempted artificers, widows, and old men, who had no children to relieve them, from paying tribute. A third law preſcribed an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the orders of the conſuls; but limited the fine laid upon thoſe who diſobeyed them, to the value of five oxen and two rams. He alſo publiſhed a fourth, making it lawful to kill, without waiting for a legal condemnation, any perſon who ſhould aſpire to the ſovereign power. Impunity was promiſed to the murderer, provided he could prove

Valerius gets the name of Poplicolæ or Popular

His laws in favour of the people.

ſword in his hand. It plainly appears, that he left no iſſue; and yet *Tully* mentions *Marcus Brutus* one of the chief conſpirators againſt *Cæſar*, as lineally deſcended from the firſt conſul; but herein he is contradicted by moſt of the antients, who tell us, that *Junius Brutus* left no children behind him.

the ill deſigns of the perſon he had killed. The laſt law he enacted was, with relation to the public money, which he ordered to be removed from his own houſe to the temple of *Saturn*, where it was committed to the care of two ſenators of probity, choſen by the people, and afterwards called *quæſtors* [z] (A). *Poplicola* had no ſooner enacted theſe laws, and made

[z] Liv. l. ii. c. 7.

(A) According to *Plutarch*, there were no quæſtors in *Rome* till *Poplicola*'s time; and this office was originally annexed to that of the conſuls, or rather a branch of it. But *Ulpian*, on the contrary, pretends, and quotes ſeveral authors to ſupport his opinion, that there were quæſtors even in *Tullus Hoſtilius*'s reign. To reconcile theſe two opinions, it is to be obſerved, that the name of quæſtors among the *Romans* had two different ſignifications; ſometimes it ſignified commiſſioners, by whom capital crimes were cognizable, and ſometimes magiſtrates, who were put in commiſſion for managing the public money. *Ulpian* might ſpeak of the former ſort of quæſtors, as being in the time of the kings; and *Plutarch* of the other, which was introduced by *Poplicola* in the time of the common-wealth. The office of the quæſtors was to take care of the public treaſure, for which they were accountable when their year was out; for their office laſted no longer; to furniſh the neceſſary ſums for the ſervice of the public; and to receive embaſſadors, attend them, and provide them with lodgings and other neceſſaries. When the army returned from any war, the military enſigns were put into their hands, to be depoſited by them in the temple of *Saturn* A general could not obtain the honours of a triumph, till he had given them a faithful account of the ſpoils taken from the enemy, and ſwore to it. Tho' the quæſtors had no *juriſdiction*, that is, could not cite any perſon to appear before them, or impriſon a man; *Neque vocationem, neque prehenſionem habebant, atque ad prætorem in jus vocari poterant*, ſays *Aulus Gellius* (82); yet the moſt illuſtrious patricians, and even thoſe who had been conſuls, did not think this office beneath them. We find in the antient annals, that *Titus Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *M. Valerius* were quæſtors, after they had enjoyed the honour of the conſulſhip three times *Cato* the elder accepted the quæſtorſhip after he had triumphed, and diſcharged the firſt and moſt honourable employments of the republic. There were at firſt two quæſtors only, and thoſe of the patrician order; but, as their buſineſs increaſed, it was thought adviſeable to create two more, whoſe province was confined to the paying of the armies abroad, and the ſelling of the plunder and booty. When this regulation came to be paſſed into a law by the people, the tribunes inſiſted, that it ſhould not paſs, but upon condition,

(82) *Aul. Gell. l.* xiii. *c.* 13.

that

made ſeveral other regulations very advantageous for the people, but he aſſembled the comitia for the election of a new conſul,

that two of the four quæſtors ſhould be plebeians. This the ſenate and conſuls oppoſed at firſt, but were at length obliged to yield to the demands of the tribunes. Theſe new quæſtors were called *quæſtores conſulares*, *militares*, and *peregrini* They attended the *Roman* armies, paid the troops, and ſold the ſpoils and priſoners taken from the enemy. The other quæſtors were called *quæſtores ærarii* and *urbani*, becauſe they were quæſtors of the treaſury, and reſided at *Rome* In the laſt conſulſhip of *Fabius Gurges*, that is, about the year of *Rome* 488, the great increaſe of the republic cauſed the number of the quæſtors to be doubled. The four new ones were called *provincial quæſtors*; and each of them had his province, where he reſided, thoſe parts of *Italy*, which were ſubject to *Rome*, being divided into four large provinces or diſtricts. The provincial quæſtors were afterwards multiplied, in proportion as the republic inlarged her conqueſts. The *military quæſtors*, and the *urbani*, or thoſe who reſided in *Rome*, had neither curule chairs, nor lictors, nor *apparitores*, nor any other marks of diſtinction annexed to their office; nay, they were obliged to appear before the prætor, when ſummoned by the meaneſt of the citizens; but the provincial quæſtors, to increaſe the ſtate of the *Roman* people, were allowed to appear in their provinces with the *pretexta*, and guarded by lictors with their faſces This is plain from ſeveral paſſages in *Tully*. In his third oration againſt *Verres*; *The two* Sicilian *quæſtors*, ſays he, *came before me with their faſces*; and in his oration for *Plancius*, he acknowledges it as a favour, that *Plancius*, tho' then quæſtor, came to receive him at *Dyrrachium* without his lictors and the uſual marks of his dignity. The office of the provincial quæſtors was to take the ſame care of the revenues of the provinces, which the *quæſtors ærarii* had of the revenues at *Rome*. They were particularly concerned in all caſes relating to proviſions; and no contract for corn could be made without them. The four provincial quæſtorſhips were ſought for by the moſt ambitious, before *Rome* had extended her conqueſts beyond *Italy*; but when ſhe had brought the eaſt and weſt under ſubjection, and great kingdoms were become ſo many provinces, the four *Italian* ones began to be deſpiſed. The proconſuls and proprætors, that is, the governors of thoſe provinces and kingdoms, had each his quæſtor to take care of the revenues; and then the quæſtorſhips of the large and diſtant province, were moſt greedily ſought for by thoſe who were qualified to ſtand candidates for them. They were there out of the ſight of the ſenate, and ſometimes in rich governments, where they could raiſe more money, and were more honoured and reſpected; for this reaſon, when the quæſtors drew lots in the preſence of the *Roman* tribes for the quæſtorſhips, the perſon, to whom any of the *Italian* ones fell, became the jeſt of the people. *He goes to the waters*,

consul, which he had deferred, only because he apprehended, that a collegue might possibly oppose his design of diminishing the consular power. The choice fell upon *Horatius Pulvillus*; and a few months after this election, the first year of the consular power being expired, *Poplicola* was chosen again, and with him was joined *T. Lucretius*, the brother of the famous *Lucretia*. The new consuls revived the census and the lustrum, and on that occasion found one hundred and thirty thousand men in *Rome*, who were at, or past, the age of puberty [a].

Porsena *king of* Clusium *espouses the cause of the* Tarquins.

In the mean time, *Poplicola*'s second consulship being expired, he was chosen a third time, and with him *Horatius Pulvillus*, who had before been consul for a few months. During their consulship, *Porsena*, king of the *Clusini*, one of the twelve nations of *Hetruria*, being gained by the great promises of *Tarquin*, espoused his cause, and, at the head of a prodigious, but somewhat confused, multitude of *Hetrurians*, advanced to the banks of the *Tiber*. The first post he attacked was the fort of the *Janiculum*, which he made himself

[a] Dio. Hal. l. v. p. 293.

waters, said the people, meaning, that he was going to live quietly near *Rome*, as those *Romans* did, who went to *Baia* or *Puteoli* for the waters. Some think, that this proverb alludes to the office of the *Italian* quæstors, who were often obliged to go to the seaports to collect the imposts the republic had laid on exported goods. The quæstors were first chosen by the people, and afterwards by the consuls, the quæstorship being originally a branch of their office. In *Tully*'s time they were again chosen by the people in the comitia by tribes; of which more hereafter. The office of quæstor, tho' often discharged by persons who had been consuls, was the first step to great employments. None could stand for the quæstorship till they attained to a certain age; but to determine the exact age the laws required, is no easy matter. Some pretend, that none could undertake this office till they were twenty seven, and quote *Polybius* in favour of their opinion; for that author writes (83), that the quæstorship was not to be obtained till after ten years service in the army; and the *Romans* usually entered into the army at the age of seventeen. Others think, that the age fixed by the law was twenty four or twenty five. In process of time, when honours were obtained by intrigues and favour, these laws were neglected; for *Cæsar* and *Pollio* were quæstors, as *Quintilian* informs us (84), long before they were of the age the law required.

(83) *Polyb. l.* vi. (84) *Quintil. l.* xii,

master

maſter of, obliging the *Romans* to retire over the bridge into the city. This firſt ſhock put them into confuſion; but the conſuls, encouraging their men, made them paſs the river with the utmoſt expedition, and drew them up in order of battle beyond the bridge, to ſecure the paſs. Hereupon *Porſena* advanced to engage them. The victory was long doubtful; but *M. Valerius*, *Poplicola*'s brother, and *T. Lucretius*, who were at the head of the left wing, being both wounded and carried out of the field, a general terror ſeized the *Roman* army. *Horatius Cocles*, a brave *Roman*, having endeavoured in vain to rally the terrified legions, reſolved rather to die than abandon his poſt; and being joined by *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius*, theſe three heroes placed themſelves in the narrow paſs which led to the bridge, and there, calling out to the *Romans* to break it down, valiantly oppoſed the enemy, till the demolition of the bridge was near completed. Then *Horatius*, having prevailed upon his companions to croſs the river on a few planks which remained, ſuſtained for ſome time alone the attack of the enemy. At length, being wounded in the thigh, upon a ſignal given him that the bridge was quite demoliſhed, he leaped into the river, and gained the oppoſite bank, through a ſhower of darts. Thus, by the wonderful bravery of one man, was the city and republic ſaved from impending ruin. The whole city was ſo ſenſible of this, that they all haſtened to pay their acknowledgments to their deliverer. They crowned him at his arrival, carried him on their arms from the place where he landed into the city, and erected a ſtatue of braſs to him in the temple of *Vulcan*. The ſenate gave him as much land as one plough could incloſe within a circular furrow in one day; and tho' there was a great ſcarcity in *Rome*, yet the inhabitants, to the number of three hundred thouſand, aſſeſſed themſelves, to make him a preſent of as much proviſions as each of them conſumed in a day. However, as *Horatius* had but one eye, whence he was ſurnamed *Cocles*, and continued lame the remaining part of his life, theſe defects prevented his ever being elected conſul.

The remarkable bravery of Horatius Cocles.

As *Porſena* was maſter of the country on both ſides of the river, it was very difficult to find proviſions for ſo great a number of inhabitants. A famine therefore began to be felt, and many of the indigent populace, who, in ſuch caſes, are the firſt ſufferers, went to ſeek bread in the enemy's camp; but the conſuls kept up the courage of the beſt citizens, by aſſuring them, that a convoy of corn would ſoon arrive in the camp from *Pometia*: and their expectations were not diſappointed;

appointed ; many boats loaded with corn ſafely entered the port of *Rome* in the night. But in a ſhort time the city was again reduced to great ſtraits ; which *Porſena* having notice of, ſent the *Romans* word, that he would deliver them from the hunger they ſuffered, if they would receive their old maſters ; but they, notwithſtanding their preſent diſtreſs, returned this anſwer, That hunger was a leſs évil than ſlavery and oppreſſion.

In the mean time, the conſuls formed a ſcheme for drawing the enemy into an ambuſcade ; and for that purpoſe ſpread at *Rome* a report, which was ſoon carried into the *Hetrurian* camp by the ſlaves who deſerted, that the next day all the cattle brought thither from the country, would be ſent to graze in the fields under a guard. This bait drew the enemy into an ambuſh, in which five thouſand of them were cut in pieces ; but, notwithſtanding this and ſome other ſmall advantages, *Rome* was almoſt wearied out with ſo long a ſiege, when *Mucius Cordus*, a young *Roman* of an illuſtrious birth, formed a deſign, which raiſed the courage of the people. He prevailed upon the conſuls to conſent to it, and imparted it to the ſenators, leſt his leaving *Rome* ſhould be looked upon as a deſertion ; but all he told them was, that he intended to croſs the *Tiber*, enter the enemy's camp, and there execute ſome great exploit. The conſuls and ſenate having encouraged him to undertake any thing in the preſent deplorable ſtate of *Rome*, he went out of the city with a poniard under his garment, and, being dreſſed in an *Hetrurian* habit, entered the enemy's camp, undiſcovered, mixed with the *Hetrurian* ſoldiers, whoſe language he had learned from his infancy, and made his way quite to the king's tent. It happened to be the day on which the troops were all reviewed and paid, and *Porſena*'s ſecretary, magnificently dreſſed, was ſitting on the ſame tribunal with the king, giving audience and receiving petitions. *Mucius*, miſtaking him for the king, leaped upon the tribunal, and, with one ſtroke of his poniard, laid him dead at the king's feet. He then attempted to make his eſcape through the multitude that ſtood amazed at ſo bold and unexpected an attempt ; but being ſeized and brought back to the tribunal, which he had juſt ſtained with blood, *Thou execrable aſſaſſin*, ſaid the king, *who art thou ? whence comeſt thou ? who are thy accomplices ?* To which words *Mucius*, leſs terrified than his judge, made this reply ; *I am a* Roman, *and my name is* Mucius Cordus. *My deſign was to deliver* Rome *from her moſt cruel enemy ; diſcharge therefore all thy fury upon me. Thou haſt been an eye-witneſs of my courage,*

The deſperate enterprize, and wonderful reſolution of Mucius Scævola.

courage, now try my conſtancy with tortures; and then thou wilt be forced to confeſs, that Roman *bravery has made me capable both of attempting whatever man can do, and ſuffering what human nature can endure.* This diſcourſe filled *Porſena* with amazement; but he was ſtill more ſurprized when he ſaw the *Roman*, with a ſteady countenance, and a look, which teſtified his inward rage at having miſſed his blow, thruſt his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there hold it a great while without ſhewing any ſigns of pain. So ſurpriſing a ſight changed the king's reſentment into admiration. *Porſena* granted him his life and liberty, and reſtored him the dagger, which he had made uſe of with a deſign to ſtab him. *Mucius*, who had now loſt the uſe of his right hand, took it with his left; and thence had the ſurname of *Scævola*, that is, *Left-handed* [b].

Mucius was in his turn charmed with the generoſity of his enemy; but had the preſence of mind to invent a ſtory for the ſervice of his country. He pretended to diſcover to the king a plot, which, he ſaid, was formed at *Rome* againſt his life by three hundred young *Romans*, all as reſolute as himſelf, who were diſperſed in the *Hetrurian* camp, and had bound themſelves, by the moſt ſacred oaths, to attempt his life, one after another, at the ſame hazard as he had done. *Porſena*, ſtruck with terror at this pretended diſcovery, as ſoon as *Mucius* was retired, called a council to deliberate about the means of preſerving himſelf from the dangers which threatened him. His friends and counſellors ſuggeſted various precautions; but none of them ſeeming ſufficient to remove his uneaſineſs, his ſon *Aruns*, a great admirer of the *Roman* virtue, adviſed him to render all precautions needleſs, by abandoning the cauſe of a few exiles, and concluding a peace with the *Romans*. His advice made an impreſſion on *Porſena*; and, as the *Hetrurians* had already begun to complain of the length of the ſiege, he ſent deputies to *Rome*, whoſe demands ſhewed, that their maſter had much abated of his former pretenſions; for they did not inſiſt on the reſtoration of the *Tarquins*, but only on the reſtitution of their eſtates, or an equivalent. And, in regard of their own nation, they required the *Romans* to re-inſtate the *Veientes* in the poſſeſſion of ſeven villages, which they had taken from them in former wars. The embaſſadors were received at *Rome* with joy; and their demands being heard in the ſenate, *Poſtlicola* prevailed upon the ſenators to comply with them; but the peo-

Porſena deſiſts from his demand of having Tarquin reſtored.

[b] Liv l. ii c. 12. Plut. in Poplic.

ple would not conſent to the firſt article, till *Porſena* had heard the ſtrong reaſons they had to offer againſt it; after which they were willing to leave it to his arbitration. As to the other article, they readily agreed to it, and offered hoſtages to ſecure the performance of it. A truce being agreed on, the *Romans* ſent their deputies to *Porſena*'s camp, to plead their cauſe againſt the *Tarquins*, and with them the hoſtages they had promiſed, ten young men, and as many virgins, of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*. Among theſe were the ſon of *Horatius* the conſul, *Valeria* the daughter of *Poplicola*, and the famous *Clælia*. The reception *Porſena* gave the *Roman* envoys, raiſed the jealouſy of the *Tarquins*, who, ſtill retaining their ancient pride, refuſed to admit *Porſena* for a judge between them and the *Romans*. But the king, without any regard to their oppoſition, reſolved to ſatisfy himſelf, by an exact enquiry, whether the protection he had given the *Tarquins* was juſt? But while the cauſe was ready to be opened before the *Roman* deputies, news was brought, that the young women, whom the *Romans* had ſent as hoſtages, had ventured to ſwim croſs the *Tiber*, and were returned to *Rome*. They had gone to bathe in the river, and *Clælia* happening to turn her eyes towards her native city, that ſight raiſed in her a deſire of returning to it. She therefore ventured to ſwim croſs the river; and having encouraged her companions to follow her, they all got ſafe to the oppoſite ſhore, and returned to their fathers houſes (B). The return of the hoſtages gave the conſul *Poplicola* great uneaſineſs; he was afraid leſt this raſh action might be imputed to want of fidelity in the *Romans*. To remove therefore all ſuſpicions, he ſent a deputation to the *Hetrurian* camp, aſſuring the king, that *Rome* had no ſhare in the fooliſh attempt of the young women, and promiſing to ſend them immedi-

The adventure of Clælia.

(B) Authors vary as to the circumſtances of this fact; for *Livy* ſays, that the young women croſſed the river in ſight of the *Hetrurians*, who lined the ſhore, and in the midſt of the darts, which were diſcharged at them from all parts. *Aurelius Victor* and *Florus* tell us, that *Clælia*, having accidentally found a horſe, croſſed the river on horſe-back. *Porſena*, as we have ſaid, preſented her with a fine horſe; which might give riſe to this fable. An equeſtrian ſtatue was erected to her memory in the *via ſacra*, which, according to *Plutarch*, was to be ſeen in his time (85). *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſays it was conſumed by fire.

(85) *Plut. in Poplicol.*

ately

ately back to the camp from whence they had fled. *Porſena* was eaſily appeaſed; but the news of the ſpeedy return of the hoſtages being known in the camp, the *Tarquins*, without any regard to the truce, or reſpect to the king their protector, lay in ambuſh on the road to ſurprize them. *Poplicola*, having put himſelf at the head of the *Roman* troops who eſcorted them, ſuſtained the attack of the *Tarquins*, tho' ſudden and unexpected, till his daughter *Valeria* rode full ſpeed to the *Hetrurian* camp, and gave notice of the danger her father and companions were in; and then *Aruns*, the king's ſon, flying with a great body of cavalry to their relief, put the aggreſſors to the rout. This notorious piece of treachery in the *Tarquins*, gave *Porſena* ſtrong ſuſpicions of the badneſs of their cauſe. He therefore aſſembled the chief commanders of the *Hetrurians*, and having heard in their preſence the complaints of the *Romans*, and the juſtification of their proceedings againſt the *Tarquins*, he was ſo ſtruck with horror at the recital of the crimes the *Tarquins* were charged with, that he immediately ordered them to leave his camp, declaring, that he renounced his alliance with them, and would no longer continue the hoſpitality he had ſhewn them. He then commanded the ten young virgins to be brought before him, and inquired, who was the firſt author and chief manager of the enterprize? They all kept ſilence, till *Cloelia* herſelf, with an air of intrepidity, confeſſed, that ſhe alone was guilty, and that ſhe had encouraged the others by her advice. Upon this, the king, extolling her reſolution above the bravery of *Horatius* and the intrepidity of *Mucius*, made her a preſent of a fine horſe with ſumptuous furniture. After this he concluded a peace with the *Romans*, and reſtored to them all their hoſtages, declaring, that their bare word was to him ſufficient ſecurity for the performance of the articles [c].

Porſena renounces his alliance with the Tarquins.

AND now *Porſena*, being to return to *Cluſium*, gave, before his departure, a further teſtimony of his reſpect and friendſhip for the *Romans*. He knew, that *Rome* was greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; but being afraid to offend the inhabitants by relieving them in a direct manner, he ordered his ſoldiers to leave behind them their tents and proviſions, and to carry nothing with them but their arms. As his camp abounded with all ſorts of proviſions, *Rome* was hereby much relieved in her wants. The moveables and corn of the *Hetrurians* were ſold by auction to private perſons; and on this occaſion

His generoſity towards the Romans.

[c] DIO. HAL. p. 302. LIV. l. ii. c. 4. PLUT. ibid.

caſion the *Romans* took up the cuſtom of making a proclamation by a herald, whenever any effects belonging to the public were to be ſold, in the following words, *Theſe are* Porſena's *goods.* The deſign of this was to preſerve the memory of that prince's kindneſs. The ſenate, not ſatisfied with this, erected a ſtatue of the king near the comitium, and ſent an embaſſy to him with a preſent of a throne adorned with ivory, a ſceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe [d].

AFTER the departure of *Porſena*, the *Romans* firſt rewarded thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the ſiege, eſpecially *Mucius Scævola*, to whom they gave a large piece of ground belonging to the public. Their next care was, to ſhew their gratitude to the gods, by ſome public act of religion; and as the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* had not yet been conſecrated, the ſenate ordered the conſecration of it. It naturally belonged to one of the conſuls to perform the ceremony; but it was the right of the ſenate to appoint which of the conſuls they pleaſed. The patricians had been long jealous of the glory, which *Poplicola* had acquired in his three conſulſhips; and therefore, in order to rob him of this mark of diſtinction, ordered him to march out againſt ſome *Latin* troops, that committed ravages in the *Roman* territory, and, in his abſence, appointed his collegue *Horatius Pulvillus* to perform the ceremony. As he was beginning the conſecration, *Poplicola*'s brother, *Marcus*, cried out, *I give you notice, that your ſon has loſt his life in a battle.* This was falſe; but he hoped by theſe words to interrupt the ceremony. But *Horatius*, without ſhewing the leaſt concern, coldly replied, *Then let him be buried*, and finiſhed the conſecration. Thus *Poplicola* ended the glorious year of his third conſulſhip, with receiving a mortification, which could not but ſenſibly affect him. *Spurius Lartius* and *T. Herminius*, who had ſo valiantly defended the bridge, were choſen conſuls for the next year; which proved a year of peace.

The Sabines *twice defeated.*

IN the conſulſhip of *M. Valerius*, brother to *Poplicola*, and *P. Poſthumius*, who ſucceeded the above mentioned conſuls, the *Sabines*, invading the *Roman* territories, committed great devaſtations. Whereupon the two conſuls took the field; and having divided their forces into two bodies, *Poſthumius* with one of them encamped at a ſmall diſtance from *Rome*, to prevent a ſurprize from the *Tarquins*; while *Valerius* poſted himſelf at *Tibur* upon the *Anio*. As the *Sabines* were encamped on the oppoſite bank, *Valerius*, by the advice of his brother *Poplicola*, croſſing the river, offered them battle;

[d] DIO. HAL. p. 303. LIV. & PLUT. ibid.

which

which they not declining, a bloody engagement enſued, wherein *Valerius* gained ſome advantage with his right; but his left being almoſt puſhed into the river, he was very near loſing the day, when his collegue who had notice of the action, coming ſeaſonably to his relief, attacked the enemy in flank, and put them to flight. The *Sabine* troops would have been intirely cut off, if night coming on had not given them an opportunity to eſcape. For this victory the conſuls were decreed a triumph, and they both entered *Rome* in the ſame chariot. *Valerius* is ſaid to have gained the ſame year a ſecond victory over the *Sabines*, and to have killed thirteen thouſand of them, without the loſs of one *Roman*. The republic therefore, to reward him according to his merit, built him a houſe, and, to diſtinguiſh it from all others, ordered the door to be ſo hung, as to open outwards to the ſtreet; whereas the doors of all other houſes opened inwards. As for *Poſthumius*, he was allowed to have a burial-place for himſelf and his family within the walls of *Rome*; a privilege never before granted to any [c].

Appius Claudius *ſettles at* Rome.

THE next year, when *Poplicola* was conſul the fourth time, the *Sabines* renewed the war. *Attius Clauſus*, the moſt eminent man in *Sabinia*, for riches, valour, and eloquence, firſt retarded their preparations, by ſpeaking in all their diets againſt a war with *Rome*, and then came over to the *Romans*, with five thouſand families of his friends and dependents. On his arrival at *Rome* he changed his name to *Appius Claudius*, was immediately declared a patrician, and took his place in the ſenate. Twenty five acres of land were given him in fee, and a quarter in the city aſſigned for his friends and followers, to each of which were granted two acres of ground, with all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens. Theſe donations were made irrevocable by a decree of the ſenate, confirmed by the ſuffrages of the people. The family of the *Claudii* became afterwards one of the moſt illuſtrious families of *Rome*. The *Sabines*, inraged at the departure of *Clauſus*, took the field with a very conſiderable army; and it was very lucky for *Rome*, that they determined to come to a battle before the year of *Poplicola*'s conſulſhip was out. The *Sabine* army was divided into two bodies, one of which incamped in the open field near *Fidenæ*; the other kept within the walls of that city, to guard it, and ſecure a retreat to the other body, in caſe they were defeated. On the other hand, the conſuls, having likewiſe

The Sabines *defeated again.*

divided their army into two bodies, marched out againſt the enemy. *Poplicola* took his poſt over-againſt the *Sabines*, while

[c] PLUT. ibid. PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 15.

Lucretius,

Lucretius, the other conſul, encamped on an eminence within reach of his collegue. The *Romans* were eager to ingage immediately, and end the diſpute at once by a deciſive battle; but the *Sabines*, not dareing to venture an engagement in the day-time, reſolved to make a ſudden attack on the enemy's camp, in the dead of the night. With this view they prepared great quantities of faſcines to fill up the ditch, and ſcaling ladders to mount the ramparts. That body of *Sabines*, which guarded *Fidenæ*, was ordered to march out of the town on the firſt ſignal, and fetching a large compaſs, to lie in ambuſh behind *Lucretius*'s camp, in order to ſurprize it, when *Lucretius* ſhould march to the aſſiſtance of his collegue, and then charge him in the rear. But the wiſe *Poplicola*, receiving timely intelligence of the enemy's deſigns, inſtantly diſpatched his brother *Marcus* to the other camp, to acquaint *Lucretius* with the night-expedition reſolved upon by the *Sabines*. Both conſuls, having taken the neceſſary precautions, waited for the enemy, without ſuffering their troops to ſhew any marks of ſuſpecting their intention. The *Sabines* marched ſilently out of their camp before midnight, and drawing near the *Roman* entrenchments, filled up the ditch with faſcines, and paſſed over to ſcale the rampart; but, as faſt as they advanced to it, they were, without any noiſe, ſtabbed by the *Romans*, who were drawn up in the ſpace between the ditch and the rampart. The ſlaughter continued till the moon roſe, when the *Sabines* diſcovering the dead bodies of their companions, and the *Roman* troops, who had ſtrewed the ground with them, without being perceived, betook themſelves to a confuſed flight. The *Romans* purſued them with loud ſhouts; which being heard by *Lucretius*, he, in his turn, went to attack the body that lay in ambuſh, and gained a complete victory over them. In this action thirteen thouſand *Sabines* were killed on the ſpot, and four thouſand two hundred taken priſoners[f]. *Poplicola*, taking advantage of the enemy's conſternation, advanced with all his forces to *Fidenæ*; and having taken the place by aſſault, put to death the heads of the revolt; but ſpared the other inhabitants, obliging them only to ſurrender part of their lands, for the ſupport of the gariſon he left in the city. *Poplicola*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a triumph; but ſoon after died, and was buried at the expence of the public, there not being found money enough in his houſe to defray the charges of his funeral. He was the moſt virtuous citizen, the greateſt general, and the beſt affected conſul to the people *Rome* had ever had. He had always led a frugal life, and ta-

Poplicola *dies.*

[f] Dio. Hal. l. v. p. 308.

ken

ken more care to tranſmit his virtues to his children, than to inrich them with the goods of fortune. The *Romans* thought they could not refuſe him a burial-place in the city, and therefore erected a tomb for him near the forum, and gave his family a right of interment in the ſame place. But as the *Valerii* always affected popularity, they never made uſe of this privilege, but contented themſelves with carrying the bodies of thoſe who died in *Rome* to the ſepulchre of the founder of their family, and conveying them from thence out of the city, where the aſhes were depoſited in a tomb near the walls. As *Poplicola* had been one of thoſe who ſtood up in defence of the chaſtity of the *Roman* women, they mourned a whole year for him, as they had done before for *Brutus*. But his greateſt glory was compriſed under the name of *Poplicola* (C), which the *Romans* gave him, and his tender regard for the people had deſerved [s].

THE *Sabines* were no ſooner informed of *Poplicola*'s death, but they raiſed a more numerous army than they had done the preceding years; and, having made a ſudden incurſion into the *Roman* territory, advanced to the very gates of *Rome*. *P. Poſthumius*, one of the conſuls, being provoked at the inſolence of the *Sabines*, ſallied out againſt them with a good body of men, drawn together in a tumultuous manner. The *Sabines*, as ſoon as he appeared, fled to a neighbouring foreſt, where the main body of their army lay concealed. *Poſthumius* followed them; but, as he drew near the foreſt, the *Sabines* rallying faced about, and, with loud ſhouts, gave the ſignal to the whole army to fall upon the conſul's troops. *Poſthumius* made what reſiſtance he could with men out of breath and in diſorder; but was obliged to retire with great loſs. To complete his misfortune, he was intercepted in his retreat by a body of *Sabines*, poſted on a hill between him and the city; ſo that he was forced to paſs the night in the open field, ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy's ſquadrons. As ſoon as the defeat of *Poſthumius* was known at *Rome*, *Menenius Agrippa*, the other conſul, marched, at the head of the braveſt youth in the city, to the relief of his collegue. But the *Sabines*, at his approach, retired into their own country,

The Sabines *renew the war.*

[s] Idem. p. 314. LIV. l. ii. c. 16. PLUT. in Poplic.

(C) In ſome editions of the *Latin* hiſtorians we read *Publicola* inſtead of *Poplicola*; but the *Faſti Capitolini*, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, *Plutarch*, and *Dio*, call him conſtantly *Poplicola*, which is an abbreviation of *Populicola*, a word denoting *his regard for the People*.

whence,

whence, elated with their late ſucceſs, they ſent a proud meſſage to the *Romans*, requiring them to receive the king they had baniſhed, to ſubmit to the *Sabines*, by whom they had been conquered, and to receive their laws. To this demand the *Romans* returned a ſuitable anſwer, commanding the *Sabines* to return to their former duty, and to come in a ſuppliant manner to beg pardon for their attempts againſt the authority of their maſters. After theſe mutual bravadoes, the conſuls on one ſide, and the *Sabines* on the other, took the field again, with all the forces of their reſpective ſtates. Both armies encamped near *Eretum*, about ten miles from *Rome*, where they ſoon came to a general engagement, in which *Poſthumius*, deſirous to redeem his credit, behaved with extraordinary valour, and, together with his collegue, obtained a complete victory. No ſooner did the news of this glorious day reach the ſenate, but they decreed a full triumph for *Menenius*, and an inferior one, which they called *ovation* (D), for *Poſthumius*, whoſe gallant behaviour in the late action had not, in the opinion of the fathers, ſufficiently attoned for his miſcarriage in the beginning of the war.

The Romans gain a complete victory over them.

THE *Sabine* war continued under the new conſuls, *Sp. Caſſius Uſcellinus* and *Opiter Virginius Triceſtus*. The former, entering the enemy's country, defeated them in a pitched battle near *Cures*, ten thouſand three hundred of them being kil-

(D) Authors differ in their opinions as to the derivation of this word; ſome derive it from *ahè*, denoting *the admiration* of the people in theſe ceremonies; others from the words *evan* or *evoe*, with which the *Greek* bacchanals rung. *Plutarch* refers the origin of this word to the kind of victim, which was offered to the gods in the ceremony of the ovation (86); for in the triumph a bull was ſacrificed in the Capitol, but in the ovation only a ſheep; ſo that, according to this writer, *ovatio* comes from the word *ovis*, ſignifying *a ſheep*. The perſon, who was honoured with an ovation, entered *Rome* on foot, or, at moſt, on horſe-back, and was attended by the ſenate only: his crown was of myrtle, not of laurel; and his robe only the prætexta, the common habit of magiſtrates. The ovation of *Poſthumius*, the firſt that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*, is marked in the *Faſti Capitolini* on the third of the nones of *April*. Two days after, *Menenius Agrippa* appeared with all the magnificence of a triumph; being mounted on a chariot, ſeated in a curule chair, cloathed with a robe embroidered with palm branches, he was conducted to the capitol with the ſound of trumpets, and the acclamations of the army and people.

(86) *Plut. in Marcel.*

led,

led, and four thouſand taken priſoners. This defeat obliged them to ſue for peace, which, after many ſubmiſſions, they purchaſed with corn, money, and ten thouſand acres of arable land. While *Caſſius* was thus employed againſt the *Sabines*, his collegue *Virginius* reduced *Cameria*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, which had revolted from the *Romans*; and having beheaded the moſt guilty of the inhabitants, ſold the reſt for ſlaves, and razed the city [h].

They ſubmit at laſt.

Tarquin, ſtill reſtleſs, and not deſpairing to recover his kingdom, by means of his ſon-in-law *Mamilius Octavius*, prevailed upon the *Latins*, who had hitherto ſtood neuter, to eſpouſe his cauſe. During the alarm which this reſolution occaſioned at *Rome*, the *Tarquins*, in concert with ſome of the inhabitants of *Fidenæ*, made themſelves maſters of that city. Hereupon the conſul *Manius*, marching againſt the rebels, cloſely inveſted the place, and reduced it to great ſtraits. The beſieged, in that extremity, implored the aſſiſtance of the *Latins*; which occaſioned a general meeting of the deputies from the ſeveral cities of *Latium*. In this aſſembly it was debated, whether the *Latins* ſhould declare in favour of the *Tarquins* and the *Fidenates*, or adhere to the ancient treaties between the two nations. After long debates, it was reſolved, that an embaſſy ſhould be ſent to the *Romans* with propoſals, which were; 'That they ſhould receive the *Tarquins*, after they had engaged by oath to grant a general amneſty, and that they ſhould raiſe the ſiege of *Fidenæ*.' The embaſſadors were to allow the *Romans* a whole year to conſider on theſe overtures, and to threaten them with a war, in caſe they refuſed to comply with them. The chief view of *Tarquin* and his partizans in promoting this embaſſy was, to lay hold of that opportunity to raiſe a ſedition in the city. To the embaſſadors therefore of the *Latins* he joined ſome of his own emiſſaries, who, on their arrival in the city, found two ſorts of people diſpoſed to enter into their meaſures, *viz.* the ſlaves, and the meaner citizens. The ſlaves had formed a conſpiracy the year before to ſeize the capitol, and ſet fire to the city in ſeveral quarters at the ſame time. But, the plot being diſcovered, thoſe, who were concerned in it, had been all crucified; and this execution had highly provoked the whole body of ſlaves. As to the meaner citizens, who were for the moſt part overwhelmed with debt, and cruelly uſed by their creditors, they were well appriſed, that there could happen no change in the government but to their advantage. Theſe were the conſpirators pitched upon; and to them were given the following parts to act: the citi-

The Latins declare for king Tarquin.

But, before they take the field, they ſend an embaſſy to Rome.

A conſpiracy formed by ſome of Tarquin's emiſſaries.

[h] Idem. p. 315.

zens were to make themſelves maſters of the ramparts and gates of the city, at an appointed hour of the night, and then to raiſe a great ſhout as a ſignal to the ſlaves, who had engaged to maſſacre their maſters at the ſame inſtant. The gates of the city were then to be opened to the *Tarquins*, who were to enter *Rome* while it was yet reeking with the blood of the ſenators. The conſpiracy was ripe for execution, when *Tarquin's* principal agents, *Publius* and *Marcus*, both of his own name and family, being terrified with frightful dreams, had not courage enough to proceed in their deſign, till they had conſulted a diviner. However, they did not diſcover to him the conſpiracy; but only aſked him in general terms, what ſucceſs they might expect in a project they had formed? The ſoothſayer, without the leaſt heſitation, returned the following anſwer, *Your project will end in your ruin; diſburden yourſelves of ſo heavy a load.* Hereupon the *Tarquins*, fearing leſt ſome of the other conſpirators ſhould be before-hand with them in informing, went immediately to *S. Sulpicius*, the only conſul then at *Rome*, and diſcovered the whole matter to him. The conſul greatly commended them, and detained them in his houſe, till, by private inquiries, he was aſſured of the truth of their depoſitions. Then he aſſembled the ſenate, and gave the *Latin* embaſſadors their audience of leave, with an anſwer to their propoſal; which was, 'that the *Romans* would neither re-
'ceive the *Tarquins* nor raiſe the ſiege of *Fidenæ*, being all to a
'man ready to ſacrifice their lives in defence of their liberty,
'and willing to undergo any dangers, rather than ſubmit to
'the government of a tyrant.' The embaſſadors being diſmiſſed with this anſwer, and conducted out of the city, *Sulpicius* laid open to the fathers the dreadful conſpiracy, which ſtruck them with horror; but they were all at a loſs in what manner they ſhould apprehend and puniſh the guilty, ſince, by the law of *Poplicola*, there was an appeal to the people in all capital caſes, and the two witneſſes, who were ſtrangers, might be excepted againſt by the *Roman* citizens. In this perplexity they left the whole conduct of this critical affair to *Sulpicius*, who took a method, which, he thought, would equally ſerve to prove the guilt, and puniſh the guilty. He engaged the two informers to aſſemble the conſpirators, and to appoint a rendezvous at midnight in the forum, as if they deſigned to take the laſt meaſures for the execution of the enterprize. In the mean time, he took all proper meaſures to ſecure the city, and ordered the *Roman* knights to hold themſelves ready, in the houſes adjoining to the forum, to execute the orders they ſhould receive. The conſpirators met at the time and place appointed by the two *Tarquins*; and the knights,

The plot diſcovered.

knights, upon a ſignal agreed on before-hand, inveſted the forum, and blocked up all the avenues to it ſo cloſely, that it was impoſſible for any of the conſpirators to make their eſcape. As ſoon as it was light, the two conſuls appeared with a ſtrong guard on the tribunal; for *Sulpicius* had ſent to his colleague *Manius*, who was beſieging *Fidenæ*, deſiring him to haſten to the city with a choſen body of troops. The people were convened by curiæ, and acquainted with the conſpiracy, which had been formed againſt the common liberty. The accuſed were allowed to make their defence, if they had any thing to offer againſt the evidence; but not one of them denying the fact, the conſuls repaired to the ſenate, where ſentence of death was pronounced againſt the conſpirators, in caſe the people approved it. This decree of the ſenate being read to, and approved by, the aſſembly, the people were ordered to retire, and the conſpirators were delivered up to the ſoldiers, who put them all to the ſword. The peace of *Rome* was thought ſufficiently ſecured by this ſtroke of ſeverity; and therefore, though all the conſpirators were not puniſhed with death, it was judged proper not to make any further inquiries. The two informers were rewarded with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens, a hundred thouſand aſſes, and twenty acres of land. Three feſtival days were appointed for expiations, ſacrifices, and public games, by way of thankſgiving to the gods. But the general joy was diſturbed by a melancholy accident: as the people were conducting *Tullius Manius* the conſul from the circus to his houſe, he fell from his chariot, and died three days after [1].

The conſpirators put to death.

THE city of *Fidenæ* was not yet reduced; it held out during the following conſulſhip of *T. Æbutius*, and *P. Veturius*; but was taken the next year by *T. Lartius*, who, together with *Q. Clælius*, was raiſed to the conſular dignity. The *Latins*, inraged at the loſs of this town, began to complain of their leading men; which opportunity *Tarquin* and *Mamilius* improved ſo far, as to make all the *Latin* cities, twenty four in number, enter into an alliance againſt *Rome*, and to bind themſelves by oath never to violate their engagements. The *Latins* made vaſt preparations, as did likewiſe the *Romans*; but the latter could procure no aſſiſtance from their neighbours. As the *Latin* nation was much ſuperior to them in ſtrength, they ſent deputies to ſollicit ſuccours from the ſeveral ſtates with which they were ſurrounded; but their negotiations proved every-where unſucceſsful; and what was

The Latin *cities enter into an alliance againſt* Rome.

[1] Idem, p. 320.

worſe than all, the republic had rebellious ſons in her own boſom, who refuſed to lend their aid in defence of their country. The poorer ſort of people and the debtors refuſed to take the military oaths or to ſerve, alledging their poverty and the fruitleſs hazards they ran in fighting for the defence of a city, where they were oppreſſed and enſlaved by their creditors. This ſpirit of mutiny ſpread among the inferior claſſes, moſt of them refuſing to liſt themſelves, unleſs their debts were all remitted by a decree of the ſenate; nay, they began to talk of leaving the city and ſettling elſewhere. The ſenate, apprehending a general inſurrection, aſſembled to deliberate on the means of quieting theſe domeſtic troubles. Some were for a free remiſſion of all debts, as the ſafeſt expedient at that juncture; others urged the dangerous conſequences of ſuch a condeſcenſion, adviſing them to liſt ſuch only as were willing to ſerve, not doubting, but thoſe who refuſed their aſſiſtance would offer it of their own accord, when it was no longer deſired. Several other expedients were offered; but at length this prevailed, *viz.* that all actions for debts ſhould be ſuſpended till the concluſion of the war with the *Latins.* But this the indigent debtors thought only a ſuſpenſion of their miſery; and therefore it had not the intended effect on the minds of the unruly multitude. The ſenate might indeed have proſecuted the ringleaders of the ſedition; but the law of *Poplicola*, called the *Valerian* law, which allowed appeals to the aſſembly of the people, was a protection for the ſeditious, who were ſure of being acquitted by the accomplices of their rebellion. The ſenate therefore, to elude the effect of a privilege that put ſuch a reſtraint upon their power, reſolved to create one ſupreme magiſtrate, who, with the title of *dictator*, ſhould have an abſolute power for a time; but, as this could not be done without ſtriking at the law of *Poplicola*, and transferring the power of the people in criminal caſes to a magiſtrate ſuperior to all laws, it was neceſſary to uſe artifice, in order to obtain the conſent of the curiæ. They therefore repreſented to them in a public aſſembly, that in ſo difficult a conjuncture, when they had their domeſtic quarrels to decide, and at the ſame time a powerful enemy to repulſe, it would be expedient to put the commonwealth under a ſingle governor, who, ſuperior to the conſuls themſelves, ſhould be the arbiter of the laws, and, as it were, the father of his country; that his power ſhould have no limits; but, however, leſt he ſhould abuſe it, they ought not to truſt him with it above ſix months. The people, not foreſeeing the conſequences of this change, agreed to it; but the

The poorer citizens in Rome, *and debtors, refuſe to ſerve.*

greateſt

greateſt difficulty was, to find a man duly qualified in all reſpects for ſo great a truſt. *T. Lartius*, one of the conſuls, ſeemed to be of all men the moſt unexceptionable; but the ſenate, fearing to offend his collegue by an invidious preference, gave the conſuls the power of chuſing a dictator, and obliged them to name one of themſelves, not doubting but *Clælius* would yield to the ſuperior talents of his collegue; nor were they diſappointed in their expectation. But *Lartius*, with the ſame readineſs, named *Clælius*; and the only conteſt was, which of the two ſhould raiſe the other to the ſupreme authority. Each perſiſted obſtinately in remitting the dignity to his collegue, till *Clælius*, ſtarting up on a ſudden, abdicated the conſulſhip, and, after the manner of an interrex, proclaimed *Titus Lartius* dictator (E), who thereupon was obliged to take upon him the government of the republic [k].

Lartius

k Idem, p. 333.

(E) This ſupreme officer was called *dictator*, either becauſe he was *dictus*, that is, *named* by the conſul, or from his *dictating* and *commanding* what ſhould be done. No one could be created dictator till he had been conſul. The time aſſigned for the duration of the office was the ſpace of ſix months. As to the perpetual dictatorſhips of *Sylla* and *Julius Cæſar*, they were notorious uſurpations, and violations of the laws of their country. The dictator was not allowed to march out of *Italy*, leſt he ſhould take advantage of the diſtance of the place, to attempt ſomething againſt the common liberty. He was always to march on foot, except in caſe of a tedious or ſudden expedition, and then he formally aſked leave of the people to ride (87). In all other things his power was abſolute and uncontrouled. He might proclaim war, levy forces, lead them out, diſband them, *&c.* without conſulting the ſenate. He could puniſh as he pleaſed; and from his judgment lay no appeal. To make his authority more awful, he had always twenty four faſces with axes carried before him, if we believe *Plutarch* (88) and *Polybius* (89). *Livy* aſcribes the firſt riſe of this cuſtom to *Sylla* (90). The authority of all other magiſtrates ceaſed, or were ſubordinate to him. He had the naming of the general of the horſe, who was wholly at his command When his authority was expired, he was not obliged to give an account of any thing he had done during his adminiſtration. In ſhort, the dictatorſhip was a kind of abſolute monarchy, tho' not durable, and was looked upon as the only refuge of the commonwealth in time of danger, till *Sylla* and *Cæſar*,

(87) *Dio. l. xlv. Appian. l. iii.* (88) *Plut. in Fab. Max.*
(89) *Polyb. l. iii.* (90) *Liv. epit. l. lxxxix.*

converting

The firſt dictator. Year after the Flood 2506. Before Chriſt 493. Of *Rome*, 255.

Lartius indeed took as much ſtate upon him, after he had entered upon his office, as he had ſhewn modeſty in refuſing it. He began by creating, without the participation either of the ſenate or people, a general of the *Roman* horſe (F), an office which laſted only during the dictatorſhip, and which all ſubſequent dictators revived immediately after their election. *Sp. Caſſius*, formerly conſul, and honoured with a triumph, was the perſon he advanced to this ſecond ſtation in the republic. *Lartius*, having by this means ſecured the *Roman* knights, reſolved, in the next place, to make the people reſpect and fear him. With this view he never appeared in public, but attended by twenty four lictors, to whoſe faſces he added again the axes, which *Poplicola* had cauſed to be taken from them. The novelty of this ſight was alone ſufficient to awe the ſeditious, and, without executions, to ſpread conſternation throughout *Rome*. The murmurs of the inferior claſſes being by this means ſilenced, the dictator commanded a cenſus to be taken, according to the inſtitution of king *Servius*. Every one, without exception, brought in his name, age, the particulars of his eſtate, *&c.* and there appeared to be in *Rome* one hundred and fifty thouſand ſeven hundred men who were paſt the age of puberty. Out of theſe the dictator formed four armies; the firſt he commanded himſelf; the ſecond he gave to *Clœlius* his late collegue; the third to *Sp. Caſſius* his general of the horſe; and the fourth he left in *Rome*, under the command of his brother *Sp. Lartius*, who was to guard the city. The *Latins* not being ſo forward in their preparations as was expected, all their hoſtilities againſt *Rome* this campaign amounted to no more than the ſending a detachment into the *Roman* territory to lay it waſte. The dictator gained ſome advantage over that party; and the great humanity with which he treated the priſoners and wounded, diſpoſed the *Latins* to liſten the more readily to the overtures, which he at

converting it into a tyranny, rendered the name of dictator odious: inſomuch, that, upon the murder of the latter, a decree paſſed in the ſenate, forbidding the uſe of that dignity upon any account whatſoever for the future (91).

(F) As the regal power was revived in the dictator, he was allowed to create a chief officer in the army, under the name of *magiſter equitum*, that is, *maſter* or *general of the horſe*; which anſwered to the office of the *Tribunus celerum* in the time of the kings. It was the ſecond dignity in the *Roman* ſtate, but, like the dictatorſhip, temporary. The *magiſter equitum* ſerved as the dictator's lieutenant general; but could act nothing without his expreſs order.

(91) *Dio. Caſſ. l. v.*

the

the ſame time made them for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities. At length a truce was agreed on for a year; and then *Lartius*, ſeeing the republic reſtored to its former tranquility, reſigned the dictatorſhip, tho' the time appointed for its duration was not yet expired [1].

A truce is made with the Latins for a year.

THE year of the truce with the *Latins* expired, when *Aulus Poſthumius* and *T. Virginius* took poſſeſſion of the conſulſhip. Both *Romans* and *Latins* were buſied in making the neceſſary preparations for war. The nobility of *Latium*, who were for the moſt part in the intereſt of the *Tarquins*, having found means to exclude the citizens from the *Latin* diets, carried all before them in thoſe aſſemblies; whereupon many of the citizens removed with their families to *Rome*, where they were well received. The *Latins* being bent upon war, the ſenate, notwithſtanding the perfect harmony that reigned between them and the people, thought it expedient to create a dictator. The two conſuls were therefore impowered to name one of themſelves to that dignity; whereupon *Virginius* readily yielded it to his collegue *Poſthumius*, as the more able commander. The new dictator, having created *Ælius Elva*, formerly conſul, his general of the horſe, and divided his army into four bodies, left one of them under the command of *Sempronius*, to guard the city, and with the other three, commanded by himſelf, *Virginius*, and *Ælius*, marched out againſt the *Latins*, who, with an army of forty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, under the command of *Sextus Tarquinius*, *Titus Tarquinius*, and *Mamilius*, had already made themſelves maſters of *Corbio*, a ſtrong-hold belonging to the republic, and put the gariſon to the ſword. *Poſthumius* encamped in the night on a ſteep hill near the lake *Regillus*; and *Virginius* on another hill over-againſt him. *Ælius* was ordered to march ſilently in the night, with the cavalry and light-armed infantry, to take poſſeſſion of a third hill upon the road, by which proviſions muſt be brought to the *Latins*. Before *Ælius* had fortified his new camp, he was vigorouſly attacked by *Lucius Tarquinius*, whom he repulſed three times with great loſs, the dictator having ſent him a timely reinforcement. After this, *Ælius* intercepted two couriers ſent by the *Volſci* to the *Latin* generals, and, by letters found upon them, diſcovered, that a conſiderable army of the *Volſci* and *Hernici* were to join the *Latin* forces in three days. Upon this intelligence, *Poſthumius* drew his three bodies of troops together, which a-

A new dictator created.

[1] Idem, p. 335.

mounted

mounted in all to no more than twenty four thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, with a deſign to engage the enemy before the arrival of the ſuccours they expected. Accordingly he encouraged his men, and, with his army in battle array, advanced to the place where the enemy was encamped. The *Latins*, who were much ſuperior to the *Romans* in number, and beſides began to want proviſions, did not decline the engagement. *Titus Tarquinius*, at the head of the *Roman* exiles and deſerters, was in the centre, *Mamilius* in the right wing, and *Sextus Tarquinius* in the left. In the *Roman* army the dictator commanded in the centre, *Ębutius* in the left wing, and *Virginius* in the right. The firſt body that advanced was that of the dictator, and, as ſoon as it began to march, *T. Tarquinius* ſingling out the dictator, ran full ſpeed againſt him. The dictator did not decline the encounter, but flying at his adverſary, wounded him with a javelin in the right ſide. Upon this, the firſt line of the *Latins* advanced to cover their general; but he being carried out of the field, they made but a faint reſiſtance when charged by the troops of the dictator. They were deſtitute of a leader, and therefore began to retire, when *Sextus Tarquinius*, taking the place of his brother, brought them back to the charge, and renewed the fight with ſuch vigour, that the victory in the centre was ſtill doubtful. On the ſide of *Mamilius* and *Ębutius*, both parties, encouraged by the example of their leaders, fought with incredible bravery, and reſolution. After a long and bloody conteſt, the two generals agreed to determine the doubtful victory by a ſingle combat. Accordingly the two champions puſhed on their horſes againſt each other. *Ębutius* with his lance wounded *Mamilius* in the breaſt; and *Mamilius* with his ſword *Ębutius* in the right arm. Neither of the wounds were mortal; but both generals falling from their horſes put an end to the combat. *Marcus Valerius*, the brother of *Poplicola*, ſupplying the place of *Ębutius*, endeavoured, at the head of the *Roman* horſe, to break the enemy's battalions; but was repulſed by the cavalry of the *Roman* royaliſts. At the ſame time *Mamilius* appeared again in the van with a conſiderable body of horſe, and light-armed infantry. *Valerius*, with the aſſiſtance of his two nephews, the ſons of *Poplicola*, and a choſen troop of voluntiers, attempted to break through the *Latin* battalions, in order to engage *Mamilius*; but being ſurrounded by the *Roman* exiles, he received a mortal wound in his ſide, fell from his horſe and died. The dead body was carried off by the two ſons of *Poplicola*, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the exiles, and delivered to *Valerius's* ſervants, who conveyed it to the *Roman* camp; but the young heroes, being

The battle of Regillus.

afterwards

afterwards inveſted on all ſides, and overpowered by numbers, were both killed on the ſpot. Upon their death, the left wing of the *Romans* began to give ground; but were ſoon brought back by *Poſthumius*, who with a body of *Roman* knights, flying to their aſſiſtance, charged the royaliſts with ſuch fury, that they were, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, obliged to give way, and retire in the utmoſt confuſion. In the mean time *Titus Herminius*, one of the dictator's lieutenants, having rallied thoſe who had fled, fell upon ſome cloſe battalions of the enemy's right wing, which ſtill kept their ground under the command of *Mamilius*, killed him with his own hand, and put that body to flight. But while he was buſy in ſtripping the body of his enemy, he received himſelf a wound, of which he died ſoon after. *Sextus Tarquinius* in the mean time maintained the fight with great bravery, at the head of the left wing, againſt the conſul *Virginius*, and had even broke through the right wing of the *Roman* army, when the dictator attacked him unexpectedly with his victorious ſquadrons. Then *Sextus*, having loſt at once all hopes of victory, threw himſelf, like one in deſpair, into the midſt of the *Roman* knights, and there ſunk under a multitude of wounds, after he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt eminent manner. The death of the three generals was followed by the intire defeat of the *Latin* army. Their camp was taken and plundered, and moſt of their troops cut in pieces; for of the forty three thouſand men who came into the field, ſcarce ten thouſand returned home. The next morning the *Volſci* and *Hernici* came, according to their agreement, to aſſiſt the *Latins*; but finding, upon their arrival, how matters had gone, ſome of them were for falling upon the *Romans*, before they could recover from the fatigue of the preceding day; but others thought it more ſafe to ſend embaſſadors to the dictator, to congratulate him on his victory, and aſſure him, that they had left their own country, with no other deſign, than to aſſiſt *Rome* in ſo dangerous a war. *Poſthumius*, by producing their couriers and letters, gave them to underſtand, that he was well appriſed of their deſigns and treacherous proceedings. However, out of a regard to the law of nations, he ſent them back unhurt, with a challenge to their generals to fight the next day; but the *Volſci* and their confederates, not caring to engage a victorious army, decamped in the night, and returned to their reſpective countries before break of day [m].

The Latins defeated.

THE *Latins*, having now no remedy but an intire ſub-

The whole Latin nation ſubmits.

[m] DIO. HAL. l. vi. p. 345—350. PLIN. l. xxxiii. LIV. l. iii. c. 4.

miſſion, ſent embaſſadors to ſollicit a peace at *Rome*, yielding themſelves intirely to the judgment of the ſenate. As *Rome* had long ſince made it a maxim to ſpare the nations which ſubmitted, the motion of *Titus Lartius*, the late dictator, prevailed, and the antient treaties with the *Latins* were renewed, on condition, however, that they reſtored the priſoners they had taken, delivered up the deſerters, and drove the *Roman* exiles out of *Latium.* Thus ended the laſt war, which the *Romans* waged with their neighbours on account of their baniſhed king; who, being now abandoned by the *Latins*, *Hetrurians*, and *Sabines*, retired into *Campania*, to *Ariſtodemus* tyrant of *Cumæ*, and there died in the ninetieth year of his age, and fourteenth of his exile.

Tarquin *dies.*

The freedom, which the *Romans* recovered by the expulſion of *Tarquin*, being now ſecured to them by the death of that prince, who was the laſt of his family, and the *Latin* war ended greatly to the advantage of the republic, *Poſthumius* laid down his office, the courts of juſtice were again opened, and the creditors began to proſecute their debtors (G) with more

(G) When the debtor was inſolvent, the creditor had a right to put him in irons, or to ſell him as a ſlave. After a certain number of ſummonſes, the law granted to the debtor thirty days of grace, to raiſe the ſum for which he was accountable. The words of the law are; *Æris confeſſi, rebuſque jure judicatis, triginti dies juſti ſunto. Poſt dein manum endo jacito —— Vincito aut nervo, aut compedibus.* After the thirty days were expired, if the debtor had not diſcharged the debt, he was led to the prætor, who delivered him over to the mercy of his creditors. Theſe bound him and kept him in chains for the ſpace of ſixty days. Afterwards for three market-days ſucceſſively, the debtor was brought to the tribunal of the prætor; then a public crier proclaimed in the forum the debt, for which the priſoner was detained. It often happened, that rich perſons redeemed the priſoner, by paying his debts; but if no body appeared in behalf of the debtor, after the third market-day, the creditor had a right to inflict the puniſhments appointed by the law; *Tertiis nundinis capite pœnas dato, aut trans Tiberim peregre venumduito*, that is, *Let him on the third market-day be puniſhed with death, or ſold beyond the* Tiber *as a ſlave.* If there were ſeveral creditors, they were allowed, in conſequence of this ſevere law, to divide the body of the priſoner into ſeveral parts, and ſhare it among them, in proportion to the ſum they demanded; but, according to *Quintilian* and *Cæcilius*, humanity and cuſtom had given preſcription againſt ſo barbarous a law, which was never put in execution. This puniſhment was changed to *coercion*; that is, the creditors had a right to impriſon their debtors in their own houſes, and make them ſlaves. Theſe were called *noxi*, and not *ſervi*, becauſe their ſlavery laſted no longer than till their

more vigour than ever, which revived the complaints and murmurs among the inferior classes. To prevent the disturbances, which this affair might occasion, the senate procured the consulship for *Appius Claudius*, who had ever opposed, with great warmth, the pretensions of the people; but lest he should exert too great severity, they gave him for his collegue *P. Servilius*, a man of a gentle and humane temper, and greatly beloved by the people. The latter exhorted the senate, as soon as he entered upon his office, to ease the people, and restrain the severity of the creditors; but *Appius* maintained, with his usual constancy, that it was a manifest injustice to relieve the debtors at the expence of the creditors. The senate assembled daily, in order to settle the tranquility of the city upon a lasting foundation; but met with so many difficulties, the consuls being of different opinions, that they could never come to any conclusion. In the mean time, the oppressed populace held secret assemblies in the night, and seemed disposed to rise up in arms; so that the senate began to apprehend nothing less than a civil war. In the midst of these disturbances, the *Volsci*, who were well acquainted with the present state of the city, having drawn together what forces they could, advanced towards *Rome*, promising themselves great advantages from the domestic disorders and universal confusion, which reigned in the city. It was therefore necessary for the consuls to raise an army; but the *Roman* youth absolutely refused to serve. This disobedience occasioned new disputes between the consuls, *Claudius* being for severity, and *Servilius* for moderation. As the time drew near to take the field against the *Volsci*, the senate decreed, that *Servilius* should command the army, and *Claudius* govern the city. But tho' *Servilius* was looked upon as a friend to the people, yet they refused to list themselves, unless the senate came first to some determination about the important affair of debts. *Servilius* was therefore obliged to march against the enemy with such only as offered to serve out of a personal affection to him. The *Volsci*, depending on the civil broils at *Rome*, had not been so expeditious in their preparations for the war, as to be in a condition to face a *Roman* army in the field; and therefore they had recourse to intreaties, by which they prevailed upon the good-natured con-

Domestic broils at Rome.

The plebeians refuse to list themselves.

their debts were paid. This coercion was afterwards changed into public imprisonment, which was a less rigorous punishment, than the slavery the debtors underwent in the creditors houses, where they were often cruelly treated, and whipped unmercifully.

ful to favour them and grant them a peace, upon condition that they ſupplied his troops with cloaths and proviſions, and delivered to him three hundred hoſtages of the beſt families [n].

An inſurrection at Rome.

Not long after the return of *Servilius*, the ſenate was informed from *Latium*, that the *Volſci* were making new preparations for war; that they had engaged the *Hernici* and *Sabines* to join them againſt *Rome*, and ſent deputies to their nation for the ſame purpoſe. Theſe deputies the *Latin* embaſſadors brought with them, and delivered them up to the ſenate. Such a treacherous proceeding in the *Volſci*, after they had been ſo kindly treated by the conſul *Servilius*, fired the ſenate, and war was immediately declared; but while the ſenators were yet ſitting, a plebeian, loaded with chains, appeared in the forum. He was advanced in years, tall of ſtature, lean, pale, with his eyes ſunk into his head, a long beard, and his hair in diſorder. At his clamours and geſtures the people crouded about him, and all looked on him with great attention, till at length ſeveral knew him, and remembered to have ſerved with him in the wars, and to have ſeen him fight in the firſt ranks of the legions with great valour. The bare ſight of him raiſed the compaſſion of the multitude; but when they had heard him give an account of his misfortunes, they were all filled with rage and indignation. He told them, that he was born free; that he had, in eight and twenty battles, expoſed his life for the good of his country; that, in the laſt war with the *Sabines*, he not only had been hindered from cultivating his little inheritance, but that the enemy, in an incurſion, after having plundered his houſe, had ſet it on fire; that the neceſſities of life, and the tributes, which, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract debts; that, the intereſt being grown by degrees to an exceſſive ſum, he was reduced to the melancholy expedient of yielding up his inheritance to diſcharge part of it; but that the mercileſs creditor, not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to priſon, with two of his children; that, to oblige him to haſten the payment of the reſidue, he had delivered him over to his ſlaves, who, by his order, had tore his body with whips. At the ſame time he flung off his garment, and diſcovered his back ſtill bloody; and on his breaſt the ſcars of the honourable wounds, which he had received in fighting for his country. At this ſight, the people, already ripe for ſedition, uttered a thou-

[n] Idem ibid. p. 361. Liv. l. ii. c. 22.

ſand

and curſes againſt the patricians, and made ſuch outcries, as terrified the ſenate, which was then ſitting. The people flocked from all quarters of the city into the forum; the artificers left their ſhops; and thoſe, who were confined for debt having found means to eſcape from their creditors, with the frightful figure they made, with their ragged cloaths, and the noiſe of their chains, raiſed both pity and indignation. Theſe unhappy wretches ſpread themſelves all over the city; and if any one offered to ſtop them, he was immediately maſſacred by the inraged multitude. The conſul *Appius*, ſeeing that the fury of the mutineers was like to fall upon him, left the ſenate, and, by favour of the tumult, got ſafe to his own houſe. *Servilius*, having pulled off his robe, that he might be thereby more agreeable to the people, ran into the thickeſt of the croud; and tho' he embraced ſome, threw himſelf at the feet of others, and ſhewed great compaſſion for all, yet he could not prevail upon them to ſuſpend all acts of violence to the next day, till he had promiſed, that the ſenate ſhould have regard to their complaints; nay, he went further, and proclaimed by a herald, that no one ſhould moleſt any *Roman* citizen for debt, till the ſenate had decreed otherwiſe.

THE next day the forum was ſoon filled, both with citizens and country-people, brought thither by their common intereſt. The ſenate aſſembled, and *Servilius* laid before them the neceſſity, in ſuch a conjuncture, of abating ſomewhat of the ſeverity of the laws. On the other hand, *Appius* pretended, that this project tended to the ruin of the ſubordination neceſſary in a well-governed ſtate; and that the condeſcenſion, which *Servilius* was for ſhewing to the neceſſities of the people, would be looked upon by the ſeditious, only as a diſguiſed weakneſs, and ſo breed new pretenſions. As *Appius* could not bear contradiction, his ſpeech was tinctured with the harſhneſs of his manners; he even came to perſonal reflections, and repreſented his collegue as a vile flatterer of the plebeians, and a favourer of the revolt. *Servilius*, in his turn, reproached him with the obſtinacy of his temper, his pride, and the animoſity he ſhewed againſt the people. The ſenators were divided between theſe two great men; ſo that there was no end of their diſputes. In the mean time, the people expected with impatience a decree in their favour, and there not being a ſufficient number of ſenators aſſembled for that purpoſe, they imputed their abſence to the conſuls management, in order to fruſtrate their hopes. While the people were yet in the forum, they ſaw

ſome

ſome horſemen come full ſpeed to acquaint the *Romans*, that the *Volſci* were advancing with a deſign to beſiege *Rome*. The plebeians were overjoyed to ſee their own country in danger; and when the debtors were invited to take up arms in defence of the common liberty, they ſhewed the chains, with which their creditors had loaded them. *Is it not the ſame thing to us*, ſaid they, *whether theſe chains are put upon us by the enemy, or by our own countrymen? Let the patricians expoſe their lives, ſince they alone reap advantage from our victories. Shall we make a rampart with our bodies, only to hinder the enemy from pulling down our priſons, and carrying away our chains?* It was neceſſary, in this extremity, that ſomething ſhould be done to quell the tumult, and induce the people to lend their aſſiſtance againſt an inſulting enemy. *Appius* was obſtinate and inflexible; but *Servilius* was prevailed upon by his friends to make the people ſuch promiſes in the name of the ſenate, as the ſenators were firmly reſolved never to perform. He told them, that it was not conſiſtent with the dignity of the ſenate to comply with their demands, as it were out of fear; but that, when the war ſhould be ended, the ſenate would in gratitude remit all their debts. This diſcourſe abated the fury of the populace; and the reading a decree, which paſſed the ſame day, intirely quelled it. All creditors were thereby forbidden to proſecute any *Roman* citizen for debt, who was willing to ſerve, or to ſeize his children or his goods; but the creditors were commanded to proſecute all ſuch debtors with the utmoſt ſeverity, as either ſhould refuſe to ſerve, or deſert after they were inrolled. To this wiſe law *Rome* owed her preſervation; for it was no ſooner publiſhed, than multitudes crouded to the capitol, and even made intereſt to be admitted into the legions. When the levies were compleated, *Servilius* marched to meet the enemy, and encamped near the *Pontine* lake (H); where the *Volſci*, attempting to ſurprize his camp, were intirely defeated. The conſul, to reward his ſoldiers, gave them all the ſpoil, that

The conſul Servilius, *by fair promiſes, engages the people to liſt themſelves.*

And defeats the Volſci.

(H) The *Pontine* lake took its name from the city of *Pometia*, formerly one of the moſt conſiderable cities of *Latium*. This part of *Latium*, before it was laid under water by the overflowing of the *Nymphæus*, the *Amaſena*, the *Aſtura*, and the *Ufens*, was thought the garden of *Italy*. There were, according to *Pliny* (2), twenty three cities in it, which are ſuppoſed to have been drowned by inundations, or overturned by earthquakes: for there were no remains of them to be ſeen in the time of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*.

(2) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 5.

they

they might have wherewithal to pay their debts (I). He then marched to *Sueſſa Pometia*, the capital of the *Volſci*, took it by aſſault, and put all to the ſword who were able to bear arms. He gave likewiſe this wealthy city up to be plundered by the ſoldiers, without reſerving any part of the ſpoil for the public treaſury. In the mean time, *Appius*, who had been left in *Rome*, beheaded the three hundred hoſtages, which the *Volſci* had given to the *Romans* upon *Servilius*'s firſt expedition [n].

So glorious a campaign had merited the honours of a triumph for the conſul, who returned to the city with hopes of obtaining it; but, on his arrival, he was informed, that his collegue *Appius* had perſuaded the ſenate to refuſe him it, under pretence, that he was a ſeditious man, who aimed at popularity, by an exceſſive indulgence and profuſeneſs to his ſoldiers. *Servilius*, being ſenſibly affected with the unjuſt proceedings of the ſenate, took a bold ſtep, which afterwards proved a fatal precedent to his country. He no ſooner came before *Rome*, which none were allowed to enter who demanded a triumph, but he cauſed the people to be called together in a field without the walls, and there complained to them, both of the jealouſy of his collegue, and the injuſtice of the ſenate; upon which the people encouraged him by their acclamations to attempt whatever he pleaſed. Without re- *He is refuſed a triumph.*

[n] DIO. HAL. p. 362,—365. LIV. l. ii. c. 23,—25.

(I) It was cuſtomary, in the beginning of the commonwealth, to divide the ſpoils between the victorious army and the public treaſury. The product of theſe ſpoils was generally applied to the building of temples, the celebrating of public games, or the adorning of the city. *Servius* tells us (3), that the generals thought themſelves obliged to appropriate part of the fruit of their victories to the god whoſe protection they had invoked. Agreeable to this cuſtom, adds the ſame writer, there was a temple in *Rome*, conſecrated to *Jupiter the plunderer*, *Jovi prædatori*. *Servilius* was accuſed by his collegue of having acted contrary to the law, which ordained, that the general, who returned from any military expedition, ſhould not diſpoſe of the ſpoil as he pleaſed. This law made him accountable for it; but nevertheleſs the republic often diſpenſed with it, and left it to the diſcretion of the general, to diſtribute ſuch military rewards among his ſoldiers, as he thought fit; provided he gave an account of his adminiſtration to the people, and did not appropriate to his own uſe the fruits of the conqueſts he had made in the name of the republic.

(3) *Servius in l.* iii. *Æneid.*

gard

But triumphs in ſpite of the ſenate.

gard therefore to the deciſion of the ſenate, he decreed himſelf a triumph, and marched, with the uſual pomp to the capitol, followed by his army, and attended by all the people •.

While the people were taken up with public games and rejoicings, on account of the victory over the *Volſci*, embaſſadors arrived from the *Aurunci*, demanding that the *Roman* gariſon in *Ecetra*, a *Volſcian* town which had lately ſubmitted to *Rome*, ſhould be removed from thence, and adding threatnings, in caſe of refuſal. As *Ecetra* ſtood on the confines of the country of the *Aurunci*, they had taken umbrage at the neighbourhood of that gariſon. The ſenate therefore ſent the envoys back with this anſwer, Go, tell your maſters, that it is a dangerous thing to attack thoſe, whoſe very neighbourhood is formidable to them. The *Aurunci*, provoked at this anſwer, entered *Latium*, and advanced as far as *Aricia*, where they were met by the *Roman* army, under the command of *Servilius* and the famous *Poſthumius*, ſurnamed *Regillenſis*, from the victory he had gained over the *Latins* at the lake *Regillus*. The battle which enſued was very bloody; but the *Romans*, though at firſt greatly diſheartened at the gigantic ſtature, fierce looks, and martial air of the enemy, gained at length a complete victory, and made themſelves maſters of the camp of the *Aurunci*, who retired into their own country. Of all the plebeians, who ſerved in this and in the late war with the *Volſci*, none behaved with more gallantry than thoſe who were moſt in debt. The people therefore thought, that, after ſo many victories, they might demand of the ſenate the performance of *Servilius*'s promiſe. But the inflexible *Appius* even doubled the ſeverity of the judgments he gave againſt ſuch debtors as were brought before his tribunal; he ordered all thoſe, who had been ſet at liberty during the war, to be brought back to their creditors priſons by force. Thoſe who were arreſted appealed to *Servilius*, urging the promiſes he had made before the campaign, and the ſervices they had done in the war; but *Appius* having got the aſcendant in the ſenate, *Servilius* had not intereſt enough to prevail upon them to make good his word given in their name, or to protect the unhappy wretches; ſo that he became as much deſpiſed, as *Appius* was hated. This appeared very remarkably, when the time came to conſecrate a temple, which had been erected to *Mercury*. The conſecrator was to enjoy conſiderable powers and privileges; and on this account the ſenate, unwilling to diſguſt either *Appius* or *Servilius*, re-

He defeats the Aurunci.

• Dio. Hal. & Liv. ibid.

ferred

ferred the whole matter to the people. The curiæ were therefore aſſembled, with full power to chuſe whom they pleaſed; and they, to ſhew how much they were diſpleaſed with both the conſuls, beſtowed the honour of conſecrating the temple on one *Lætorius*, who was only a centurion. Hereupon *Appius* and *Servilius*, equally inraged, joined with the ſenate in putting in execution the laws againſt debtors with the utmoſt ſeverity; but the people, paying no regard to their authority, when any plebeian was proſecuted for debt, crouded into the forum, and made ſuch a noiſe, that the ſentence pronounced by the judges could not be heard. They no longer endeavoured to appeaſe their creditors, or mollify the ſenate by entreaties, but inſulted both; ſo that the patricians, and not the plebeians, were now in danger of impriſonment and ſlavery [P].

The Sabines *revolt; but the people refuſe to ſerve.*

IN the mean time, the *Sabines*, incouraged by theſe inteſtine broils, revolted, and engaged the *Roman* colony of *Medulia* to enter into an alliance with them; which was confirmed by mutual oaths. The new conſuls, *A. Virginius* and *T. Veturius*, both men of little note, ſummoned the tribes, in order to raiſe an army for the war which threatened them; but the people obſtinately refuſed to liſt themſelves, till ſuch time as all debts ſhould be cancelled. Hereupon the conſuls, aſcending their tribunal, called upon one of the moſt factious by name, to come and be inrolled. As the man did not anſwer the ſummons, he was inſtantly ſeized; but the populace tore him out of the lictors hands, and inſulted both the conſuls and patricians who attended them. While the city was thus rent into factions, and all things ſeemed to tend to a civil war, envoys arrived from the *Latins* and *Cruſtumini*, complaining of the hoſtilities of the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, and at the ſame time embaſſadors from the *Volſci*, demanding reſtitution of the lands, which had been taken from them in the late war. Theſe embaſſies filled the *Romans* with conſternation or joy, according to the party each had embraced. As it was neceſſary to give all theſe deputies proper anſwers, the ſenate aſſembled, and, after long debates, returned the following anſwer to the embaſſadors of the *Volſci*, viz. That it was not conſiſtent with the honour of the republic to comply with their demands. As to the *Latins* and *Cruſtumini*, who were in alliance with *Rome*, they were aſſured, that the republic would not leave them expoſed to the inſults of their enemies, without ſending them ſuccours. With theſe anſwers the embaſſadors were diſmiſſed; but, as *Rome* could

[P] LIV. ibid. c. 23,—27.

neither protect her allies, nor repulse her enemies, unless peace were first established at home, the senate met again the next day, to deliberate about the methods necessary to procure that happiness. The consul *Virginius* was for protecting those debtors, who had fought so successfully the last year, and for leaving the others to the severity of the law. *Titus Lartius*, that venerable senator who had been formerly dictator, pleaded in behalf of all debtors. *Appius*, when it came to his turn to speak, enumerated all the motives, which had engaged him to side with the patricians; declared, that he could not change his opinion; urged the dangerous consequences of violating contracts between debtors and creditors; and, in the close of his speech, proposed the naming a dictator in the present extremity. This expedient was thought dangerous by some of the oldest senators; but the motion was carried by a majority, and *Manius Valerius*, a man of seventy years of age, brother to the famous *Poplicola*, was nominated by one of the consuls, contrary to the law, which required, that the dictator should be chosen out of such as had been, or were actually, consuls; but, as no man was judged more proper for that station at this time, the necessity of the case made the senate overlook rules. *Valerius*, as soon as he was proclaimed dictator, named for his general of the horse *Quintus Servilius*, brother to the last year's consul; and finding the minds of the people well inclined to his government, he ascended the tribunal, and harangued the multitude, putting them in mind of the great zeal his family had always shewed for their interest, and desiring in return their confidence. He promised, that, if they would lend their assistance, and serve their country at this time, he would procure for them from the senate all the reasonable condescensions they could expect. *And, in the mean time*, said he, *I command, that no mention be made of confiscations or imprisonments, during my administration*. The people, depending on the promises of the dictator, took up arms with pleasure, and ten legions were soon raised; three of which were given to each consul, and four reserved for the dictator. *Veturius* was ordered to march against the *Æqui*, *Virginius* against the *Volsci*, and the dictator himself led his legions against the *Sabines*. The three generals were all attended with good success, and it proved a glorious campaign for the republic. *Valerius* on his return was honoured with a triumph, and, as a further mark of distinction, both the senate and people agreed in allotting him an honourable place in the circus, at the celebration of the public games, and appointed, that a curule

Manius Valerius, *a brother of* Poplicola, *created dictator.*

The Equi, Volsci, *and* Sabines, *defeated.*

curule chair ſhould be always placed there for him; an honour which they made hereditary in his family [q].

The ſenate refuſes to comply with the demands of the dictator in favour of the people.

BUT now *Valerius*, remembering his promiſes to the people, demanded of the ſenate the performance of them. But the patrician uſurers had made ſuch a party in the ſenate during his abſence, that the ſenators not only refuſed to comply with his demands, but reproached him with the affection of his family for the plebeians, and taxed him with betraying the intereſts of the ſenate. The prudent dictator, to prevent, in ſome degree, the misfortunes which threatened the republic, ſent a colony of poor debtors to *Velitræ*, which had been juſt taken from the *Volſci*. But, as there ſtill remained a great number of thoſe unhappy wretches, he ſolicited anew the ſenate in their favour. But, his motion being rejected, he told the ſenators in great anger, that perhaps in a ſhort time they would wiſh for ſuch an interceſſor with the people, and, leaving the ſenate abruptly, ſummoned the people. When the aſſembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the enſigns of his dignity; and in the firſt place acknowledged his obligations to them; then he made great complaints of the unſincere conduct of the ſenate, with regard both to them and him; and laſtly declared his reſolution to retire, or to ſurrender himſelf up to their reſentments, if they ſuſpected that he had betrayed their intereſt. Having ended his ſpeech, he laid down his employment, and ſtripped himſelf of the badges of the dictatorſhip. The people, who had heard him with ſentiments of reſpect and veneration, conducted him quite home to his houſe with loud acclamations, as if he had procured the abolition of their debts. The ſenate to prevent the diſorders which they foreſaw muſt attend the abdication of an injured dictator, ordered the two conſuls, who ſtill held the ſoldiers engaged by their oath (K), to lead the army into the field,

He reſigns his dignity.

[q] DION. HAL. p. 373. LIV. ibid.

(K) The giving the military oath, called *ſacramentum*, was, properly ſpeaking, the legal method of forming the *Roman* armies. After the ſoldiers had been choſen out of each tribe, this oath was adminiſtered to them in the following manner: The tribunes of each legion aſſembled the bodies they commanded. Then one ſoldier in a legion ſwore, in the name of all the reſt, to obey the commander of the *Roman* army. After this every ſoldier came and ſingly engaged to perform what had been ſworn. In proceſs of

field, under pretence, that the *Æqui* and *Sabines* were making freſh preparations for war. The ſoldiery, who were well apprized of the artifice, went out of *Rome* with the utmoſt rage; and therefore, as ſoon as they were in the field, ſome of the moſt ſeditious propoſed the aſſaſſinating of the conſuls, not out of any perſonal hatred, but merely to free themſelves from the oath which bound them to their command. Others thought, it would be monſtrous to put an end to the religious engagements they had entered into with the conſuls, by criminal means, and on that account rejected the motion. After the leaders of the mutiny had conſidered of various projects, they concluded at laſt to carry away the military enſigns and ſtandards, and engage all the troops to follow them without the privity of their officers (L). This deſign

of time another oath, called by *Livy* (4) *juſjurandum*, was added to this, by virtue of which rebels and deſerters were puniſhed with death, and no appeal admitted. There was likewiſe another way of inliſting men, called *conjuratio*, which took place in unforeſeen commotions and ſudden irruptions of an enemy. Then, that no time might be loſt in raiſing the neceſſary forces, the ſoldiers were excuſed the formalities uſually obſerved in inrolling them. The general only went up to the *capitol*, and there erected two ſtandards, one red for the foot, and the other blue for the horſe. After this, he pronounced theſe words: *Let thoſe who love the ſafety of the republic, make haſte and follow me.* A third way of inrolling men was this: the conſuls committed to the care of perſons appointed for that purpoſe the raiſing of troops in different places, as the republic had occaſion for them; and this was called *evocatio*. The military oath was ſo eſſential in inliſting men, that no *Roman* could ſerve in the army, even as a volunteer, or kill an enemy, till he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn promiſe to obey his general. In conſequence of this cuſtom, which was authorized by law, *Tully* tells us (5), that *Cato* wrote to *Pompilius* to inform him, that his ſon could not continue in the army without taking the military oath again, the time of his former engagement being expired.

L. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* gives us the reaſon why the legions ſo readily followed their enſigns. The *Romans*, ſays he, when they are in the field, reſpect nothing more than their enſigns and ſtandards. They ſwear by their military enſigns, and pay them a ſort of religious worſhip. On certain feſtivals they crown them with flowers and perfume them. Animated by this ſuperſtitious prejudice, they expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dangers, and deſpiſed death itſelf to ſecure thoſe precious pledges, and prevent their

(4) *Liv. l. xxii.* (5) *Cic. de off. l. i.*

being

design was executed under the conduct of a plebeian, named *Sicinnius Bellutus*. The troops marched away, and encamped beyond the *Anio*, three miles from *Rome*, on a hill called afterwards *the ſacred mount*, as their retreat was ſtyled *the ſeceſſion* [r]. *The ſoldiers deſert their generals and retire.*

THE firſt thing the rebellious army did was, to chuſe themſelves a general, and *Sicinnius* was the man they pitched upon. Then they ſecured themſelves within ſtrong intrenchments, where they lay quiet without committing any hoſtilities. The conſuls and officers, ſeeing themſelves thus deſerted by their troops, diſpatched a meſſenger to *Sicinnius*, exhorting him to return to the camp and bring back the troops to their duty. But he returned ſuch an anſwer, as ſhewed that he was determined to keep no meaſures with the patricians. A deſertion ſo general, and which looked like the beginning of a civil war, gave great uneaſineſs to the ſenate, and occaſioned a general conſternation in the city. The patricians were forced to guard the gates themſelves, in order to prevent the citizens from going out to join the malecontents. But notwithſtanding this precaution, thoſe who were burdened with debts, and ſuch as loved novelty, eſcaped and flocked to the camp of *Sicinnius*. In this general confuſion the ſenate met daily, and, after warm debates, in which they mutually accuſed each other of indulgence and ſeverity, they at length agreed to ſend a deputation to the malecontents, offering them a general pardon, and exhorting them to return to the city. But this ſtep only ſerved to increaſe the inſolence of the ſoldiers. The deputies were therefore ſent back contemptuouſly, with no other anſwer, but that the patricians *The ſenate diſpatch two deputations to the malecontents.*

[r] DION. HAL. p. 375. LIV. l. ii. c. 30.

being taken by the enemy. Thoſe, to whoſe care they were committed, were either put to death, or whipped, if they ſuffered the enemy to take them. The *Romans*, in the times of their firſt ſimplicity, had no other enſigns or colours, but a bundle of hay or graſs faſtened to the top of a long pole, as we have obſerved above. In ſucceeding ages they made uſe of the figures of monſters and animals, *viz.* of eagles, dragons, boars, wolfs, &c. Each manipulus had its own enſign. The horſe made uſe of a ſtandard, called *vexillum*, which was made of a piece of rich ſtuff, about a foot ſquare. It was faſtened to a croſs piece of wood, which was fixed to the top of a pike. But the form of the enſigns and ſtandards varied according to the times, and the temper of the *Romans*, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

ſhould

ſhould quickly find what enemies they had to deal with. This anſwer occaſioned new alarms in the city. In the mean time, the two conſuls, whoſe magiſtracy was expiring, aſſembled the centuries, which were left in *Rome*, for the election of their ſucceſſors; and as no body at ſo dangerous a conjuncture ſtood candidate for that dignity, they obliged *Poſthamius Cominius*; and *Spurius Caſſius Viſcellinus*, both conſular men, and equally agreeable to the plebeians and patricians, to accept the conſulſhip. Their firſt care was, to convene the ſenate to deliberate upon the moſt ſpeedy and eaſy methods of reſtoring peace and union. *Menenius Agrippa*, a man of great integrity; and who had ſtood neuter in the diviſions of the people and ſenate, being the firſt called upon to give his opinion, declared warmly for a reconciliation with the people, and propoſed the ſending of ſuch deputies as were agreeable to them, with full power to make up matters, upon whatever conditions they ſhould think neceſſary for the good of the republic. *M. Valerius*, the late dictator, being deſired next to give his opinion, upbraided the ſenate with neglecting his former counſels; accuſed their indiſcretion in not offering the people an abolition of their debts by the firſt deputation, foretold, that the mutineers would, beſides their firſt demands, inſiſt upon laſting ſecurities for their future preſervation from oppreſſion; laſtly, he declared for the opinion of *Menenius*, adviſing the ſenate not to delay one moment giving the people ſatisfaction, let their demands be what they would. *Appius*, when it was his turn to ſpeak, oppoſed, in a very plauſible harangue, the opinion of *Menenius* and *Valerius*, and declared intirely againſt treating with the rebels, till they had laid down their arms; but on that condition was for ſhewing them mercy and indulgence. Hereupon the ſenate was divided; the old men were for *Menenius Agrippa* and *Valerius*; the young ſenators, jealous of the prerogatives of their rank, declared all for *Appius*, and the uproar was ſo great, that they almoſt came to blows. The two conſuls, who were diſpoſed to favour the people, having conferred together in private, determined to give time to thoſe hot ſpirits to cool, and with that view put off the deciſion of this great affair to another day. But before the aſſembly broke up, in order to intimidate the young ſenators, who had behaved in a very audacious manner, they threatened to exclude them from the ſenate, by fixing

Warm debates in the ſenate.

fixing the age (M) neceſſary for a ſenator, unleſs they brought a more peaceable diſpoſition of mind along with them. Some days after, the ſenate met anew, when every thing was tranſacted with great tranquility. *Menenius* being deſired again to declare his ſentiments, ſtill continued to think it neceſſary, that plenipotentiaries ſhould be ſent to the malecontents, with full power to grant them whatever they ſhould think conſiſtent with the good of the republic. All the ſenators, who had been conſuls, agreed with *Menenius*, except *Appius*, who, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, continued to proteſt againſt treating with rebels, till they had laid down their arms, and prayed *Jupiter*, and the tutelar gods of *Rome*, that he might be deceived in his apprehenſions of the evil conſequences of ſuch a ſtep.

HOWEVER, the ſenate, determined by all means to divert the preſent evil, continued in their former reſolution of ſending commiſſioners to treat with the malecontents, and accordingly ten were named, and among them *T. Lartius*, *Menenius Agrippa*, and *M. Valerius*, all three in great eſteem, and of whom two had governed the republic, and commanded her armies, in quality of dictators. Theſe with their collegues ſet out for the camp, where they were received with all the reſpect due to their character. The preſence of the deputies had been ſufficient to bring back the mutineers

(M) It is manifeſt from hence, that the laws had not yet determined at what age one might be admitted into the ſenate; and yet that there was a fixed age afterwards required is very certain; for *Tully*, in ſpeaking of *Pompey* (6), ſays, that he commanded armies before he had attained to the age that was required in a ſenator; the ſame is affirmed by *Plutarch*; and no expreſſion is more frequently made uſe of by the antient hiſtorians in the lives of great men, than that of *ætas ſenatoria*. But what age the laws fixed is uncertain. *Dio Caſſius* limits it to five and twenty, which was the age required for the quæſtorſhip, the firſt office of any conſiderable note. However, we read of many perſons promoted to this dignity without any regard had to their years. *Pompey* eſtabliſhed among the *Bithynians* a law, by which no one could become a member of their ſenate till he was thirty complete. It is probable, he followed the cuſtom of the *Roman* republic in this regulation; and the more ſo, becauſe *Pliny* the younger, in one of his letters to the emperor *Trajan*, ſays, that the *Bithynians* made the *Romans* their patterns, eſpecially in what related to their magiſtracy and ſenate.

(6) *Cic. pro lege Manil.*

to their duty, had not ſome turbulent ſpirits taken care to keep up the fire of diſcord. Theſe were *Sicinnius Bellutus*, and another plebeian much of the ſame character, named *Lucius Junius*, like the founder of the republic; nay, he affected the ſurname of *Brutus*, thinking himſelf deſtined to deliver the people from the tyranny of the ſenate, as the famous *Brutus* had freed *Rome* from the oppreſſions of the kings. Theſe two, being appointed by the malecontents to treat with the deputies from the ſenate, effaced with their crafty and artful ſpeeches the impreſſion, which the preſence of the deputies and their harangues had made on the minds of the multitude. But *Menenius Agrippa*, after having aſſured them, that the ſenate had, with unanimous conſent, determined to annul all bonds and obligations at preſent ſubſiſting, ſo ſoftened the populace by this promiſe, and the famous apologue of a conſpiracy of all the members of the human body againſt the ſtomach, which he applied to the people and the ſenate, that they all cried out, that they were ſatisfied, and that he might lead them back to *Rome*. This ſudden motion alarmed the pretended *Brutus*, who repreſented to the people, that they ought, indeed, to be very thankful for the favour ſhewed them at preſent in the abolition of their debts; but that he could not forbear letting them know, that he was very apprehenſive about the future, and therefore was of opinion, that means ſhould be found to ſecure the liberties of the people againſt the attempts of the ambitious patricians. What other ſecurity can you aſk, replied *Menenius*, beſides what our laws, and the conſtitution of the republic already afford? Give us leave, anſwered *Brutus*, to chuſe annually out of the body of the plebeians a certain number of magiſtrates, who, without having any other authority in *Rome* but that of protecting them, may oppoſe or diſannul any edicts or judgments which ſhall be burdenſome to the people. If you come hither with a ſincere intention of peace, you cannot reject ſo equitable a propoſal. The deputies, greatly ſurprized at ſuch a demand, told them, that they asked a very extraordinary thing, which abſolutely exceeded the bounds of their inſtructions and powers; but that *M. Valerius* and ſome others of the deputies would go and make their report of it to the ſenate, and return with an anſwer. Accordingly, they repaired with all ſpeed to *Rome*, where *M. Valerius* gave his opinion in favour of the people, while *Appius*, burning with indignation, exclaimed againſt the dreadful conſequences which would attend *Valerius*'s condeſcenſion. But his remonſtrances were neglected, and the other ſide prevailed, moſt of the ſenators

The artful management of Junius Brutus, one of the heads of the ſedition.

senators being weary of these divisions, and desirous to have peace at any rate; so that with almost an universal consent, a *senatus-consultum* or decree of the senate was passed, permitting the creation of these new magistrates, who were called *Tribunes of the people*. This decree which included also the abolition of debts, was carried by the deputies of the senate to the camp as a seal of peace. The people were now for returning to *Rome*, but the leaders of the sedition would not allow them to separate, before they had elected the new magistrates. The assembly was held in the very camp, and, the auspices being taken, the suffrages were gathered by curiæ, when *L. Junius Brutus* and *C. Sicinnius Bellutus* were, according to *Dionysius* chosen for the first tribunes. These immediately named the two *Licinii*, *Publius* and *Caius*, with *Sp. Icilius Ruga* to be their collegues. *Livy* says, that *C. Licinius* and *Lucius Albinus* were the first tribunes, and that they afterwards chose themselves three collegues, among whom was *Sicinnius Bellutus*. Before they left the camp a law was passed, whereby the persons of the tribunes were made sacred. The words of the law were, *Let the tribune of the people be exempt from all the servile offices imposed on the citizens. Let none of these offices be laid upon him, but by his own consent. Let no one strike him or cause another to strike him. If any offend in this, let him be execrable, and his goods appropriated to the worship of* Ceres. *If any one kills him, any person may kill the murderer with impunity.* To make this law perpetual, all the *Romans* were obliged to swear, for themselves and their posterity, that they would inviolably observe it. After these regulations the people erected an altar to *Jupiter the terrible* on the top of the hill, where they had incamped, and having consecrated the place of their retreat, which from this time was called *the sacred mount*; they followed the deputies of the senate and returned to the city [f]. *Tribunes of the people created.* Year of the Flood, 2511 Before Christ, 488 Of *Rome* 260. *The people return to* Rome.

THE tribunes were at first five in number, but a few years after five more were added. They were always chosen by the plebeians, and out of their body. Their sole function was, to defend the liberties of the plebeians, and to interpose in all grievances offered them by their superiors. This interposing, in matters determined by the senate or other magistrates, was called *intercessio*, and was performed by standing up, and pronouncing only one word, *I forbid it.* They had their seats placed at the door of the senate, and

[f] DIO. HAL. p. 386—410. LIV. l. ii. c 30—33.

were never admitted into it, but when the conſuls called them to ask their opinion upon ſome affair that concerned the intereſts of the people. As for the enſigns of their office, they had *no toga prætexta*, lictors, or curule chair; but were habited like private men, and attended only by one ſervant, called *Viator*. Their power was confined within the walls of *Rome*, or extended at moſt to a mile round the city. They were not allowed to be abſent from the city a day, *Dion* ſays an hour, except in the *feriæ Latinæ*. To ſhew their readineſs to protect the people, they were obliged to keep their doors open night and day. Their authority was very great; for, though at firſt they pretended only to prevent oppreſſion, yet afterwards they uſurped the power of doing almoſt whatever they pleaſed, having the populace to back them. They aſſembled the people, enacted laws, made decrees, and executed them upon the magiſtrates themſelves, commanding ſometimes the very conſuls to be carried to priſon. In ſhort, they occaſioned far greater diſturbances in the ſtate, than thoſe which they were firſt created to appeaſe, whence they are ſtyled by ſome of the antients, *the bane of the public tranquility*.

The tribunes increaſe their authority,

One of the firſt ſteps of the tribunes towards an increaſe of power was, to ask permiſſion of the ſenate to chuſe two aſſiſtants in the execution of their office. This new demand was alſo complied with, and two men were choſen out of the plebeians to be the tribunes aſſiſtants, or agents. Theſe afterwards had the cogniſance of a great many affairs which before belonged to the conſuls, and the inſpection of all buildings both public and private; from which laſt branch of their office they took the name of *Ædiles*, with the epithet of *Plebeian*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Ædiles curules*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

The Volſci *and* Antiates *defeated.*

Rome being now in a profound peace at home, troops were eaſily raiſed to march againſt the *Volſci*, whom the conſul *Cominius* defeated in a pitched battle, and took from them *Longula* and *Poluſca*. He marched next to beſiege *Corioli*, the metropolis of the *Volſci*, and ſtrongly fortified; which he likewiſe made himſelf maſter of, and gained a victory over the *Antiates* the ſame day. But *Caius Marcius*, a young patrician, had all the glory of both actions; for the beſieged having made a vigorous ſally, and driven the *Romans* back quite to their intrenchments, *Marcius*, by his words and example, rallied the fugitives, brought them back to the charge, and having obliged the enemy to retire into the city, followed them ſo cloſe, that he went in with them, and made himſelf maſter

The gallant behaviour of Caius Marcius Coriolanus.

maſter of the place. He then haſtened, without ſuffering his ſoldiers to ſtay for plunder, to join the conſul's army, which was upon the point of engaging with the *Antiates*, who were come to aſſiſt their allies. In the engagement which enſued, he behaved with equal bravery, and was attended with equal ſucceſs, the victory, which was gained, being intirely owing to his courage and prudent conduct. The next day, the conſul, having cauſed his tribunal to be erected before his tent, and called his ſoldiers together, made an harangue to them, which was little more than a panegyric on the brave *Marcius*. He put a crown of gold upon his head, aſſigned him a tenth part of all the ſpoil, gave him a fine horſe with ſtately furniture in the name of the republic, allotted him as much money as he could carry away, and, laſtly, allowed him to chuſe out any ten of the priſoners. But of all theſe preſents the young hero accepted only the horſe, and demanded but one captive of the ten, an old friend of his family, with a deſign to give him his liberty. This generous and diſintereſted conduct ſilenced even jealouſy itſelf. All reſpected an hero, whoſe ſentiments were as noble as his valour ſignal. But the conſul, to add to the glory of the brave warrior, beſtowed on him the ſurname of *Coriolanus*, transferring thereby from himſelf to *Marcius* all the honour of the conqueſt of *Corioli* [t].

THE enemies of *Rome*, being terrified by the reduction of the *Volſci*, kept quiet at home; ſo that the conſul diſbanded his army, and war was ſucceeded by works of religion, public games, and treaties of peace. The ancient alliance was renewed with the *Latins*, and a third day added to the *feriæ Latinæ*. In the mean time, *Menenius Agrippa* died in as great poverty as *Poplicola*. His relations reſolved to bury him without ceremony. But the people, at the motion of their new tribunes, agreed to pay a *ſextans*, or two ounces of braſs, a head, towards the expences of a magnificent funeral. Upon this, the ſenate, thinking it would reflect no ſmall diſhonour upon them to ſuffer an illuſtrious patrician to be buried at the expence of the people, allotted a ſum out of the public treaſury for his funeral, and committed the care of it to the quæſtors. Nevertheleſs the people refuſed to receive back their money, ordering it to be given to the children of the deceaſed *Menenius* [u]. This memorable conſulſhip ended with a *cenſus* and

[t] DIO. HAL. p. 412---414. LIV. l. ii. PLUT. in Coriol.
[u] DIO. HAL. p. 415. LIV. ubi ſupra.

luſtrum, and there appeared to be but a hundred thouſand men in *Rome* fit to bear arms.

Rome ſuffers greatly by a famine.

UNDER the new adminiſtration of *T. Geganius* and *P. Minucius*, *Rome* ſuffered greatly by a famine, and this calamity revived the civil diſſenſions. The ſenate, to diſburden the city, ſent away great numbers of the people to plant colonies at *Velitræ* and *Norba*, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the tribunes. In the mean time, the *Antiates*, taking advantage of the famine, with which *Rome* was afflicted, and of the diſcord between the people and the ſenate, made incurſions to the very gates of the city. *Coriolanus* could not bear this inſult, and therefore, as the tribunes ſtill oppoſed any regular levies being made, he put himſelf at the head of a band of voluntiers, advanced into the enemy's country, defeated them in ſeveral engagements, and returned loaded with a rich booty, conſiſting of corn, cattle, and ſlaves. At this the patricians triumphed, and the plebeians, who had remained behind, complained of their tribunes for having diverted them from following ſo ſucceſsful a leader. On the other hand, the tribunes, whoſe credit ſubſiſted only by the miſunderſtanding they fomented between the two orders in the commonwealth, endeavoured to ſtir up the populace to a general revolt, openly accuſing the patricians of being the cauſe of the ſcarcity, while their own families, they ſaid, were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions. The ſenate, alarmed at the ſtorm that threatened them, met daily to deliberate on the means to avert it. Some of the ſenators were for employing ſoft words and fair promiſes to gain over the moſt mutinous. But the opinion of *Appius* prevailed, which was, that the tribunes ſhould be threatened with the ſevereſt puniſhments, as diſturbers of the public peace, if they did not amend their behaviour. But when the conſuls came to declare to the curiæ the reſolution of the ſenate, the tribunes interrupted them, and even diſputed with them the right of ſpeaking in the comitia, contending, that their province was confined to the ſenate. The conteſt growing very warm, and the hotteſt in each party being ready to come to blows, *Brutus*, who was now but ædile, deſired leave of the conſuls to ſpeak to the people, promiſing to quiet the diſpute. *Geganius* and *Minucius*, pleaſed with the deference paid them, readily conſented to let him ſay what he thought fit. But he, inſtead of addreſſing himſelf either to the tribunes, or the people, turned to the conſul *Geganius*, who had been one of the commiſſioners ſent to the malecontents on the ſacred mount, and aſked him, whether he remembered, that one of the articles

The civil diſſenſions revived.

ticles of the late reconciliation was, that no patrician ſhould interrupt thoſe who were appointed to take care of the intereſts of the people? *I remember it very well*, replied the conſul. *Why then*, added *Brutus*, *do you now come hither to diſturb the conference between the people and their tribunes? Becauſe*, ſaid *Geganius*, *this aſſembly was ſummoned by us, and not by you.* The conſul added too raſhly, *that if the tribunes had convened the aſſembly, he would not even have come to hear what they ſaid.* At theſe words *Brutus* cried out aloud, *that's enough; you grant all we aſk; ſpeak to day as much as you pleaſe; to morrow I will tell you, how far our power extends, and how far yours.* The next morning, before it was light, the tribunes and ædiles went to the temple of *Vulcan*, which ſtood near the comitium, and there aſſembled the people, complaining to them of the attempt that had been made the day before, to impoſe ſilence upon them in the aſſembly of the people, whom it was their duty to defend. They then propoſed to the curiæ the following law, empowering the tribunes to harangue the people. *Let no man preſume to interrupt a tribune who is ſpeaking in the aſſembly of the* Roman *people. If any one break this law, he ſhall preſently give bail to pay the fine, to which he ſhall be condemned: if he refuſes to give this ſecurity, he ſhall be put to death and his goods confiſcated: the difficulties which may ariſe about theſe ſecurities, ſhall be referred to the people and determined by them.* This law was confirmed by the ſuffrages of the people, before the conſuls could make any oppoſition to it. The ſenate indeed refuſed to confirm it; but then the people in their turn would not accept the decrees of the ſenate. Thus theſe two tribunals were ever oppoſing one another; but the people always gained their point by their numbers and the unanimity of their leaders w.

A law is paſſed, making it penal to interrupt the tribunes, when they are ſpeaking to the people.

THE people, ſatisfied with having inlarged the power of their tribunes, bore the famine patiently, and continued quiet, till plenty of corn arriving from *Sicily* furniſhed the tribunes with a new occaſion of rekindling ſedition. The ſenators, who favoured the people, were for diſtributing gratis among the poor the corn, which had been bought with the public money. But the oppoſite faction was for holding up the price of bread, in order to keep the populace in dependence and ſubjection. The famous *Coriolanus*, at the head of the ſevere party, ſpoke loudly againſt ſhewing any indulgence to the people, propoſed the aboliſhing of the tribuneſhip, and

Freſh diſputes about the diviſion of corn.

w DIO. HAL. LIV. PLUT ibid.

taking

vengeance of the mad rabble for their paſt inſolence. The ſenators were divided in their opinions, but the major part were for re-eſtabliſhing the government upon its ancient foundations, and annulling the treaty concluded on the ſacred mount. Theſe proceedings inraged the tribunes, who left the aſſembly in the greateſt fury, calling out aloud on the gods, the avengers of perjury, to witneſs the ſolemn oaths by which the ſenate had authorized the eſtabliſhment of their dignity. The people, fired by their factious tribunes, were ready to break into the ſenate, and there ſacrifice *Coriolanus* to their hatred and revenge. But the tribunes, that their proceedings might be regular, ſtop them, and, having aſſembled the curiæ, ſummoned *Coriolanus* to appear before them. But he deſpiſed a ſummons brought him from a tribunal, which he did not acknowledge. Hereupon the tribunes, with a gang of the moſt mutinous among the plebeians, waited for him at the door of the ſenate, with a deſign to ſeize him when he came out. But, as he had a ſtronger guard with him than they, compoſed of young ſenators, who had a great reſpect for his perſon, the tribunes and their officers were beat back. Upon this the uproar was increaſed, on the one hand, by the crouds of people, who flocked together from all parts of the city, and, on the other, by the patricians, who haſtened to the aſſiſtance of *Coriolanus*. But, in the mean time, the conſuls coming up diſperſed the croud, and, partly by intreaties partly by their authority, prevailed upon the people to retire. The next day the tribunes, having aſſembled the people early in the morning, inveighed, as uſual, againſt the whole order of the patricians, but in particular againſt *Coriolanus*, repeating the very words he had uttered in the ſenate relating to the diſtribution of corn. Then they exaggerated the violence he had uſed againſt them the day before, the ill uſage their officers had met with from him and his company, the great number of men he had always about him, whom they called the tyrant's guards *&c.* After they had with long and bitter invectives made *Coriolanus* odious to the people, they added, that if there was any patrician, who would undertake his defence, he might mount the tribunal and ſpeak to the people. Then *Minucius*, the eldeſt conſul, preſenting himſelf, in a long ſpeech cleared the ſenate from being the cauſe of the famine, excuſed the imprudent warmth of *Coriolanus*, deſired them to remember his virtues as well as his faults, and intreated them, in the name of the ſenate, to forgive him. The gentle words of *Minucius*,

Coriolanus *ſummoned to appear before the tribunes.*

Menenius, joined with promiſes of ſudden plenty, ſoftened and calmed the people. But the artful *Sicinnius*, now tribune of the people a ſecond time, effaced all impreſſions made on their minds in favour of *Coriolanus*. After having thanked the conſuls and patricians for their favourable diſpoſition, he exhorted *Coriolanus* to have recourſe to the clemency of the people, and to make an apology for his conduct. The tribune well knew, that *Coriolanus* was a man of too lofty a ſpirit to ſtoop to ſupplications, and therefore did not doubt, but he would provoke the people afreſh with the haughtineſs of his anſwers. Accordingly, the young patrician, inſtead of appearing as a criminal, aſſumed the air of a judge, and by an ill-timed reſoluteneſs deſtroyed the effect of the conſul's ſpeech. For he not only owned what he had ſaid in the ſenate, but gloried in it, and refuſed to ſubmit to any tribunal but that of the conſuls, proteſting, with a loud voice and a threatening look, that he would not have vouchſafed to appear in a tumultuous aſſembly of ſeditious men, had it not been to reproach them with their crimes, and put ſome check to their boundleſs deſires. Laſtly, he declared his hatred to the tribunes, whom he called the bane of the public happineſs.

Coriolanus provokes the people with the haughtineſs of his anſwers.

It is eaſy to imagine, that ſuch a ſpeech muſt greatly offend the plebeians. Some of them were for maſſacring him on the ſpot. But *Sicinnius*, thinking it neceſſary to obſerve, at leaſt, ſome appearance of juſtice, put a ſtop to the fury of the inraged multitude, and, having conſulted apart with his collegue, without ſo much as giving himſelf the trouble to collect the voices of the aſſembly, pronounced ſentence of death upon him, and ordered him to be thrown down headlong from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock, a puniſhment inflicted upon ſuch as were enemies to their country. The ædiles inſtantly advanced with their officers to put the ſentence in execution. But the ſenate and all the patricians in the aſſembly, haſtening to his aſſiſtance, placed him in the midſt of them, determined to oppoſe force with force. And now the people, either thinking their tribunes had carried their animoſity too far, or awed by the preſence of the conſuls, refuſed to give aſſiſtance to their ædiles; *Sicinnius* therefore, by the advice of *Brutus*, reſolved to proſecute *Coriolanus* in a legal way, and to convene the people by tribes for his trial. Of this reſolution he gave *Coriolanus* notice with the following words: *We cite thee*, Coriolanus, *to appear before the people in ſeven and twenty days.* He then added, *as for the diſtribution of corn, if the ſenate does not take due care of that matter, the tribunes will give directions about it themſelves.*

Coriolanus condemned to death by the tribunes, but is reſcued by the patricians.

themſelves. Having thus ſpoke, he adjourned the aſſembly. In the mean time, the ſenate, in order to ſooth the people, fixed the price of corn at the loweſt rate it ever had been at even before the ſedition. The conſuls likewiſe, fearing leſt the proſecution of *Coriolanus* ſhould deter others from ſpeaking their mind freely in the ſenate, did all that lay in their power to appeaſe the tribunes. *Minucius* repreſented to them, that, by an immemorial cuſtom, all proceedings in capital caſes were to begin in the ſenate, and that it belonged to the ſenators to declare, whether it was proper to refer them to the people; he added, that the kings themſelves had paid this deference to ſo auguſt a body, and that he hoped the tribunes would not violate the antient rules of the government, but apply to the ſenate, if they had any grievances to lay to the charge of *Coriolanus*; he concluded by aſſuring them, that, according to the nature of the crime and the ſolidity of the proofs, the ſenate would refer the whole matter to the judgment of the people. *Sicinnius* exclaimed againſt this propoſal, pretending, that the affair naturally devolved upon the people, as the ſupreme court of judicature. But the other tribunes, plainly perceiving that they ſhould make themſelves odious even to the plebeians, if they ſo manifeſtly deviated from the uſual forms of juſtice, agreed to let the ſenate decide, as uſual, whether the people ſhould take cognizance of the matter depending. However, they inſiſted upon two conditions, which were; 1ſt, that the tribunes might be heard in the ſenate, with relation to the grievances which they pretended they had to lay to the charge of the perſon accuſed; 2dly, that the ſenators, after having been ſworn, ſhould deliver their opinions regularly, and the conſuls pronounce ſentence according to the plurality of voices. Theſe preliminaries being agreed on, the tribunes were introduced into the ſenate. *Decius*, the youngeſt of them, but a man of great eloquence, undertook to ſhe, that it belonged to the people to hear and determine the preſent cauſe. He cited a law of *Poplicola*, by which the plebeians, when ill treated by the patricians, were allowed to bring their complaints before the aſſembly of the people; he urged, that *Coriolanus*, having been guilty of a notorious inſult on the authority of the people and the dignity of their tribunes, the people were therefore his legal judges; he exaggerated the heinouſneſs of *Coriolanus*'s offence, and adviſed the ſenate to withdraw their protection from ſo proud and inſolent a patrician *.

* Dio. Hal. p. 446, 447. Plut. ibid.

When

WHEN the tribune had ended his ſpeech, the conſuls aſked the opinion of the aſſembly, beginning with the oldeſt and moſt venerable ſenators; for in thoſe days, ſays *Dionyſius*, the young ſenators were not ſo preſumptuous as to make ſpeeches, or to think themſelves capable of inſtructing their elders. They only gave their opinion by ſome ſign, or by walking over to that ſide which they thought to be moſt in the right; whence they were called *Senatores Pedarii*, from the *Latin* word *pes, a foot*. *Appius Claudius*, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, appeared to be ſtill the ſame man, an irreconcileable enemy to the people; he enumerated with great warmth all the incroachments of the plebeians. At firſt, ſaid he, they pleaded poverty, and only demanded an abolition of debts. In the beginning of their ſeditious ſeparation, they ſeemed to be content with impunity, and leave to return home. After this they thought fit to demand a college of tribunes to protect them againſt our decrees. The authority of theſe officers they would have to be ſacred, and their perſons inviolable. Then, by the help of theſe new magiſtrates, they made laws without our privity, deſpiſed the authority of the ſenate and conſuls, and diſannulled our decrees. And now by an unheard-of uſurpation, they ſummon a moſt illuſtrious patrician to appear at their tribunal, where he is to be tried as a criminal, only for delivering his opinion freely. After this he exclaimed againſt ſubmitting *Coriolanus* to be tried by the people, or making any conceſſions to them, and exhorted the ſenators not to fear a civil war, telling them, that both gods and men would join in their defence. But the popular *Valerius* was of a contrary opinion. He exaggerated the horrible conſequences of a civil war, and endeavoured to ſhew, that their paying ſome deference to the people and their tribunes was the only means to quiet their fury, both againſt their threatened country and the offender. His opinion prevailed, and it was carried by a majority, that *Coriolanus* ſhould be tried by the people. When the decree was ready to be drawn up, *Coriolanus*, finding the ſenate was deſerting him, deſired to know what crime in particular he was to be accuſed of; the tribunes anſwered, that they would confine their whole accuſation to the ſingle crime of uſurping tyrannical power. *Upon that foot*, replied Coriolanus, *I have nothing to object to the decree of the ſenate; let it be put in writing; I will appear before the people, and anſwer that frivolous charge.* Thus, with the conſent of all parties, the decree was drawn up, and put into the hands of the tribunes, who immediately aſſembled the people, read it to them, and

The ſenate conſent that Coriolanus *ſhall be tried by the people.*

exhorted all the citizens of the republic, as well those who dwelt in the country as the inhabitants of *Rome*, to be in the forum on the day appointed for the decision of this affair. The decree of the senate allowed the accused seven and twenty days to prepare his defence; during which time, the tribunes frequently conferred among themselves, and with the leading men among the plebeians, as if the preservation of the republic had depended on the destruction of *Coriolanus*.

When the appointed day came, new disputes arose about the form of the comitia, by which the accused was to be tried. The tribunes had separated the people by tribes before the senators came; whereas from the reign of *Servius Tullius* the voices had always been gathered by centuries. The consuls were for keeping up the antient custom, being well apprised, that they could save *Coriolanus* if the voices were reckoned by centuries, of which the patricians themselves and the richest citizens made the majority. But the artful tribunes, alledging, that, in an affair relating to the rights of the people, every citizen's vote should have its due weight, would not by any means consent to let the voices be collected otherwise than by tribes. The people being assembled, *Minucius* the consul spoke first, and endeavoured to persuade the people to be satisfied with *Coriolanus*'s submission in being brought to a trial before them, and not suffer it to be said, that so illustrious a citizen underwent the forms of justice like a criminal. But if you persist, said he, and are determined to vote, remember, that the whole senate is come hither to sue for his pardon. Will you refuse it to three hundred of the most venerable men in the republic? No; the most bitter enemy can never hold out against such powerful intercessors. *Sicinnius* answered with a haughty air, that he was not so cowardly as to betray the interests of the people, and that the assembly should not be dismissed till the affair was determined by a majority of voices. Well then, replied *Minucius*, since you obstinately insist, that *Coriolanus* shall be tried by this assembly, notwithstanding our intreaties, I demand, that, pursuant to your agreement with the senate, you confine your accusation to the single article of tyranny, and bring proofs and witnesses of this crime. *Sicinnius* then began the accusation, and, running over the whole life of *Coriolanus*, represented him as aiming, in every part of it at regal power.

Coriolanus is tried in an assembly of the people by tribes.

As soon as the tribune had done speaking, *Coriolanus* presented himself in the assembly, and answered the calumnies thrown upon his conduct by a bare recital of his services.

He

He firſt enumerated the many campaigns he had made in the ſervice of the republic. Then he expoſed to the view of the people the many crowns, with which he had been rewarded by the *Roman* generals; and every time he ſhewed the people any of thoſe proofs of his valour, he called upon the commanders, who had honoured him with them, to teſtify the truth of what he ſaid. He likewiſe named the many citizens he had ſaved in battle, and deſired them to ſtand up and witneſs what he advanced. Theſe men immediately appeared in the midſt of the aſſembly, and ſtretching out their hands as ſuppliants, conjured the aſſembly not to deſtroy a man, to whom they were indebted for their lives: they offered to take the place of the accuſed, and to ſecure his life at the expence of their own. As theſe were moſtly plebeians, their ſighs and preſſing ſolicitations made ſuch an impreſſion on the multitude, that they could not refrain from tears. Then *Coriolanus*, tearing away his robe, ſhewed his breaſt all covered with the ſcars of the many wounds he had received; and at the ſame time with an air of confidence mixed with modeſty, It was to ſave theſe worthy men, ſaid he, that I have received the wounds you ſee; let the tribunes ſhew if they can, how ſuch actions are conſiſtent with the treacherous deſigns they lay to my charge. Is it eaſy to believe, that a man, who has done nothing to gain the favour of the people, but hazard his life for them, could have a deſign of uſurping the throne? He had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when the moſt worthy men among the plebeians cried out, that ſo good a citizen ought to be acquitted, and that a man of his birth and merit ought not to have been brought to a trial upon ſuch ſlight preſumptions. Even the moſt mutinous thought that the accuſers had not given ſufficient proofs of the crime laid to his charge. So that the aſſembly was juſt ready to break up much to the reputation of *Coriolanus*, when the tribune *Decius*, alarmed at this change, brought in a new charge againſt him, *viz.* that, contrary to the *Roman* laws, he had diſpoſed of the ſpoils taken from the *Antiates* in his late expedition, during the famine, among his ſoldiers, inſtead of delivering them to the queſtor. This, ſaid *Decius*, is a plain proof of his evil deſigns: with the public money he ſecured to himſelf creatures, and guards, and ſupporters of his intended uſurpation. Let him make it appear, that he had power to diſpoſe of the booty without violating the laws: let him anſwer directly to this one article, without dazzling us with the ſplendid ſhew of his crowns and ſcars, or uſing any other arts to blind the aſſembly. Neither *Coriolanus* nor his friends were pre-

pared for this chicane; ſo that the tribunes, taking advantage of their ſurprize, exaggerated this breach of the law: *Sicinnius* inſolently asked him whether he was king of *Rome*, and by what authority he had diſpoſed of what belonged to the republic and the *Roman* people? All *Coriolanus* could ſay was, that thoſe of the people, who had attended him in that expedition, had received the whole benefit of that pillage. But the tribunes, urging he had by that diſtribution violated a law which was as antient as *Rome* itſelf, rekindled the former animoſity of the people againſt him, eſpecially of thoſe who had not been ſharers in the booty. Of this animoſity they laid hold, as the moſt favourable opportunity to collect the ſuffrages, and get *Coriolanus* condemned to perpetual baniſhment. Of the twenty one tribes, but nine voted for him, and the reſt againſt him. The joy of the people upon this great event is not to be imagined: they never expreſſed more, even after the greateſt victories. And indeed not without reaſon; for, by the advantage they had gained over the ſenate and the nobility, the form of government was abſolutely changed, and the plebeians, who had been hitherto dependent on the patricians, were become their judges, and poſſeſſed of a right to call before their tribunal the greateſt men in the commonwealth, and to decide their fate. As the aſſembly was diſperſing, it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh the patricians from the plebeians, by the ſorrow or joy which appeared in their countenances. *Coriolanus* was the only perſon among the former, who ſeemed unconcerned. He neither ſaid nor did any thing unworthy of his uſual magnanimity. He repaired immediately to his own houſe, where he found his mother *Veturia* and *Volumnia* his wife drowned in tears, and in the firſt tranſports of their grief. He exhorted them, in a few words, to behave with conſtancy and fortitude under the various events of life; and having recommended to them the care of his children, who were yet but infants, he took his leave, not ſuffering any body to attend him in his exile, except three or four of his clients. A great number of the ſenators and other patricians attended him to the gate of the city; but he, juſtly offended at the weakneſs of their conduct, ſaid not one word to them by the way, and parted from them with the ſame reproachful ſilence [y].

Coriolanus is condemned to baniſhment.

THE illuſtrious exile ſpent the firſt days of his baniſhment at a country ſeat of his own in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. There being left wholly to himſelf, he could not reſiſt the ſtrong motions of his reſentment, but reſolved to revenge

[y] DIO. HAL. l. vii. p. 463. LIV. l. ii. PLUT. in Coriol.

the

the affront which the ſenate had ſuffered the people to put upon him. Having taken this reſolution, he caſt his eyes upon the ſeveral nations that were neighbours and enemies to *Rome*, and finding none more exaſperated againſt the *Romans*, or in a better condition to undertake a war, than the *Volſci*, he determined to ſeek a retreat among them, not doubting, but he ſhould prevail upon them to eſpouſe his quarrel, and join with him in purſuing their common revenge. The *Volſci* were at that time a republic, conſiſting of ſeveral ſmall cantons, united by a league, and governed by an aſſembly of deputies from each of them. One *Attius Tullus*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Tullus Amphidius*, a man of great experience in war, and who had a conſiderable intereſt throughout the whole nation, was then their general. In the late wars between the *Romans* and the *Volſci*, he had been often encountered, and always conquered in battle by *Coriolanus*. However, the *Roman* thought he could diſcloſe his reſentments and intruſt his life with no-body more ſafely than with a brave man, who perhaps might entertain as great an eſteem for him as he had for *Attius*. He therefore came to a reſolution to apply himſelf directly to him. Accordingly, he left his retreat in diſguiſe, and in the evening entering *Antium*, one of the chief cities of the *Volſci*, where *Tullus* reſided, he went ſtrait to his houſe with his face covered, and ſat down by the hearth of the domeſtic gods, a place ſacred in all the houſes of the antient *Pagans*. *Attius* was at ſupper in an inner apartment, when news was brought him, that a ſtranger, of a very majeſtic air, was, without ſpeaking to any body, come into his houſe, and had placed himſelf by the hearth of his lares. *Attius* immediately came out, and asked him who he was, and what he required? *Coriolanus* then diſcovered his face; but the other not recollecting him, he told him his name, acquainted him with his caſe, and offered to aſſiſt the *Volſci* againſt *Rome*, with his counſels and all his experience in war. *Attius* immediately gave him his hand, received him with great kindneſs, and aſſured him of the friendſhip of the *Volſci*. He then led him into his apartment, where they ſpent the following days in private conferences, about the means of puniſhing *Rome*, for the miſchiefs ſhe had done to the *Volſci*, and the hard uſage *Coriolanus* had received from her. But the great point was, how to bring the whole nation to a declaration of war with *Rome*. The *Volſci* had ſuffered greatly in the laſt war, and had, by yielding ſome of their towns and part of their territory, obtained of the republic a truce for two years. As this truce was not yet expired, *Tullus*, tho' he

He retires to Antium, *the chief city of the* Volſci.

he had a great intereſt in the diets of the cantons of his country, could not promiſe, that he ſhould be able to perſuade the whole nation to take up arms. However, the two generals found means at laſt to compaſs what they deſired. The *Romans* were making great preparations for public ſports, which drew crowds of ſtrangers from all parts. The *Volſci* eſpecially went thither in great numbers, which gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the conſuls, whoſe apprehenſions were increaſed by an artifice which the two generals had concerted together. This was to ſuborn one of the *Volſci* to go to the conſuls, and pretend to make a diſcovery of a deſign his countrymen had to ſet fire to *Rome*, while the *Romans* were taken up with the games and public ſports in the circus. *Livy* ſeems to inſinuate, that this ſcheme was laid without the knowledge of *Coriolanus*; but *Plutarch* and *Dionyſius* tell us, that the whole was an artifice of his. The conſuls immediately made the report of the pretended plot to the ſenate, and the ſenate cauſed the ſame day a decree to be publiſhed throughout the city, ordering all the *Volſci* to leave it before ſun-ſet, on pain of death. The conſuls, being ordered to ſee this decree put in execution, cauſed all the gates of the city to be ſhut, except the gate *Capena*, through which all the *Volſci* were drove out with ſhame and ignominy. *Tullus* met them as by chance, and, hearing how they had been treated, exaggerated the affront they had received. *We alone*, ſaid he, *of all the different nations now in* Rome *are not thought worthy to ſee the games. We alone, like the profaneſt wretches and outlaws, are driven from a public feſtival. Go and tell in all your cities and villages the diſtinguiſhing mark the* Romans *have put upon us.* He found no difficulty in exaſperating minds already prejudiced; a general diet was tumultuouſly aſſembled, when all the deputies were of opinion, that they were at liberty to begin the war, without waiting till the truce was expired. When *Tullus*, who conducted the affair, ſaw his countrymen ready to carry fire and ſword into the territory of *Rome*, he adviſed them, before they broke up, to ſend for *Coriolanus* into their aſſembly; telling them, that he now bore more enmity to the *Romans* than they themſelves, and was capable of doing them more hurt than they had received from them. The *Roman* was accordingly ſent for, and, being introduced into the aſſembly, he related his misfortunes, made a merit of chuſing a retreat among the *Volſci*, rather than among the *Latins*, *Hetrurians*, *Sabines*, &c. perſuaded them to demand back all the cities the *Romans* had taken from them; and laſtly offered to aſſiſt their generals with his counſels and ſword, without aſpiring to any command in their armies. His ſpeech

The Volſci *reſolve upon a war with* Rome.

was

was received with great applauſe, and embaſſadors were diſpatched to *Rome*, to demand the reſtoration of the lands and cities which had been taken in the late war. But the only anſwer they brought back was this; that the *Romans* would not give up what they had conquered, and that if the *Volſci* were the firſt to take arms, the *Romans* would be the laſt to lay them down. Upon this the *Volſci* unanimouſly appointed *Tullus* and *Coriolanus* to command their troops, and, to bind the latter more ſtrictly to them, conferred on him the dignity of ſenator. The two generals immediately raiſed a numerous army, which they divided into two bodies; *Tullus* with one ſtaid in the country to cover it on the ſide of *Latium*, while *Coriolanus* with the other, conſiſting of the flower of the *Volſcian* troops, entered the territory of *Rome*, before the conſuls had taken any meaſures to oppoſe him, and there made himſelf maſter of *Circæum*, *Corbio*, *Vitellium*, and *Trebia*. *Toleria*, *Bola*, *Labicum*, and *Pedum*, all in *Latium* or on the confines of that country, were taken ſword in hand, and the inhabitants given up to the fury of an enemy victorious and inraged. As this irruption was not expected, *Coriolanus* found many *Roman* citizens diſperſed about the country, and theſe he made ſlaves. He burnt their farms, carried away their cattle, broke in pieces all their inſtruments of huſbandry, and, in ſhort, carried fire and ſword into all parts. However, in that general devaſtation, either out of regard to his old friends, or to keep up a reciprocal animoſity between the two parties, he ſpared the houſes and lands of the patricians. This conduct had the deſired effect. The plebeians complained of the patricians, as if they had brought ſo formidable an enemy upon them. The patricians, on the other hand, upbraided the people, with having forced ſo great a captain to throw himſelf in deſpair into the party of the enemy. As mutual diſtruſt, ſuſpicion, and hatred reigned in both parties, they were not ſo eager to repulſe the *Volſci*, as to decry and ruin each other: ſo that *Coriolanus*, finding no army in the field to oppoſe his deſigns, carried on his conqueſts, took *Lavinium*, and at length came and incamped at the *Foſſa Cluilia* within five miles of *Rome*. The conſternation in the city was then general. The people, terrified at the approach of ſo formidable an enemy, haſtened into the forum, and there with loud cries demanded peace, and the abolition of the decree of *Coriolanus*'s baniſhment. But the ſenate, who had formerly protected the exile, now refuſed to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themſelves from the ſuſpicion of maintaining a correſpondence with *Coriolanus*, or perhaps out of that ſpirit of magnanimity, which made the *Romans* averſe from peace, when

Coriolanus appointed to command their troops.

Takes many cities from the Romans.

The people are for recalling him from baniſhment.

when they were attended with bad ſucceſs in war. However that be, the *Roman* general no ſooner underſtood the oppoſition the ſenate made to his return, but he advanced to *Rome*, and inveſted the place, as if he deſigned to beſiege it. As he continued there that evening, and a good part of the next day, without making any motion, the *Romans* imagined he only waited for an opportunity of reconciling himſelf with his country. The ſenate therefore reſolved to ſend a deputation to him, conſiſting of five ſenators, who had been his moſt zealous friends. Theſe were *M. Minucius*, *Poſthumus Cominius*, *Sp. Lartius*, *P. Pinarius*, and *Q. Sulpicius*, who had all been conſuls. When *Coriolanus* underſtood that the deputies were coming, he pleaſed himſelf with the thought of humbling thoſe proud republicans. He made them paſs through two ranks of ſoldiers ſtanding to their arms, and gave them audience ſitting, and ſurrounded by the moſt conſiderable men among the *Volſci*. *Minucius*, who had been his chief advocate, put him in mind of the regard the patricians had always ſhewn him, and endeavoured to excuſe, in ſome meaſure, the people, of whom nine tribes had voted for him. He expoſtulated with him for carrying his reſentment to ſuch an exceſs, reminded him of the inſtability of fortune, and, laſtly, invited him to throw himſelf into the arms of his native city, which ſtretched them out, like a tender mother, to receive him into her boſom.

The ſenate ſend a deputation to him.

Coriolanus anſwered with a haughty air, that as general of the *Volſci* he muſt adviſe them to apply to the nation he ſerved, and in a ſuppliant manner ſue to them for peace, which he engaged to procure for them, upon condition, that *Rome* reſtored to the *Volſci* the country ſhe had taken from them, granted them the ſame rights of citizenſhip which ſhe had granted to the *Latins*, and recalled the *Roman* colonies from thoſe towns of which ſhe had got poſſeſſion unjuſtly. As to the liberty offered him of going back to *Rome*, he ſaid it was not worth his acceptance. *Is a bare re-eſtabliſhment in* Rome, ſaid he, *a ſufficient ſatisfaction for the affronts I have received? Can there be any ſafety for me, while a* Sicinnius *or a* Decius *is able to arm the populace againſt my life? No*; Rome *is an unnatural mother, who has caſt off a ſon that was uſeful to her, and zealous for her glory. She ſhall ſoon know, by the effects of my reſentment, whoſe cauſe it is that the gods eſpouſe.* Having thus ſpoke in a haughty ſtrain what concerned the intereſts of the *Volſci* and his own injuries, he aſſumed a more gentle air towards the deputies, aſſured them, that he remembered with pleaſure his obligations to them, returned them thanks for the generous protection they granted to his wife and children, and told them, that,

His anſwer to the deputies.

that, to ſhew his gratitude, he would even allow the *Romans* a truce for thirty days with reſpect to the proper territory of *Rome*; but that, after the expiration of that time, he ſhould expect from them a deciſive anſwer [z].

Coriolanus employed the thirty days in making new conqueſts in *Latium*, and then returned and incamped before *Rome* with all his forces. The ſenate had ſpent the thirty days in deliberations, and the reſult of their debates may give us a true notion of the temper of thoſe haughty republicans. They reſolved never to receive law from their enemy, nor treat of peace with him, till he had laid down his arms, and retired from the territory of *Rome*, and from thoſe of her allies. Their pride did not abate, notwithſtanding the preſent calamity. They choſe ten new deputies to carry this meſſage to *Coriolanus*, who returned them this ſhort anſwer, that the *Romans* had no choice but compliance with the articles, or war; and that he allowed them three days more to come to a final determination. He even refuſed to hear their reply, threatening to treat them as ſpies, if they did not quit his camp immediately. The report of the deputies threw the city into the utmoſt conſternation. All that could be done in this univerſal dejection was, to appoint every one his poſt, either on the ramparts, the capitol, or in the towers. The tribunes were not now ſo much as heard of; the conſuls, being at a loſs what to do, aſſembled the ſenate; expedient upon expedient was propoſed, and at laſt they all agreed to ſend a new deputation to the enemy's camp, conſiſting of all the miniſters of the gods, with which they thought *Coriolanus* could not but be affected. Accordingly, all the prieſts, augurs, ſacrificers, and guardians of the ſacred things, were ordered to march out of the city in their pompous habits, and to conjure *Coriolanus*, by the reſpect he owed to the gods, to grant peace to his country. But this deputation was as fruitleſs as the former. *Coriolanus* ſent them back to the city with orders to acquaint the ſenate, that the attack would immediately begin, if they did not ſubmit to the conditions which he had propoſed in the name of the *Volſcian* nation.

Another deputation ſent to him conſiſting of the prieſts, augurs, &c.

UPON the return of the prieſts, they all looked upon the republic as loſt; the men ran in diſorder to the walls, and the women in deſpair to the temples, eſpecially to that of *Jupiter* in the capitol, where, with tears in their eyes, they implored of the tutelar gods of *Rome* the preſervation of their country, then on the brink of ruin. Such was the face of affairs in the city, when a *Roman* matron, named *Valeria*, ſiſter of the

[z] DIO. HAL. l. viii. p 492—509. LIV. l. ii. c. 39 PLUT. in Coriol.

famous *Valerius Poplicola*, as if ſhe had been moved by a kind of divine inſpiration, turned to the other matrons, who were come in crouds to the temple of *Jupiter*, and ſuggeſted to them a reſolution which ſaved *Rome*. *Let us not ſuffer ourſelves*, ſaid ſhe to them, *to ſink under our preſent afflictions. What men could not do, women may perhaps accompliſh. We may perhaps ſoften the heart of a conqueror hitherto inflexible. Let us go in this mournful dreſs to the houſe of* Veturia, *the mother of* Coriolanus, *and agree with her to repair to the camp of her ſon.* Coriolanus *will never be able to hold out againſt the tears of his mother, his wife, and his children, when attended with all the women of diſtinction in* Rome. This motion being approved of by all who were preſent, they went ſtrait to the houſe of *Veturia*, whom they found with *Volumnia*, her daughter-in-law, deploring their own misfortunes and thoſe of *Rome*. *Volumnia*, ſurpriſed to ſee ſo many women of diſtinction crowd to her, aſked what had brought them to a houſe overwhelmed with ſorrow? *You*, replied *Valeria*, *are the only refuge we have left in our misfortunes. We come to intreat you to preſerve our eſtates, our honour, and our liberty, from the* Volſci. *Repair then with us to the camp of* Coriolanus, *and bring with you* Volumnia *and theſe tender children, who may ſoften the heart of their beloved father. Your preſence will perſuade him to prefer the preſervation of his deſtitute family to the purſuit of his reſentment, and the honours he may expect from the* Volſci. *Nothing can be more glorious for you,* Veturia, *than to recover your ſon, deliver your country, and ſave the lives of your fellow-citizens. Make no delay, ſince the danger is great, and requires a ſpeedy remedy.* At theſe words *Veturia* burſt out into tears, recollected herſelf a moment, and then replied; *Alas! my intereſt in* Coriolanus *is but a poor refuge. What impreſſions can women make on a warrior ſpirited by revenge? I am not wanting in affection to my country; but what am I now in my ſon's eyes more than other* Roman *women, who ſhare the averſion he has for* Rome? *This he ſufficiently ſhewed at his departure into baniſhment.* Coriolanus, ſaid he to us, *is now loſt to you for ever. I have no longer either mother, wife, or children. I renounce all, even my domeſtic gods. Can we then hope to ſoften ſo hard a heart? What ſhall we perſuade him to do? To love a country, which has treated him ſo injuriouſly? To betray a nation, which has received him in its boſom? Shall we deſire him to ſhew compaſſion for a people, who had none for him? Let me ſpend my days,* Valeria, *in grief and ſorrow, and don't force*

The Roman *matrons reſolve to intercede with him in behalf of their country.*

me

me to ſuffer the mortification of a refuſal, which will be equally diſhonourable to Coriolanus *and his mother.* But *Valeria* renewing her intreaties, and with her all the *Roman* matrons embracing her knees, and conjuring her not to refuſe her country this laſt aſſiſtance, *Veturia*, at length overcome, promiſed to comply with their requeſt, if the ſenate agreed to it. *Valeria* immediately gave advice of this deſign to the conſuls, who propoſed it in the ſenate, where, after long debates, it was approved of by the fathers. Then *Veturia* and the moſt illuſtrious of the *Roman* matrons, in a great many chariots, which the conſuls had ordered to be got ready for them, took their way to the enemy's camp. *Coriolanus*, being informed by his ſcouts, that his mother, his wife, and a great number of other women, were coming to his camp, determined to receive them with the ſame reſpect that he had paid to the miniſters of religion, but in the main to grant them nothing; for he was well appriſed of the views the *Romans* had in ſo unheard-of a deputation. But notwithſtanding his reſolution, he no ſooner ſaw his mother and wife at the head of this troop of women, than he began to relent. He walked out of his tent, and ordering his lictors to lower their faſces before perſons ſo dear to him, he ran haſtily to embrace them. They expreſſed their joy upon ſeeing each other again chiefly by tears; and when they had given ſome time to the firſt emotions of nature, *Veturia* began to enter upon the ſubject for which ſhe came. *Coriolanus*, that he might not give any umbrage to the *Volſci*, called the chief officers of his army to be witneſſes of what paſſed in this interview. They were no ſooner come, than *Veturia* told him, that the *Roman* matrons, who attended her, had omitted nothing, during his abſence, that could comfort her and his wife *Volumnia* in their affliction; that they were come to beg peace of him once more, and to conjure him, by all that was dear to him to turn his arms againſt other enemies, *&c.* *Coriolanus* replied, that he could not think of betraying the intereſts of a nation, that had truſted him with the command of their army, and honoured him with a place in their ſenate; that he had found more honours at *Antium*, than he had loſt at *Rome*, and that nothing would be wanting to his happineſs, if ſhe and *Volumnia* would leave the ungrateful city, and come and enjoy among the *Volſci* the honours which they would pay to the mother and wife of their general. The *Volſcian* officers ſeemed very much pleaſed with this anſwer; but *Veturia*, without entering into a compariſon between *Rome* and *Antium*, which would have offended them, told him, that

The interview between Coriolanus *and his mother.*

ſhe would never require any thing of him that might be a blemiſh upon his honour; but that, without being any ways wanting in what he owed to the *Volſci*, he might mediate a peace equally advantageous to both nations. Then, raiſing her voice, ſhe added; *And can you, my ſon, reject a propoſal ſo equitable? can you prefer a cruel and obſtinate revenge to the tears and intreaties of your mother? conſider, that your anſwer is to decide the fate of my glory and of my life too. A* Roman *woman knows how to die, when her honour calls upon her ſo to do. If I cannot move you, know I have reſolved to give myſelf death in your preſence. You ſhall not march to* Rome, *without treading under your feet the body of her to whom you owe your being.* *Veturia*, perceiving her ſpeech made a deep impreſſion on his mind, continued her diſcourſe, conjuring him by the great *Jupiter*, who preſided in the capitol, and by the manes of his father and anceſtors, to withdraw his troops from before *Rome*, and allow the *Romans* for her ſake a truce for a year, that in this interval meaſures might be taken to procure a ſolid and laſting peace. *Grant this, my ſon,* ſaid ſhe, *and if my tears and prayers are not able to move you, behold your mother at your feet, imploring of you the preſervation of her country.* With theſe words, melting in tears, ſhe embraced his knees; his wife and children did the ſame, and all the *Roman* matrons, who were with them, begged for mercy by their cries and tears. *Coriolanus*, ſeeing his mother at his feet, could hold out no longer, but amidſt a ſtruggle with different paſſions cried out, *Ah, my mother, you diſarm me,* and, tenderly preſſing her hand in lifting her up, he added in a low voice, Rome *is ſaved; but your ſon is loſt*; well foreſeeing, that the *Volſci* would never forgive him the regard he was going to pay to her intreaties. He then retired into his tent with his mother, wife, and children, and there conferred with the two perſons that were moſt dear to him, about the meaſures he ſhould take with reſpect to the *Volſci* and to the *Romans*. The articles agreed on were theſe; 1ſt, that *Coriolanus* ſhould decamp the next day, without committing any hoſtilities in the *Roman* territory; 2dly, that after he had aſſembled the chiefs of the *Volſci*, he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade them to conclude a peace with *Rome* upon reaſonable terms; 3dly, that if the *Volſci* would not hearken to an accommodation, he ſhould then lay down the command of their army, which would probably be a means to bring them to a better temper. *Veturia*, after a conference ſo beneficial to her country, taking leave of her ſon, returned in the evening with the other *Roman* ladies to *Rome*, where

His mother prevails upon him to raiſe the ſiege of Rome.

where they were received with [illegible]clamations of the whole city. The ſenate deſired them [illegible] what reward they pleaſed for ſo important a ſervice. But *Veturia*, after having conſulted with the others, replied, that they aſked nothing but leave to build a temple at their own expence to *The Fortune of women*. The ſenate, applauding their diſintereſtedneſs, ordered both the temple and the ſtatue to be erected at the expence of the public, in the very place where *Veturia* had overcome the obſtinacy of her ſon. *Valeria*, who had propoſed ſo ſucceſsful a deputation, was the firſt prieſteſs of this ſanctuary, which was much frequented by the *Roman* women [a].

EARLY next morning, *Coriolanus* led back his troops into the country of the *Volſci*, and there divided all the ſpoil among his ſoldiers, without reſerving any thing for himſelf. This liberality increaſed their affection to him, ſo that they made his apology where-ever they went. However, ſome murmured at the reſpect he had ſhewn for his mother and country. Among theſe was *Attius Tullus*, who, growing jealous of the eſteem and credit which his rival had gained with the ſoldiers, publicly gave out, that he had betrayed the intereſt of the *Volſci*. Hereupon *Coriolanus* deſired, he might be allowed to clear his conduct before the general council of the nation. An aſſembly was accordingly held; but while *Coriolanus* was beginning to anſwer the charge brought againſt him by his adverſaries, *Tullus*, who no leſs feared his eloquence than his valour, raiſed a tumult, by the advantage of which ſome of the oppoſite faction ſuborned by *Tullus*, threw themſelves upon him and ſtabbed him. The ſoldiers, who had ſerved under him, greatly lamented his death, and the people of *Antium* performed his obſequies with great pomp, and erected a ſtately tomb to his memory. The *Romans* had their reaſons of ſtate for n t decreeing him the ſame funeral honours. For he had born arms againſt his country, and was not yet reconciled to *Rome* by a regular treaty. However, the *Roman* ladies, upon their preſenting a petition to the ſenate, obtained leave to wear mourning for him ten months. Such was the end of the famous *Marcius*, ſurnamed *Coriolanus*, who, for his eminent virtues and great ſervices, deſerved a much better treatment both from the *Romans* and the *Volſci*. He was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious patrician families in *Rome*. He had an excellent underſtanding, was frugal, diſintereſted, of ſtrict probity, and inviolably at-

He is aſſaſſinated by the Volſci.

[a] DIO. HAL. p. 511—526. LIV. l. ii. PLUT. ibid.

tached

tached to the obſervation of the laws. Theſe pacific virtues were never known to be accompanied with a more heroic courage, or ſo great a capacity for the art of war. *Rome* never bred a more able general: he was always ſucceſsful, becauſe always equally brave and prudent. But he was imperious, inexorably ſevere, and ſo far from affecting popularity, that he ran into the other extreme, which paſſed for pride. Though he was too haughty for a republican, his country has ever honoured him as one of her heroes, and hiſtory has done him the juſtice to ſay, that he could, at the head of a *Roman* army, have more inlarged the dominions of the republic, than all the generals who went before him. But unhappy factions hindered *Rome* from reaping any benefit from his virtues. But ſhe was at laſt ſenſible of the loſs ſhe had ſuffered by baniſhing him; and her own misfortunes taught her, how many calamities ſhe might have avoided, and how many conqueſts gained, if ſhe had not provoked a man of ſuch eminent parts.

Upon the news of *Coriolanus*'s death, the conſuls ventured to take the field. Theſe were *Sp. Nautius* and *Sextus Furius*, men of no experience in war, or courage. They incamped ſeparately on eminences at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy. But though the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, who had entered into a confederacy againſt *Rome*, quarrelled about the choice of a general, and even fought a bloody battle, the timorous conſuls did not venture to attack them in their retreat, but led their troops back to *Rome*, where they were received with the hiſſes of the people [b].

The people had of late placed ſuch perſons at their head as were pliable and ſubmiſſive, without regarding any other qualifications; but, having experienced the inconveniencies of being governed by men of little merit, they reſolved for the future to change their conduct; and therefore choſe two conſuls, who had given diſtinguiſhing proofs of their courage and ſkill in war, *Aquilius Tuſcus* and *Sicinnius Sabinus*. The former gained a compleat victory over the *Hernici*, and the latter over the *Volſci*, who had been ſo formidable under the command of *Coriolanus*: their army was intirely defeated, their camp taken, and their general *Attius Tullus* killed in the battle. This victory being of greater conſequence than that of *Aquilius*, *Sicinnius* was decreed a triumph, and the other only an ovation. Theſe conſuls were ſucceeded by *Sp. Caſſius*, who had been twice conſul before, and had

The Romans *gain two compleat victories, the one over the* Hernici, *the other over the* Volſci.

[b] Dio. Hal. p. 528.

obtained

obtained a triumph, and *Proculus Virginius*, a patrician of known courage. The latter marched againſt the *Æqui*, who, upon the approach of the *Roman* army, retired with all their effects into their cities. The conſul therefore, who was not in a condition to undertake ſieges, returned to *Rome*. It had fallen to *Caſſius*'s lot to make war with the *Hernici*; and accordingly he took the field, and entering their country, by the mere terror of his arms reduced them to ſubmit, and ſue for peace and an alliance with the republic. The conſul, however, would not ſettle the conditions of the alliance, till they had firſt obtained a decree of the ſenate for it; which deference ſo obliged the fathers, that they impowered *Caſſius* to draw up the articles of the treaty himſelf, promiſing to ratify whatever he ſhould determine. This mark of diſtinction emboldened the conſul to demand the honours of a triumph, which, though not due to him, for he had gained no victory, yet were granted. He was no ſooner honoured with a ſecond triumph, than he drew up the conditions of the treaty with the *Hernici*, which was only a copy of the treaty he had made with the *Latins* in his ſecond conſulſhip. This condeſcenſion gave no ſmall umbrage to the ſenate; they could not bear, that a foreign nation, but juſt reconciled to *Rome*, ſhould be raiſed at once to equal honours and privileges with the *Latins*, who were allied to them by blood, and had done them many important ſervices. As *Caſſius* was a man naturally vain and oſtentatious, ſome penetrating republicans began to ſuſpect, that in thus favouring the *Hernici*, he had private views prejudicial to the ſtate. And indeed he ſoon convinced them, that his views and intereſts were very different from thoſe of the commonwealth. For the very next day after his triumph, having, according to cuſtom, convened an aſſembly of the people, to give them an account of what he had done for the ſervice of the republic during the campaign, among other things he told them, that he propoſed, before the end of his magiſtracy, to render the condition of the plebeians ſo happy, that they ſhould no longer envy that of the patricians. The next day he aſſembled the ſenate, and there made a long ſpeech in praiſe of the plebeians, which he concluded by propoſing a new diviſion of the lands belonging to the public, ſaying, it was but reaſonable, that the lands, taken from the enemy, ſhould be divided among thoſe who had expoſed their lives to inlarge the bounds of the republic. He added, that he likewiſe thought it reaſonable that the poor citizens ſhould be reimburſed what money they had paid in the late famine for the corn, which *Gelo*, one of the princes of *Sicily* had made a pre-

The conſul Sp. Caſſius courts the favour of the people.

The Agrarian *law.*

preſent of to the republic, and which ought to have been diſtributed gratis among the people. Both theſe propoſals were rejected by the ſenate with great indignation. Moſt of the ſenators, without any reſpect to the dignity of *Caſſius*, publicly reproached him with his pride, his ambition, and the deſire he betrayed of raiſing new troubles in the commonwealth. But *Caſſius*, flattering himſelf that the people would declare in his favour, convened a new aſſembly, and having there bitterly inveighed againſt the patricians, he exhorted the multitude to free themſelves at once from the indigence to which the avarice of the nobility had reduced them, by making a ſolemn law for the partition of the conquered lands in their own favour. He did not ſtop here; but adviſed them, by the ſame law, to admit the *Latins* and *Hernici* to ſhare with them in the diſtribution. To make the people reliſh this part of his propoſal, he inſinuated to them, that by this means thoſe two nations would be united with them in one common intereſt, and conſequently would not fail to ſupport them in caſe of any attempt made by the patricians to drive them from their poſſeſſions. This law, as it related to the diviſion of lands, was called the *Agrarian* law, from the *Latin* word *ager*, ſignifying *land*.

Why the tribunes oppoſed it.

The people at firſt received the propoſal with great applauſe. But the tribunes, diſpleaſed to ſee a conſul author of a law, which favoured the people, oppoſed it to the utmoſt of their power, and brought over to them great numbers of the people, who at firſt had been fond of *Caſſius*, and had blamed both tribunes and patricians as betraying their intereſt. *It is a ſhame*, ſaid the tribunes, *to ſuffer lands, which you have acquired by your blood, to be profuſely diſtributed among allies, who had no ſhare in your conqueſts. Why are the* Hernici *to have one third of their lands left to them? Ought they not, as a conquered people, to be intirely deprived of them? There is, without all doubt,* O Romans, *a deſign upon your liberty. Your ſlavery will be the conſequence of this fatal diviſion of lands, which the artful conſul would make between you and foreigners. By that extraordinary diſtribution of lands between the conquerors and the conquered, he deſigns to make the old enemies of* Rome *his creatures, to the prejudice of the republic, and to plane himſelf a way to ſovereign power.* One day, when *Caſſius* and his collegue *Virginius*, who oppoſed this law, were diſputing before the people, *Rabuleius*, a cunning tribune, addreſſed them both thus: *Is not your diſpute, whether the people of* Rome *ſhall themſelves take poſſeſſion of all the conquered lands, or ſhare them with the* Hernici *and* Latins? The conſuls

The artful conduct of the tribune Rabuleius.

agreed

agreed it was. Upon which the tribune, turning to the people, *Our conſuls agree*, ſaid he, *as to the main point; neither of them is for excluding you from the lands in diſpute. Loſe no time therefore*, Romans, *in taking poſſeſſion of what is unanimouſly granted you. As for the other article, leave it to be conſidered of hereafter.* This advice pleaſed the people, who were for having the clauſe in favour of foreigners dropt. But *Caſſius*, who was fond of his own ſcheme, diſmiſſed the aſſembly before they came to any reſolution. As the people were then all inclined to favour *Virginius*, *Caſſius* did not appear for ſome days in public, pretending to be indiſpoſed, but in reality contriving new expedients to get his law paſſed. To this end he brought as many *Latins* to *Rome* as he could, for they had the privileges of *Roman* citizens. But *Virginius*, aware of his collegue's deſign, publiſhed a decree, commanding all thoſe, who were not inhabitants of *Rome*, to leave it immediately. *Caſſius*, on the other hand, made a contrary edict, declaring it lawful for any one, who was inrolled among the citizens of *Rome*, to remain there; ſo that a ſedition was like to enſue. The ſenate aſſembled to prevent the calamities which ſeemed to threaten the ſtate. Several opinions were offered: *Appius Claudius*, that intrepid defender of the laws, ſpoke firſt, and oppoſed the *Caſſian* law in both its parts. He was againſt diſtributing the lands either to *Romans* or foreigners; inveighed againſt *Virginius* for ſhewing too much indulgence to the people and their tribunes; propoſed ſelling part both of the newly conquered lands, and of thoſe which ſome of the nobility had uſurped; and depoſiting the money ariſing from the ſale in the treaſury, for defraying the charges of the war; and laſtly, moved, that a college of ten ſenators, under the name of *Decemviri*, might be created to meaſure theſe lands, and determine the differences which might ariſe about their limits. *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, a man much reſpected by the ſenate, ſpoke next, and, after having highly approved of *Appius*'s advice, obſerved, that there were two ſorts of lands to be diſpoſed of; ſome, which were formerly conquered by the *Romans*, without the aſſiſtance of their allies; and theſe he thought ought to be divided between the public and the indigent *Romans* only; others, that had been lately conquered from the *Hernici*, by the aſſiſtance of the *Latins*; and theſe he was for dividing between the public, the *Romans*, the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*, who were now become allies. As to the creation of the *Decemvirs*, he ſeconded that motion. Purſuant to the advice of theſe two ſenators, a *ſenatus conſultum*, or decree of the ſenate, was drawn up, by which it was enacted, that ten of the fathers, who had been conſuls, ſhould be appointed

The ſenate decree a partition of the conquered lands.

appointed to divide the conquered lands between the treasury, the *Romans*, and their allies; that for the future all the lands the *Romans* should conquer, with the assistance of their allies, should be divided between the public treasury, the citizens of *Rome*, and those allies; and lastly, that the choice of the first decemvirs should be left to the consuls of the ensuing year. As the estates of the principal men in *Rome* lay wholly in those conquered lands, they got this last article added to the decree, in order to put off the execution of it. Nay, the chief men in the senate resolved among themselves to impeach *Cassius*, and prosecute him to the utmost, in order to deter others from stirring in this affair. Accordingly, the two new consuls, *Q. Fabius*, and *Servius Cornelius*, were no sooner entered upon their office, but the quæstors, *Cæso Fabius*, brother to the first consul, and *Valerius*, nephew to the great *Poplicola*, having convened an assembly of the people, according to the power annexed to their office, accused *Cassius* of having introduced foreign troops into the city, with a design to usurp the sovereignty. The charge being plainly proved by the depositions of the *Latins* and *Hernici* themselves, *Cassius* was condemned by the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens, and thrown down headlong from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock [c]. Some writers tell us, that as soon as the two new consuls had taken possession of their dignity, *Cassius*'s own father accused him to the senate of having aspired to the sovereignty, and that, like another *Brutus*, having laid the proofs of his crime before the assembly of the people, he took him home to his own house, and there caused him to be put to death in the presence of his whole family [d].

Sp. Cassius is condemned and executed.

The pride of the patricians, and their contemptuous treatment of the people, made the poorer citizens regret the loss of *Cassius*, who had been their zealous defender. The consuls put off from day to day the nominating the decemvirs for the distribution of the lands, notwithstanding the solicitation of the tribunes to have the *Agrarian* law put in execution. This provoked the people, who, being stirred up by the seditious harangues of their tribunes, began to hold private assemblies, and threatened both the consuls and the senate. Every thing seemed to tend to a revolt, when the consuls had recourse to the old expedient of amusing the people with a war. But, as they were well apprised that the tribunes would oppose the necessary levies, they caused a rumour to be spread, that they were going to create a dictator; and that *Appius Claudius* would be chosen. The very name of a man so severe, and so much

New troubles on account of the Agrarian *law.*

[c] Dio. Hal. p. 537—545. Liv. l. ii. c. 41. [d] Val. Max. l. v. c. 8.

dreaded

dreaded by the multitude, made ſuch an impreſſion on the people, that they liſted themſelves without delay. *Cornelius* entered the country of the *Veientes*, and *Q. Fabius* that of the *Volſci* : both conſuls were attended with good ſucceſs. *Fabius* returned with a great booty in ſpoils, cattle, and ſlaves, but ſold the whole, and put the money into the hands of the quæſtors, without giving the leaſt part of it to his ſoldiers. And now this year being expired, *Cæſo Fabius*, the quæſtor, and *Æmilius Mamercinus*, were choſen conſuls in the comitia by centuries. *Æmilius* marched againſt the *Volſci*, by whom he was defeated in the field ; but the enemy having attacked his camp, after he had received a ſtrong reinforcement from his collegue, he ſallied out upon them, put them to flight, and laid waſte their country. During the abſence of the conſuls, the ſenate, to divert the people's minds from the *Agrarian* law, ordered the conſecration of the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, which had been vowed by *Poſthumius* at the battle of *Regillus*. In the mean while, the time for electing new conſuls being come, *M. Fabius*, brother to *Quintus* and *Cæſo*, and *L. Valerius*, who in his quæſtorſhip had been inſtrumental in the deſtruction of *Caſſius*, were choſen. During their conſulſhip, the war with the *Volſci* breaking out anew, the tribune *Mænius* proteſted againſt any levies for the ſervice, till the decemvirs were named for executing the *Agrarian* law. The conſuls, to extricate themſelves from this perplexity, carried their tribunal out of *Rome*, beyond the juriſdiction of the tribunes, which was confined within the walls of the city. They then ſent a ſummons to the people ; and if any one refuſed to appear, or give in his name, they ordered his houſe in the country to be demoliſhed, and his lands laid waſte. Thus, without having any conteſts with the tribunes, they brought the people to their duty, and ſoon formed two armies, one to march againſt the *Veientes*, the other againſt the *Volſci*. The conſuls diſtruſting their troops, which conſiſted of men ill affected to them, and for the moſt part inliſted againſt their will, agreed to act only upon the defenſive. This agreement was obſerved by *Fabius*, who marched againſt the *Veientes* ; but *Valerius* came to an engagement with the *Volſci*, which proved very bloody without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide ; for both armies, after having fought many hours with incredible fury, retired, as it were by common conſent, to their reſpective camps. The friends of *Valerius* at *Rome* gave out, that it was through want of affection in the ſoldiers to their general, that he had not gained a complete victory ; but the ſoldiers in all their letters accuſed their general with incapacity in military affairs. The

conſuls detained their ſoldiers in the field, as long as poſſible, to avoid new diſturbances; but the time for the election of new magiſtrates drawing near, they were obliged to return to *Rome*, and then diſcord raged again with more fury than ever. The patricians were for promoting *Appius Claudius*, ſon of the famous *Appius*, who had ſo ſignally ſhewed his averſion to the people. But as often as the conſuls ordered the centuries to aſſemble, the tribunes at the head of the people made ſo much noiſe, and raiſed ſuch violent and bitter conteſts, that it was impoſſible to proceed to the election. The conſuls and the ſenate endeavoured to appeaſe the tumult, but to no effect; the tribunes telling them, that unleſs they choſe men of unqueſtionable characters, they ſhould find means to prevent any election, and that they would not ſuffer tyrants to be impoſed upon them for magiſtrates. As theſe diſputes threatened a ſedition, the ſenate agreed to reduce the republic for ſome time to an inter-regnum, and commit the adminiſtration of affairs to ſome venerable old men, who ſhould govern by turns, and take care to provide new conſuls. *S. Atratinus* was the firſt who took upon him the care of public affairs, according to this ſcheme; and from that time all other authority ceaſed in *Rome*. To him, a few days after, ſucceeded *Sp. Lartius*, a man of a pacific diſpoſition, who managed both parties ſo artfully, that he prevailed on each to abate ſomewhat of their demands. It was concluded, that the election ſhould be made as uſual, and by the votes of the centuries, and that the two parties ſhould agree before-hand upon the perſons who ſhould be raiſed to the conſulate.

The republic falls into an inter-regnum.

Union re-eſtabliſhed.

Union being re-eſtabliſhed upon theſe conditions, they proceeded only for form ſake to the election. The tribunes got the conſular dignity beſtowed upon *C. Julius Julus*, who was of the people's party. The patricians named for his colleague *Q. Fabius Vitulanus*, who, without ever having offended the people, had on all occaſions ſtood up for the rights of the ſenate. As for the promotion of *Appius*, the patricians, fearing the oppoſition of the tribunes might raiſe a fatal ſedition, thought it adviſeable to defer it to more peaceable times. The tribunes made ſome oppoſition to the new levies, in hopes of getting the decemvirs named, and obtaining the partition of the lands. But *Fabius*, notwithſtanding their oppoſition, raiſed ſuch a number of troops, as enabled him to take the field, and ravage the country of the *Veientes* [c].

The civil feuds break out afreſh.

The civil feuds broke out afreſh upon the next election of conſuls. The people inſiſted on chuſing patricians of

[c] Dio Hal. p. 557---559. Liv. l. ii. c. 43.

their

their party, and the ſenate were for electing ſuch only as were ſin the intereſt of the nobility. Each party ſtood to its pretenſions with equal warmth; but at length the affair was accommodated, and they agreed to go by the ſame rule as in the laſt election. The ſenate, named *Cæſo Fabius*, who in his quæſtorſhip had deſtroyed *Caſſius*, and the people *Sp. Furius*. The *Æqui* and the *Veientes* having renewed their incurſions, the conſuls ordered the people to take arms. But *Sp. Icilius*, one of the tribunes, revived the old quarrel about the diviſion of lands, and declared he would vigorouſly oppoſe all the decrees that ſhould be iſſued by the ſenate, let the matter of them be what it would, till the decemvirs were named. In the mean time, the *Æqui* and *Veientes* with fire and ſword laid waſte the territory of *Rome*, without the conſuls being able to take the field, through the obſtinacy of the tribunes, who prevented their making any levies. In this perplexity *Appius* thought of an expedient, which proved very ſucceſsful. This was, to gain over ſome of the tribunes; for if the oppoſition of a ſingle tribune could ſuſpend the execution of a decree of the ſenate, he concluded, that it had the ſame force as the reſolutions of his collegues. The ſenators therefore applied themſelves to gain the friendſhip of the tribunes, wherein they ſucceeded, four of that college declaring in a public aſſembly, that they could not bear, that the enemy ſhould thus lay waſte the country with impunity. The oppoſition of *Icilius* being therefore over-ruled, the people took arms. *Furius*, being beloved by his ſoldiers, had a ſucceſsful campaign, and gained very conſiderable advantages over the *Æqui*. But the troops of *Fabius*, who were to act againſt the *Veientes*, choſe rather to loſe their own glory, than gain any honour for their general. They refuſed to purſue the enemy, after they had put their troops to flight, leſt, by making the victory compleat, they ſhould procure *Fabius* a triumph at his return to *Rome*. Neither did they ſtop here; but the night following they ſtruck their tents without orders, and began their march towards the city. The conſul, finding it impoſſible to govern them, put the beſt face he could upon the matter, founded a retreat, and returned with them.

The ſenate by a ſtratagem carry their point againſt Icilius, *and make the neceſſary levies.*

As it was now become cuſtomary in the republic to have one of the conſuls choſen according to the inclinations of the people, and the other according to thoſe of the ſenate, the patricians caſt their eyes again upon the *Fabian* family, and raiſed to the conſulate *M. Fabius* a ſecond time, notwithſtanding his brother *Cæſo* had been ſo diſagreeable to the army the year before; and the people promoted *Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus*. In their conſulſhip, the *Hetrurians*, encouraged by the diviſions

The Hetrurians *with a numerous army invade the* Roman *territory.*

ysions in *Rome*, invaded the *Roman* territory with a numerous army. *Pontificius*, one of the tribunes, renewed the old dispute; but the senate having gained some of their college, an army of twenty thousand men was raised, and equally divided between the two consuls, who, taking the field, incamped near each other; but had so little dependence on the affection of their troops, that they kept within their intrenchments. In the mean time, lightning falling upon the tent of the consul *Manlius*, the augurs declared, that his camp would be taken by the enemy; upon which prediction he quitted it the same night, and joined his army to that of *Fabius*. The *Hetrurians*, interpreting the omen to their advantage, seized the deserted camp, and then insulted the united armies in their intrenchments. Upon this, those very soldiers, who a little before had agreed not to come to a battle, began to complain of their commanders for not leading them out against the enemy. The generals seemed to consult together whether it were proper to engage the enemy; but their true design was to increase the eagerness of the soldiers by further delays. Accordingly, they grew so impatient to fall upon the insulting *Hetrurians*, that the consuls were obliged to take away their arms, lest they should come to an engagement without orders. Then they crouded about the generals tents, making great clamours; and *Fabius* laid hold of that opportunity to reproach them with their former behaviour, and to increase their ardor, by expressing a diffidence of their courage and honour. He had no sooner ended his speech, but they all cried out with one voice, *Lead us on, and lay aside your suspicions.* One *Flavoleius*, a centurion in great esteem among the troops, hearing these words, got upon an eminence, and thus addressed himself to the consuls: *I plainly see you have not quite laid aside your distrust of us; and indeed you have reason to fear that we shall not act answerably to our promises. But for my part, at least, I declare, I will behave in the battle like a true* Roman. *Fellow-soldiers*, continued he, *do you take the same oath that I am now going to take.* At which words he drew his sword, and, lifting it up towards heaven, cried out, *O great* Jupiter, Mars, *and thou god, whosoever thou art, who punishest breach of faith, I call you to witness, that I will never return to* Rome *till I have conquered.* The consuls, inferior officers, and all the soldiers, took the same oath, and confirmed it by sacrifices. Then the consuls restored the soldiers their arms, and marched them out of the camp in silence and good order, to take possession of an advantageous post, where they drew them up in battalia. On the other hand, the *Hetrurians* were surprised to see the cowardly

cowardly *Romans* come out of their intrenchments, and offer them battle. As this was a thing they did not expect, they had not brought the ſoldiers of the two camps together. However, either of their armies was conſiderably more numerous than that of the *Romans*; and beſides, it was confidently reported, that the *Romans* would betray their generals, and deſert them in the heat of the engagement. Full of theſe hopes, they ſounded the charge. The conſul *Manlius* commanded the right wing of the *Roman* army, *Q. Fabius* the left, and *M. Fabius*, the other conſul, the main body. Both armies advanced with great ſhouts, and came to a cloſe engagement. The front of the right wing of the *Hetrurians* being more extended than that of the left wing of the *Romans*, and more numerous, *Fabius*, with great difficulty, withſtood the multitude that faced him. However, he had broke into a great body of *Veientes*, and put them in diſorder, when an *Hetrurian*, of a gigantic ſtature, attacking him, plunged his lance into his breaſt. *Fabius* drew it out, but ſoon after fell from his horſe and died. Upon his death the left wing was ſurrounded, which the conſul *Fabius* hearing, he immediately quitted his poſt and flew to their aſſiſtance, with his brother *Cæſo*, and ſuch troops as he could confide in, and finding the *Romans*, diſheartened at the loſs of their leader, giving way, and ready to betake themſelves to a diſorderly flight, he cried out; *Fellow ſoldiers, have you forgot your oaths? Will you ſhamefully fly back to the camp? Are you more afraid of the* Hetrurians *than of* Jupiter *and* Mars? Having uttered theſe words, he threw himſelf with his brother *Cæſo* into the midſt of the enemy, and, being ſeconded by the troops he brought with him, obliged the *Hetrurians* to retire with great ſlaughter. In the right wing, commanded by *Manlius*, the *Romans* fought with great courage and reſolution, till the brave conſul being wounded was carried out of the field. Then his abſence, and the report of his death made a great alteration on that ſide. The *Romans* began to loſe ground; but the conſul *Fabius* and his brother appearing unexpectedly in the firſt ranks, and aſſuring the frighted *Romans*, that the enemy's right wing and main body were put to flight, and that the conſul *Manlius* was ſtill alive, they returned to the charge, and would have gained a compleat victory, if a new battle had not begun in another place. A body of *Veientes* in the heat of the action fell upon the *Roman* camp, which was guarded by a ſmall number of troops, and were ready to enter it, when *Manlius*, wounded as he was, hearing of their danger, cauſed himſelf to be carried thither. But while, forgetful of his wound, he was defend-

The two conſuls M. Fabius *and* Cn. Manlius *engage the* Hetrurians.

ing, at the head of a ſmall body of choſen horſe, one of the avenues to the camp, his ſtrength being quite exhauſted, he fell from his horſe, and, being ſurrounded by the enemy, was killed on the ſpot. His death was followed by the taking of the camp, the *Romans*, who defended it, being overpowered with numbers. Hereupon the conſul *Fabius*, who was ſtill engaged in the plain, leaving his men, came unexpectedly upon the *Hetrurians*, retook the camp, and, then haſtening back to the field of battle, gave the finiſhing ſtroke to the defeat of the enemy, who retired into their intrenchments in diſorder. Thus the *Romans* gained the victory; but it coſt them dear, one of the conſuls, the ſurviving conſul's brother, and a greater number of perſons of diſtinction being killed than in any former action. The conſul was ſo affected with the death of his brother, that at his return to *Rome* he declined the honours of a triumph, which had been decreed him, while he was yet in the camp. He entered the city in mourning, bringing with him the bodies of his collegue and brother, and, mounting the roſtra, made a panegyric on thoſe two heroes, without ſaying any thing of his own exploits. As he was now the ſole governor of the republic, he was afraid of countenancing the leaſt appearance of monarchy, and therefore he abdicated the conſulſhip, two months before it expired, and leaving the government in an inter-regnum, retired to cure the wounds he had received in the action. This modeſt and generous behaviour in a perſon of ſo great merit, gained him the hearts of the people; ſo that from this time the *Fabii* became popular [f].

The Romans *gain a ſignal victory, chiefly by the bravery of the* Fabii.

The conſul Cæſo Fabius *adviſes the ſenate to put the* Agrarian *law in execution.*

The *Roman* people aſſembling in the *campus Martius* choſe *Cæſo Fabius* the third time: ſo that now the three brothers had enjoyed that office for ſeven years ſucceſſively. The collegue, whom the centuries gave him, was *T. Virginius*. The new magiſtrates had no ſooner entered upon their office, but *Fabius*, actuated by his new affection for the people, laboured to reconcile them to the ſenate. The demands of the people, about the diſtribution of the conquered lands, and the refuſal of the patricians, had been too long the ſource of diviſions in the republic. The conſul therefore, before the tribunes had preſented any petition on that head, which they did every year, exhorted the ſenators to prevent the complaints of the people, and put an end to the daily diſturbances, by making the diſtribution of thoſe lands themſelves. But *Fabius* was not heard; ſome rallied him on his new zeal for the intereſts of the people, others murmured, and ſome even accuſed him of ambition. He was attended with better

[f] Dio. Hal. l. ix. p. 567——571. Liv. l. ii. c. 46-----48.

ſucceſs

ſucceſs in his military expeditions; for he diſperſed the *Æqui*, who had committed great ravages in the *Latin* territories, without the loſs of a ſingle man, and afterwards haſtened to the relief of his collegue, who being ſurrounded by the *Veientes*, without timely aſſiſtance, would have been obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Nor was this the only remarkable ſervice that *Cæſo Fabius* did the republic in his third conſulate. The two conſuls were ſcarce returned to *Rome* and their armies diſbanded, when the *Hetrurians* entered again the *Roman* territory, and made incurſions even to the foot of the hill *Janiculum*, carrying off the cattle, and laying the whole country waſte. The ſenate aſſembled to deliberate upon the means of putting a ſtop to theſe devaſtations, but, the people refuſing to take arms till the *Agrarian* law was put in execution, the fathers were greatly at a loſs what to do. In this perplexity *Fabius* formed a project worthy of his affection for his country. He aſſembled all the men of his own name and family, and having communicated to them his deſign, which was, that the family of *Fabii* ſhould, alone and at their own expence, take upon them to ſecure the frontiers againſt the *Veientes*; the *Fabii* readily conſented to the motion, and communicated their deſign to the fathers, by whom it was received with applauſe, and unanimouſly approved. Early the next morning, thoſe illuſtrious patricians, being in all three hundred and ſix, appeared under arms at *Cæſo Fabius*'s door, and from thence marched through the city in good order with about four thouſand men, partly their vaſſals and partly their clients, all under the command of *M. Fabius*, who had laſt year gained the battle of *Veii*, and was now cured of the wounds he had received on that occaſion. The whole city ran in crouds to ſee them, and made vows to heaven for their preſervation. They went out of the city at the gate *Carmentalis*; and marching to the banks of the *Cremera*, now the *Baccano*, a ſmall river which diſcharges itſelf into the *Tiber*, there built a fort in a ſteep place, ſurrounded it with a double ditch, and erected towers at certain diſtances. When the works were finiſhed, they divided their men into four ſmall parties, one of which was left to guard the fort, while the other three marched into three ſeveral parts of the enemy's country, and pillaged it. Their firſt expeditions were attended with great ſucceſs; no husbandmen durſt appear in the plains, or bring out their cattle. In the mean time, new conſuls being choſen at *Rome*, viz. *Lucius Æmilius*, a ſecond time, and *C. Servilius*, *Cæſo Fabius*, the laſt year's conſul, obtained leave of the ſenate to join his family on the banks of the *Cremera*. But the conſcript fathers, to

The Fabian *family undertake alone to guard the frontiers againſt the* Veientes.

gain him the more reſpect, created for him a new office, declaring him a proconſul, a title which gave him the ſame power over the troops he commanded, as if he had been a conſul; but no other authority (N). The new conſuls had ſcarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Hetrurians* were raiſing a formidable army in order to fall upon the *Fabii*, and that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* had already invaded the country of the *Latins*. Hereupon the conſul divided their army into three bodies; *Æmilius* led one againſt the *Veientes*, *Servilius* another againſt the *Volſci*, and *M. Furius* the third, with the title of proconſul, againſt the *Æqui*. The *Volſci*, being attacked by *Servilius*, repulſed him, and obliged him to keep in his camp, without attempting any thing elſe that ſummer. The *Æqui* fled at the approach of *Furius*, who laid waſte their country. The *Veientes*, having received ſtrong reinforcements from the other *Hetrurian* leucumonies, came to an engagement with *Æmilius*, but were entirely defeated, and forced to ſue for peace. The conſul out of reſpect to the ſenate referred their deputies to the conſcript fathers, and they in return gave him full power to conclude a treaty upon what conditions he ſhould think proper. Hereupon the conſul granted them a peace, without demanding hoſtages, or requiring any thing more than two months proviſions for his army, and money to defray the expences of the war for ſix months. This indulgence highly

(N) *Livy* does not mention the creation of a proconſul till the year of *Rome* 289, when he ſpeaks of *T. Quinctius Barbatus*, as commanding the army of the republic againſt the *Æqui* in that quality. This dignity, when it was, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, in its infancy, was confined to the command of the troops, when the preſence of the conſul was neceſſary at *Rome*, or when the republic, being attacked by ſeveral different nations at once, was obliged to ſend ſeveral armies into the field, and conſequently to increaſe the number of her generals. When the expedition was ended, the proconſulate expired. But afterwards, when *Rome* became miſtreſs of *Italy*, and gave law to diſtant nations, ſhe then appointed governors over the conquered provinces in quality of proconſuls and proprætors. Theſe offices had then great privileges annexed to them, as we ſhall obſerve in a more proper place. It is not plain from the *Latin* hiſtorians, whether the proconſulate was at firſt diſpoſed of by the ſenate or people, or whether they both joined in the election of a proconſul; but when the proconſulate became a common office in the republic, it is certain, that, the people aſſembled by tribes, ſometimes by curiæ, and more rarely by centuries, had their ſhare in the election; of which we ſhall find inſtances in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

highly offended the ſenate, inſomuch that they refuſed him a triumph. However, as he was an excellent commander, they promiſed to reward him according to his merit, on condition he relieved his collegue, who was kept blocked up in his camp by the *Volſci*. But *Æmilius*, piqued at the refuſal he had met with, returned to *Rome*, and complained to the people of the proceedings of the ſenate, as if they were diſpleaſed with him for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had put too ſpeedy an end to the war with the *Veientes*. *The patricians*, ſaid he, *prolong the wars abroad, with no other view, but to put off the execution of the Caſſian law, aud the diſtribution of the conquered lands*. He did not ſtop here, but, to ſhew his reſentment, inſtead of marching to the aſſiſtance of *Servilius*, he disbanded his army, and recalled *Furius*, who, as proconſul, was obliged to obey him [g].

NOTWITHSTANDING the peace concluded with the *Veientes*, the *Fabii* did not abandon their poſt, but continued on the frontiers to keep a people in awe, whoſe inconſtancy and inclination to break treaties were well known. In the following conſulſhip of *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius*, the other *Hetrurian* leucumonies being offended at the ſeparate peace the *Veientes* had made with *Rome*, ſummoned them to appear in the general diet of the nation, and there gave them to underſtand, that they muſt either break the treaty they had made with *Rome*, or ſuſtain a war with the other eleven leucumonies. The *Veientes* being reduced to this dilemma, choſe the former, and accordingly ſent to the *Fabii*, requiring them to demoliſh their fort and quit the frontiers. The *Fabii* rejected the propoſal with indignation; whereupon hoſtilities were immediately renewed, and all *Hetruria* eſpouſed the quarrel of their countrymen. The *Fabii* continued to ravage the country, and often engaged the *Veientes* in the open field with their uſual ſucceſs, till they were at laſt unfortunately ſurpriſed in an ambuſh. The *Veientes* lodged a whole army of *Hetrurians* in a neighbouring wood, and poſted centinels on all the eminences, to give them notice when they ſhould ſally out. Then they brought out all their cattle and horſes into a valley under a ſmall guard, as if they had no other deſign but to feed them. The *Fabii* no ſooner ſaw them, than they marched out in a great body, leaving no more men in the fort than was neceſſary to ſecure it from a ſurpriſe. They advanced in good order, and the herdſmen with their guard flying on their approach, ſome of the *Fabii* purſued the fugitives, while others ſeized the cattle, and a

[g] DIO. HAL. l. ix. p. 575. LIV. l. ii. c. 49.

ſmall number of them continued drawn up in order of battle. Immediately the *Hetrurians* ſallied out of the wood, ſurrounded the *Romans* on all ſides, and cut in pieces thoſe who were in purſuit of the booty. Hereupon the *Fabii*, who had kept their ranks, drawing themſelves into a cloſe compact body, which faced every way, quitted the plain, and gained an eminence, opening themſelves a way with their ſwords through the enemy's forces. When they had got half way up the aſcent, they fell into another ambuſh, and were quite encompaſſed anew by a freſh body of *Hetrurian* troops, which had been poſted in a wood near the hill. The *Fabii*, though quite ſpent and out of breath, renewed the fight with great vigour, made a dreadful ſlaughter of the *Hetrurians*, and at length, in ſpite of all oppoſition, gained the top of the hill.

The miſerable ſtate of the Fabii.

There they ſpent the night without any proviſions, being on all ſides beſet by an army of *Hetrurians*. The next day the *Fabii*, who were left to guard the fort, being informed of the danger of their relations, haſtened to their relief; but, being attacked in the plain by a numerous body of the enemy, they were all to a man cut off. Not long after, thoſe who were on the top of the hill, being preſſed by hunger and thirſt, broke their way through the enemy, of whom they killed great numbers. The *Hetrurians*, ſurpriſed at their courage and intrepidity in the heat of action, offered to let them retire unmoleſted, upon condition they would throw down their arms, and give their word that they would abandon the fort. But this the brave men looked upon as a diſhonourable propoſal, and therefore choſe rather to die with glory, than ſave their lives by an action, which they thought would reflect diſgrace on their family. They renewed the attack; upon which the *Hetrurians*, changing their way of fighting, avoided coming to a cloſe engagement; and keeping at a diſtance, ſhowered from all parts darts and ſtones on thoſe illuſtrious warriors. They held out ſome time againſt the unexpected ſtorm, and puſhed forwards againſt the enemy, who had not courage to come near them. At length the *Hetrurians*, perceiving that the ſwords of the *Romans* were for the moſt part broke, and their bucklers ſplit in pieces, ventured to attack them man to man. Then the *Fabii*, like men in deſpair, threw themſelves with incredible fury into the midſt of the *Hetrurian* battalions, and, ſnatching the arms of their enemies, fought them with their own weapons. Hereupon the

All the Fabii killed on the ſpot.

Hetrurians were again obliged to have recourſe to javelins and ſtones, with which thoſe brave men were overwhelmed, and all killed on the ſpot. The *Hetrurians* cut off their heads, and, carrying them in triumph on the tops of their lances, ſhewed them

them to the *Fabii*, who had ſtaid in the fort. At this ſight they gave themſelves up to deſpair, and inſtead of defending the ramparts, ſallied out upon the enemy without obſerving any order, aiming at nothing but to ſell their lives dear. Theſe were likewiſe cut in pieces; ſo that of the three hundred and ſix *Fabii*, not one eſcaped. *Livy*, and thoſe who have copied after him, tell us, that only one of the name was left in *Rome*, a youth not fourteen years of age, from whom the *Fabii* we find afterwards mentioned were all deſcended. But *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* looks upon this as a mere fable, invented to give ſomething of a miraculous air to ſo tragical an event. And indeed we can hardly believe, that of all the *Fabii*, who periſhed at the *Cremera*, one only left a child behind him. However that be, *Rome* ſuffered a great loſs, and ſhewed all the concern gratitude could expreſs. The gate *Carmentalis*, through which they marched out of the city, was thenceforth called *Porta Scelerata*, or *The accurſed gate*, and the day of their defeat was reckoned among the unlucky days, on which it was not lawful to begin any thing of conſequence [h] (O). The conſul *Menenius*, who had

[h] DIO HAL. p. 578. LIV. l. ii. c. 50.

(O) We have followed *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* in our account of the unfortunate defeat of the *Fabii*. But other hiſtorians are ſaid by that writer to relate it in the following manner. The family of the *Fabii*, ſay they, being obliged to offer up a ſacrifice, and celebrate a family-feaſt together, they marched out of the fort on the *Cremera*, in order to diſcharge this religious duty, guarded by a ſmall number of their clients. They paſſed through the enemy's country without uſing the precaution of ſending out ſcouts to reconnoitre, or marching in order of battle, as if they had been at peace with the *Hetrurian* nation. But the *Veientes*, being informed of their departure, poſted part of their troops in an ambuſcade on the road the *Romans* were to take, while a ſmall body marched to meet the guard and attack it. The *Fabii*, who ſuſpected nothing of this nature, fell into the ſnares which had been laid for them. The troops which lay concealed, ſallied out unexpectedly, and attacked them with vigour, ſome in front, others in flank, while a troop of *Veientes*, who followed them cloſe, fell upon their rear. Being thus ſurrounded on all ſides, and overpowered with numbers, they were all cut off. This account has not, according to *Dionyſius*, the leaſt appearance of truth. Is it credible, ſays he, that all the *Fabii* ſhould abandon ſo important a poſt without an expreſs order from the ſenate? As for the care of the ſacrifice, it might have been committed to ſuch of their family and name as were diſpenſed with by their age from bearing arms.

If

had received orders to march againſt the *Hetrurians*, was but thirty furlongs from the field of battle, when the *Fabii* were cut in pieces. But it was believed, that he out of jealouſy gave them up to deſtruction, when he might have eaſily relieved them. He afterwards incamped diſadvantageouſly on the ſide of a hill, without ſecuring the top of it; ſo that the *Hetrurians* incamping above him, attacked him from the higher ground, gave him an intire defeat, and made themſelves maſters of his camp. Puffed up with this victory, they advanced to the hill *Janiculum*, and poſted themſelves on the top of it, whence they could ſee all that paſſed in the city, and obſerve what preparations were making againſt a ſiege. This obliged the ſenate to recall the conſul *Horatius*, and the army which was appointed to act againſt the *Volſci*. The brave *Horatius* immediately came to a battle with the *Hetrurians*, near the gate *Collina*, the ſucceſs of which was pretty equal: but in a ſecond, near the temple of *Hope*, about a mile from *Rome*, he gained a victory, which revived

The conſul Menenius *defeated by the* Hetrurians.

If we ſuppoſe, that all the *Fabii*, not one excepted, were ſhut up in the fort, it would have been ſufficient for them to have diſpatched three or four of the family to diſcharge their obligations in the name of all the reſt. Beſides, it would have been highly imprudent in them to leave ſuch an important place defenceleſs, and at the enemy's mercy, and to march through their country with as much confidence as in the moſt peaceable times.

Livy obſerves, that the *Fabii* marched out of the city at the gate *Carmentalis*, leaving the temple of *Janus* on their right hand. *Ovid* ſpeaks of the departure of the *Fabii*, of the curſe annexed to the gate *Carmentalis*, and of the temple of *Janus* in the following verſes:

Carmentis portæ dextra eſt via proxima Jano;
Ire per hanc noli, quiſquis es; omen habet.
Illa fama refert Fabios exiſſe trecentos.
Portæ vacat culpa, ſed tamen omen habet (7).

The ſame poet tells us, that only one youth of the *Fabian* family, not yet fourteen years of age, was ſaved.

Una dies Fabios ad bellum miſerat omnes;
Ad bellum miſſos perdidit una dies
Ut tamen Herculeæ ſupereſſent ſemina gentis
Credibile eſt ipſos conſuluiſſe deos.
Nam puer impubes, & adhuc non utilis armis
Unus de Fabia gente relictus erat (8).

(7) *Ovid. Faſt. l. ii.* (8) *Idem ibid.*

the

the *Roman* courage, and ſecured the city. However, the enemy did not decamp from the *Janiculum*, nor quite lay aſide the deſign of beſieging *Rome*. At the ſame time a famine began to be felt in the city, occaſioned by the incurſions of the *Hetrurians*. The lands having been left unſown the laſt year for fear of their ravages, and moſt of the barns in the country burnt or plundered, there was a great ſcarcity of corn. The meaner ſort of the people got together in companies, threatening to plunder the granaries of the rich; and their clamours and mutinies were fomented by the tribunes, who did not fail to throw all the blame on the conſcript fathers. On the other hand, the ſenators, to clear themſelves, did all that lay in their power to relieve the people. They ſent out merchants to buy corn, fixed the price of it at a low rate, and ordered, that none of the patricians ſhould keep more in their granaries than was neceſſary for the maintenance of their families. But theſe wiſe precautions were only ſerviceable for a time. The *Romans* found themſelves under a neceſſity either of ſtarving, or driving the enemy farther off. They marched out therefore under the conduct of their new conſuls, *A. Virginius* and *P. Servilius*, and engaging the *Hetrurians*, gained a complete victory over them. But when by the dead bodies, that were brought to *Rome* to be burnt, the ſenate ſaw how many *Romans* had periſhed in the engagement, they refuſed the conſuls the honour of a triumph [m].

The Hetrurians *intirely defeated.*

THE departure of the *Hetrurians* reſtored plenty to the city, proviſions being brought thither from all the neighbouring countries. But the people were no ſooner delivered from the fear of a foreign enemy, than they renewed their complaints about the diſtribution of the conquered lands. As they could not bring about the execution of the *Caſſian* law, they laid the whole blame upon the conſuls, citing them, as ſoon as they were out of their office, before the aſſembly of the tribes. Thus *Menenius*, the ſon of the famous *Menenius Agrippa*, was accuſed by the tribunes of having connived at the deſtruction of the *Fabii*; and ſummoned to give an account of his conduct before a tribunal, where his moſt inveterate enemies were his judges. The patricians uſed the ſame arts they had formerly practiſed in the affair of *Coriolanus*, to prevent his being tried by the people; but to no purpoſe; for the tribunes continued obſtinate, and their obſtinacy prevailed. *Menenius* was tried, not by the curiæ, but by the tribes, and almoſt unanimouſly condemned to death.

Menenius *accuſed before the people, and fined.*

[m] DIO. HAL. p. 584. LIV. l. ii. c. 52.

But

But the ſenate and all his friends ſoliciting earneſtly in his behalf, the tribunes changed the ſentence of death into a fine of two thouſand aſſes, that is, about five pounds of our money, a conſiderable ſum, when men of the firſt rank lived upon the product of their ſmall farms, which they often cultivated with their own hands. Nay, this fine was exceſſive, with reſpect to *Menenius*, whoſe father had left him no other patrimony, but his glory. His friends offered to pay it for him, but he rejected their generous offers, and, being ſenſibly affected with the injuſtice and ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, ſhut himſelf up in his houſe, where he ſoon died of grief and hunger. This melancholy accident greatly increaſed the animoſity between the patricians and plebeians; the former, determining to keep no meaſures with the latter, openly declared, that they would never ſuffer the *Caſſian* law to be put in execution. On the other hand, the tribunes, more inraged than ever, omitted no opportunity of proſecuting the nobility. They took great pleaſure in humbling the patricians, and ſummoning the conſuls, as ſoon as they had laid down their office, to appear before the tribunal of the people. *Servilius*, as we have obſerved above, had loſt a great number of men in the engagement with the *Hetrurians*, when he drove them from the *Janiculum*. He had therefore ſcarce laid down the faſces, when a criminal proceſs was commenced againſt him for purſuing the enemy too far, and by that indiſcretion expoſing the lives of many citizens to unneceſſary dangers. But this was only a pretence for the proſecution. The real crime both of *Servilius* and *Menenius* was, their omitting to name the decemvirs for the partition of the lands. *Servilius* had too much confidence in the goodneſs of his cauſe to beg the ſenate to intercede for him. He faced the danger boldly, and, without changing either his habit or countenance, appeared before the aſſembly of the people, and made ſo judicious a defence, that he was unanimouſly acquitted. He ſoon after not only cleared his character from all blemiſh, but added a new luſtre to it. A remarkable victory, which the conſul *Valerius* gained the ſame year over the *Hetrurians*, was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of *Servilius*, who ſerved in quality of the conſul's lieutenant. The following year, *A. Manlius* and *L. Furius*, being choſen conſuls, the former marched againſt the *Veientes*, who, at his approach, ſhut themſelves up in *Veii*, where they were ſo diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that they ſued for peace, and obtained of the ſenate

Servilius *accuſed, but acquitted.*

ſenate a forty years truce. The conſul *Manlius*, for this ſucceſsful and unbloody expedition, was honoured with an ovation.

The Veientes obtain a forty years truce

PEACE abroad was always followed by inteſtine broils at home. The old diſputes about the diſtribution of the lands were revived by the tribunes; but the conſuls, without being in the leaſt ſhaken by their clamours and menaces, finiſhing their year, and left affairs in the ſame ſituation they had found them. They had no ſooner reſigned the faſces to *L. Æmilius*, now the third time conſul, and *Vopiſcus Junius*, than *Cn. Genucius*, a daring enterpriſing tribune, cited them to appear before the people, accuſing them of having neglected to name the commiſſioners, with a deſign to debar the poor citizens and brave ſoldiers of the ſhare they had ſo well deſerved in the conquered lands. He exhorted the people to do themſelves juſtice, repreſenting to them, that if they inflicted an exemplary puniſhment on thoſe criminals, they might, by that means, oblige their ſucceſſors to put in execution the *Caſſian* law. Accordingly a day was appointed for their trial. Theſe violent proceedings greatly alarmed the ſenate, who now ſaw, with no leſs indignation than ſorrow, that the tribunes aimed equally at their lives and fortunes, and that they had formed a deſign of deſtroying all the ſenators one after another. They therefore had private meetings among themſelves, and reſolved to reſcue *Furius* and *Manlius*, if they were condemned, there not being wanting deſperate men, who offered to make the attempt. On the other hand, the people triumphed before-hand, inſolently boaſting, that, in ſpite of all the artifices of the ſenate, the *Caſſian* law ſhould paſs, and be ſealed with the blood of thoſe who had oppoſed it; but the very day before the trial of *Manlius* and *Furius*, the furious tribune *Genucius* was found dead in his bed, without any marks on his body either of violence or poiſon. He was carried into the forum, and being there expoſed to public view, the common people concluded, that the gods did not approve of his enterprize; but the wiſer ſort entertained violent ſuſpicions of the patricians. However, the religious notion having prevailed, the partition of lands was not ſo much as mentioned for ſome time after [n].

New diſputes about the diſtribution of lands.

The ſudden death of the tribune Genucius.

THE conſuls and ſenate, finding the tribunes greatly confounded at the unexpected death of their collegue, and more at the effect it had upon the ſuperſtitious minds of the people, began to act in a very arbitrary manner, imagining they ſhould now meet with no oppoſition, either from the people or their

[n] Idem, ibid. & ZONAR. l. ii.

tribunes. As there was occaſion to raiſe an army, the conſuls held their tribunal, as uſual, in the forum, and there either fined, or cauſed to be whipped, thoſe citizens, who did not appear as ſoon as they were called to give in their names. Amongſt others they called one *P. Volero*, to liſt himſelf as a common ſoldier. *Volero*, though by birth a plebeian, had been formerly an officer in the army; and therefore, as he had behaved on all occaſions with great valour, he expected to be promoted at leaſt to the poſt of a centurion. Not able therefore to ſtifle his reſentment, he complained of the injuſtice of the conſuls, and demanded to be reſtored to his former poſt, or to know for what fault he was degraded. The conſuls, in great anger, ſent a lictor to ſeize him; and, upon his making reſiſtance, ordered him to be beaten with rods. The lictor endeavoured to execute their ſentence; but *Volero*, ſtriking him a blow on the face, declared, that he had done nothing which deſerved that puniſhment, and at the ſame time implored the protection of the tribunes; but they, terrified at the death of *Genucius*, not daring to appear, he appealed from the conſuls to the people, crying out to the multitude, *Aſſiſt me, O* Romans, *it is your protection I implore; ſince our tribunes had rather ſee a citizen of* Rome *beaten with rods, than run the hazard of dying in their beds by the treachery of the conſuls, we have no remedy left us againſt the tyranny of the conſuls but force.* At theſe words the mutinous populace fell upon the lictors, broke their faſces, and drove them out of the forum. The conſuls themſelves, being ſurrounded on all ſides by the multitude, who preſſed hard upon them, thought it adviſeable to withdraw, and retire to the ſenate-houſe as a place of refuge. Hereupon the tribunes, recovering their ſpirits, inſpired the people with new fury, which was no longer levelled at the patricians in general, but only at the conſuls. Thoſe magiſtrates, in this ſudden commotion, which put all the city in an uproar, aſſembled the ſenate, and complained of the outrages committed by the people, contrary to the reſpect due to their dignity. Some ſenators were for putting *Volero* to death, and ordering him immediately to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock; but the more moderate among them did not think proper to put it to the trial, whether the anger of the ſenate, or the fury of the people, ſhould prevail. The tribunes, on the other hand, demanded juſtice upon the conſuls, for commanding a *Roman* citizen to be whipped like a ſlave, after he had appealed to the people; which was a manifeſt and criminal tranſgreſſion of the *Valerian* law. While the people were thus complaining of the conſuls, and the conſuls of the people,

The haughty and imprudent behaviour of the conſuls.

ple, *Volero*, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt the fury of the patricians, engaged the people to confer upon him the office of tribune, vacant by the death of *Genucius*. He publicly boaſted, that, if he were inveſted with that dignity, he would take ſuch meaſures, as ſhould deliver the people from being ever more oppreſſed by the ſenate. The multitude, charmed with this hope, readily granted him their votes, and he entered on his office after the election of the new conſuls *L. Pinarius* and *M. Furius*. Every one expected, that he would immediately begin a proſecution againſt the laſt year's conſuls; but *Volero* ſoon diſcovered, that he had views far more extenſive and important to the intereſt of his party, than a mere perſonal revenge. Without dropping one diſreſpectful word againſt the late magiſtrates, he endeavoured to leſſen the authority of the patricians in general, by depriving them of the influence they had in the election of the tribunes. In a general aſſembly of the people he propoſed, that their magiſtrates and protectors might be choſen for the future in the comitia by tribes, and not by curiæ. In this the ſubtle tribune had two views, very prejudicial to the patricians. In the firſt place, the curiæ were never aſſembled for elections, till the ſenate had conſented to it by a decree. In the ſecond place, the patricians, who commanded the ſuffrages of their clients, often got ſuch tribunes elected, as were agreeable to themſelves; but neither of theſe inconveniencies attended the comitia aſſembled by tribes; for the tribunes had the power of aſſembling them, without the conſent of the ſenate; and the country-tribes, who were not ſo devoted to the patricians as thoſe in the city, had a right to vote in them, as well as the inhabitants of *Rome*. The plebeian faction was highly pleaſed with this propoſal, and warmly declared for paſſing it into a law: But the conſuls, the ſenate, and the whole order of the patricians oppoſed it to the utmoſt of their power; ſo that *Volero*'s law became the common and only ſubject of diſpute between the two parties, the *Agrarian* law being for ſome time intirely dropped. A dreadful plague ſuſpended, for a few months, this furious conteſt; but it no ſooner ceaſed, than the tribunes reſumed the proſecution of *Volero*'s law. In the mean time, *Volero*'s tribuneſhip expiring, the people continued him in the ſame office for the following year, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the ſenate, and the whole patrician party [o].

The tribune Volero *propoſes a law for electing the tribunes in the comitia by tribes.*

THE patricians finding the people bent upon carrying their point, had but one expedient left; which was, to ſet up againſt *Volero* a man, who was not to be terrified by the cla-

Appius Claudius ſet up by the patricians againſt Volero.

[o] DIO. HAL. p. 537. LIV. l. ii. c. 56.

mours and menaces of the multitude. With this view they pitched upon *Appius Claudius*, and raiſed him to the conſulate. He was the ſon of the famous *Appius Claudius*, who had ſo often ſignalized his hatred to the plebeians; and no leſs zealous than his father for the intereſt of the ſenate, but more obſtinate and inflexible. As he thought himſelf but ill qualified to govern in a time of general commotions, he had abſented himſelf from the comitia; but the patricians, acquainted with his ſteadineſs and intrepidity, got him elected, tho' abſent, in the comitia by centuries, in which they had great intereſt. They joined with him *T. Quinctius*, a venerable ſenator, of a ſweet temper, who was beloved by the people, tho' looked upon as one of the chief leaders of the other party. The new conſuls having convened the ſenate to deliberate on the moſt proper methods to hinder the publication of *Volero*'s law, *Appius*, following the dictates of his natural ſeverity, was for raiſing an army, and ſending the people to vent that martial courage abroad, which made them untractable at home. But *Quinctius* was of a contrary opinion; he thought it unjuſt to make war upon nations, that had given *Rome* no occaſion of complaint; and beſides, repreſented to the ſenate, that the people themſelves would ſoon be appriſed of their deſign, and refuſe to take arms, which would turn to the diſhonour of the conſular authority, and produce a general flame. The opinion of *Quinctius* prevailed; but *Appius*, who could not bear the leaſt contradiction, lived upon ill terms with his collegue all the reſt of the year; which greatly increaſed the affection the people had already for *Quinctius* [p].

The diviſion of the conſuls and union of the tribunes made *Volero* believe, that he ſhould now get his law paſſed. He had even the confidence to add the two following articles to it, *viz.* that all affairs relating to the people ſhould no longer be brought before the curiæ, but before the tribes; and that the ædiles, as well as the tribunes, ſhould be choſen by them. There were but four tribes in the city, and ſeventeen in the country, which were not any ways influenced by the nobility; ſo that in the comitia by tribes the patricians had but little intereſt. They therefore exerted their utmoſt endeavours to ward off a blow, which tended directly to deſtroy the authority of the ſenate, and to eſtabliſh that of the people upon its ruins. When the ſenate met to deliberate upon theſe extraordinary propoſals, *Appius* was for making a decree, to invite all thoſe who loved their country to take arms, and declaring thoſe who refuſed to obey the ſummons enemies to

[p] Dio. Hal. p. 599, 600.

their

their country; but *Quinctius*, who was afraid of seeing *Rome* become a field of battle, thought it adviseable to try, whether the people could be brought to their duty by ways of gentleness and insinuation. The advice of *Claudius* was rejected as too violent, and even dangerous, and the more moderate counsels of *Quinctius* prevailing, the tribunes were desired to convene an assembly of the people, and to suffer the consuls, peaceably and without interruption, to represent to the people the true interests of the commonwealth; after which they might, in concert, agree upon such measures, as should be most for the common good of the people and senate. The tribunes acquiesced to so reasonable a proposal; and *Quinctius*, when the time came, mounting the rostra, made such an impression on the minds of the people, by his soft and insinuating eloquence, that *Volero*'s proposal would have been rejected, if *Appius*, when it was his turn to speak, had not, by his imperious behaviour, his threatenings, and his invectives against the people and their tribunes, effaced the impressions made by his collegue. *Caius Lectorius*, who was accounted one of the bravest soldiers in the republic, and had, for that reason, been raised to the tribuneship, when the domestic broils were like to end in a civil war, rose up to answer the consuls; but, without taking any notice of *Quinctius*'s arguments, insisted only on the invectives of *Appius*, which he retorted, and concluded thus: *But to what purpose do we fight with words against a wild beast? The sword is the proper weapon to be used in such engagements; the sword perhaps may make you sensible, that the* Roman *people are not so despicable as you think them. In the mean time, you shall experience the authority of those tribunes, who are the objects of your contempt, but whom the law has made your judges.* Upon this there was a profound silence; and *Lectorius*, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, swore by all that was most sacred, that he would either get *Volero*'s law passed, or perish in the attempt. Then, after having kept the people some time in suspence, turning to *Appius*, *I command you*, said he, *to leave the assembly*. *Appius* despised his order, and told him, that, tho' a tribune, he was but a private man, and that his whole power consisted in forming an opposition to such decrees of the senate as were prejudicial to the plebeians. Then calling about him his friends, clients, and relations, who were very numerous, he prepared to oppose force with force. The tribune, having conferred hastily with his collegues, commanded one of his officers to seize *Appius*, and carry him to prison. Hereupon a scuffle began between the consul's lictors and the officers

The tribune Lectorius *orders* Appius *to leave the assembly, and to be led to prison.*

cers of the tribune. The ſenators, the patricians, and the clients who attended *Appius*, placed him in the midſt of them, and repulſed *Lectorius*, who advanced in perſon to aſſiſt his officers. Nothing was heard but confuſed cries, proceeding from mutual animoſity. From reproaches they quickly came to blows; but, as arms were forbidden in the city, little blood was ſpilt in the fray. *Quinctius*, attended by ſome venerable ſenators, threw himſelf into the midſt of the contending parties, and having found means to convey *Appius* out of the tumult, appeaſed the tribunes, and put an end to the ſcuffle.

A ſcuffle enſues.

The next morning, the people, ſpirited up by their tribunes, and eſpecially by *Lectorius* who had been wounded the day before, ſeized on the capitol, fortified themſelves there, and ſeemed reſolved to begin an open war. The ſenate being aſſembled to deliberate on ways to quiet the ſedition, *Quinctius* was for yielding ſomething in favour of the people; whereas *Appius* could by no means be brought to make them the leaſt conceſſion. During this diſagreement, which laſted ſeveral days, *Quinctius*, having often conferred with the tribunes, gained at length their conſent to refer both their private and public complaints to the ſenate, and to ſtand to the determination of the conſcript fathers. He then convened the ſenators, and after having acquainted them with the good diſpoſition of the tribunes, got the following decree paſſed, *viz.* That as the ſcuffle, which had happened a few days before, was not premeditated, but the effect of a ſudden commotion, ariſing on both ſides from a pretended zeal for the republic, all injuries, committed and received on that occaſion, ſhould be buried in an eternal oblivion. As to the law in queſtion, ſince *Appius* would by no means ſuffer it to be propoſed to the aſſembly of the people, without a previous decree of the ſenate, it was agreed, that it ſhould be referred to the ſenate, and that a decree ſhould be made for that purpoſe. The affair was therefore diſputed with great warmth, *Appius* calling both gods and men to witneſs, that the republic was betrayed, and that the ſenate were ſubmitting to a law more detrimental to their authority, than thoſe which had been formed on the ſacred mount; but *Quinctius* brought the ſenate to yield to the people, and allow them to propoſe the law in their aſſembly, where it paſſed, and was unanimouſly received with great applauſe. From this time therefore the tribunes were made, and almoſt every thing relating to the

Volero's law paſſes.

the people determined, not in the comitia by curiæ, but by tribes [q].

NOT long after this law was paſſed, the conſuls were obliged to take the field. *Quinctius* marched againſt the *Æqui*, and *Appius*, againſt the *Volſci*. The former was ſo much eſteemed and loved by his army, that the enemy, not caring to appear againſt troops ſo well affected to their general, ſhut themſelves up in their cities, or lay concealed in the foreſts. The conſul therefore, having laid waſte their country, returned with a great booty to *Rome*, where he was received with loud acclamations, and called *The father of the ſoldiers*, while *Appius* was ſtyled by his men, *The tyrant of the army*; and indeed never was an army governed with more ſeverity, or diſcipline exacted with more rigour. As his rage againſt the people was no longer under any reſtraint from the tribunes, he intirely gave way to it; the conſequence of which was, that the centurions and ſoldiers all murmured at their general's orders, and even entered into a conſpiracy, not againſt his life, but his glory; for they reſolved by agreement, not to oppoſe the enemy, leſt their general ſhould receive the honours of a triumph. The *Volſci*, being informed of all that paſſed in the *Roman* camp, drew up their men in order of battle, and challenged the *Romans* to an engagement. *Appius* marched out againſt them; but he was no ſooner within reach of the enemy, than his men threw away their arms, and, with one conſent, returned to the camp. The *Volſci* took advantage of this confuſion, and, having cut to pieces thoſe who were in the rear, attacked the intrenchments; but the *Romans*, fearing the enemy might break into the camp, faced about, made a brave reſiſtance, and drove back the *Volſci*. The raſh conſul would have led them again to face the enemy the next day; but they loudly demanded of their officers to be led out of the enemy's country, and forced *Appius* to comply with their demand, and break up his camp. As ſoon as the incenſed conſul entered the *Roman* territory, where he was out of the reach of the enemy, he ſummoned his ſoldiers to aſſemble; and, being ſeated on his tribunal, he firſt upbraided them with their diſobedience and treachery, and then, giving a looſe to his reſentment, he commanded the heads of the centurions and other officers, who had abandoned their poſts, to be ſtruck off in his preſence. Thoſe, who had born the enſigns and delivered them

War with the Æqui and Volſci.

Appius's troops refuſe to fight.

He puniſhes them with the utmoſt ſeverity.

[q] Idem, p. 602. Liv. l. ii. c. 57.

to

to the enemy, he cauſed to be beaten to death with rods. As for the common ſoldiers he decimated them, that is, put every tenth man to death. As the time of the comitia for the election of new conſuls drew near, he led back to *Rome* the remains of his army, where he was received with the hiſſes of the multitude [r].

The old diſpute of the Agrarian *law revived.*

The conſuls choſen to ſucceed *Quinctius* and *Appius*, were *L. Valerius*, a ſecond time, and *Tib. Æmilius*. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when the tribunes revived the old diſpute concerning the partition of the lands. Both the conſuls were diſpoſed to favour the people; *Æmilius* out of revenge againſt the ſenate, for having refuſed his father the honours of a triumph, when he returned from a ſucceſsful war againſt the *Æqui*; and *Valerius*, to gain the good-will of the people, whoſe hatred he had drawn upon himſelf, by proſecuting *Caſſius* during his quæſtorſhip. As the conſuls, by a decree of the ſenate paſſed in the conſulate of *Virginius* and *Caſſius*, were impowered to nominate the decemvirs, in order to make a new diſtribution of the conquered lands, the tribunes, being ſecure of the preſent conſuls, brought the affair before the ſenate, where it occaſioned long debates. *Æmilius*, the conſul's father, who ſpoke firſt, was for having the decemvirs named by the conſuls, in order to proceed to the diviſion of the conquered lands; which, ſaid he, being public and common, ought to be for the equal benefit of all. But *Appius*, that ſworn enemy of the people, oppoſed the opinion of *Æmilius* with ſo much warmth and ſtrength of reaſon, that the ſenate rejected the propoſal of the tribunes, tho' ſupported by both the conſuls. Hereupon the tribunes, inraged at their diſappointment, reſolved to deſtroy ſo violent an adverſary, and with that view cited him before the people, as a declared enemy to the public liberty. *Appius*, without changing his habit, as was uſual on ſuch occaſions, or even ſuffering his friends, to ſollicit the multitude in his behalf, on the day of the aſſembly, appeared in the midſt of his accuſers, with the ſame dignity as if he had been their judge. His accuſation was reduced to theſe four heads. 1. That he had ſpirited up the ſenate againſt the people. 2. That he had raiſed ſeditions in the republic. 3. That he had cauſed a tribune to be ſtruck, tho' the laws declared his perſon ſacred and inviolable. 4. That he had ſunk the courage of his ſoldiers by his ſeverity, and ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the *Volſci*. But he anſwered theſe ſeveral articles with ſo much ſtrength, that the people durſt not condemn him. The tribunes, who were

Appius *cited before the people.*

[r] Dio. Hal. p. 606. Liv. ibid.

bent

bent upon his deſtruction, fearing he would be acquitted, put off giving ſentence to another day, under pretence, that they ſhould not have time before night to collect the ſuffrages. But *Appius*, plainly foreſeeing that he ſhould fall a victim to the implacable hatred of thoſe magiſtrates, prevented the diſgrace of a condemnation, by laying violent hands on himſelf. The tribunes endeavoured in vain to deprive him of ſuch funeral honours as his merit and rank in the republic deſerved. His ſon obtained leave of the conſuls to aſſemble the people, and make, according to cuſtom, his funeral oration; which the people heard with pleaſure, ſhewing him more regard after his death, than they had done in his life-time.

He kills himſelf.

UPON the death of *Appius*, the tribunes reſumed the buſineſs of the *Agrarian* law, which his proſecution had only ſuſpended; but not being able to prevail upon the preſent conſuls to name the decemvirs, the people, at their inſtigation, refuſed to appear at the election of the conſuls for the next year, as if they intended to ſeparate themſelves once more from the body of the republic. However, the patricians, with their clients, raiſed to the conſulate *T. Quinctius*, a ſecond time, and *Q. Servilius*, who, to prevent the breach from growing wider, buſied the people all that year with foreign wars. *Servilius* had great ſucceſs againſt the *Sabines*; and *Quinctius* gained a complete victory over the united forces of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, which was followed by the ſiege and ſurrender of the city of *Antium*. *Quinctius*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a triumph, and attended both by the ſenate and people in his proceſſion to the capitol. The domeſtic diſſentions began afreſh in the following conſulate of *T. Æmilius*, a ſecond time, and *Q. Fabius*, ſon of one of the three famous brothers, who periſhed in the battle of *Cremera*. *Æmilius*, who had favoured the people in his firſt conſulate, renewed his endeavours to get the *Caſſian* law put in execution; whereupon great diſturbances enſuing, *Fabius* found out an expedient to appeaſe both the people and patricians. He propoſed to ſend a colony to people that pleaſant and fruitful canton of the *Volſci*, which *Quinctius* had juſt conquered. His motion was received with great applauſe by the meaner ſort of people, and three ſenators, *viz. T. Quinctius* the conſul, *A. Virginius*, and *P. Furius*, were immediately appointed to make the diſtribution of the lands; but when the plebeians were to give in their names to thoſe triumvirs, few of them appeared; nay, they began to change their ſtyle and complain of the ſenate, who, they ſaid, were ſending brave men out of their country, becauſe they oppoſed their oppreſſions; the greater part therefore choſe rather to ſtay at *Rome*, than leave

The Sabines, *the* Æqui, *and the* Volſci *defeated.*

Fabius *finds out an expedient to ſtop the complaints of the people.*

it to take poſſeſſion of the lands, for which they had raiſed ſo many diſturbances. The games, the ſhews, the public aſſemblies, the hurry of buſineſs, and the ſhare they had in the government, contributed to tie them to their old abode, and, notwithſtanding their poverty, made them look upon a colony as an honourable baniſhment. The triumvirs, finding the people unwilling to quit *Rome*, were forced to admit of ſtrangers to make up the number appointed for the colony. However, one advantage accrued from the refuſal of the people, which was, that thoſe, who would not give in their names, were ever after aſhamed to meddle in the affair of the partition of the lands[f].

The Æqui ſubdued.

Rome enjoying now a profound tranquillity, *Fabius* took the field againſt the *Æqui*, and obliged them to ſue for a peace; which was granted them, on condition of their being ſubject to the republic. However, in the following conſulate of *Sp. Poſthumius* and *Q. Servilius*, now a ſecond time conſul, they began to ſtir again; and the next year, when *T. Quinctius*, a third time, and *Q. Fabius*, a ſecond time, were conſuls, they renewed the war, and continued it under the conſuls *A. Poſthumius* and *Sp. Furius*. The latter, who was but a very indifferent commander, having engaged raſhly with the enemy, was defeated, and ſo cloſely beſieged in his camp, that not a man could go out to give notice at *Rome* of his danger. However, the ſenate had advice of it, and, in ſo great a diſtreſs, reſolved upon an expedient, never uſed but in great extremity; which was, to give up the government abſolutely into the conſul's hands, by theſe words, *Videat conſul, ne quid reſpublica detrimenti capiat, Let the conſul take care, that the republic ſuffer no detriment.* *Poſthumius*, who received this commiſſion, made all take arms who were able, and gave *T. Quinctius* the command of the army, with the title of proconſul. As ſoon as *Quinctius* came within ſight of the inveſted camp, the *Æqui* retired; but *Furius* had before made a ſally, in which his brother *L. Furius* and two cohorts had been ſurrounded by the enemy and cut in pieces. The conſul now acted upon the offenſive, and obliged the enemy to withdraw into their own country. *Poſthumius* attacked a great body of their freebooters, loaded with ſpoil, and made a great ſlaughter of them. By theſe ſucceſſes *Rome* was reſtored to its former tranquillity. In the following conſulate of *P. Servilius Priſcus* and *Æbutius Elva*, a dreadful plague broke out in *Rome*, and ſwept away almoſt all the flower of the youth who were able to bear arms, the fourth part of the ſenators, the greateſt

But revolt and defeat the conſul Sp. Furius.

Quinctius *obliges them to retire into their own country.*

[f] Dio. Hal. p. 611. Liv. l. ii. c. 62.

part

part of the tribunes, and both the conſuls. Upon the news of ſo general a mortality among the *Romans*, the *Æqui* and *Volſci* renewed their old deſign of deſtroying the haughty republic. They began the campaign with committing hoſtilities in the territories of the *Latins* and *Hernici*, who immediately applied to the *Roman* ſenate for ſuccours; but all the *Romans* could do was, to give leave to their allies to arm and defend themſelves, and to promiſe them aſſiſtance in better times. Hereupon the *Latins* ſhut themſelves up in their cities, leaving their country open to the ravages of the enemy. The *Hernici* took the field, and even ventured an engagement, in which they loſt a great many men, and were, on that account, tho' the ſucceſs of the battle was pretty equal, forced to confine themſelves to their cities; ſo that the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, having now no enemy to oppoſe them in the field, entered the *Roman* territory, and appeared unexpectedly before *Rome*. The two conſuls being dead, and the few tribunes who were ſtill alive unable, on account of their bad ſtate of health, to aſſiſt the republic either with their hands or their advice, the ædiles took upon them to repreſent the dignity, and perform the functions, of the conſuls. Notwithſtanding ſo many calamities, the *Romans* ſeemed to have loſt nothing of their ancient ſteadineſs. They crept to the ramparts, and put the beſt face they could on their affairs. The ſenators themſelves mounted the guard and ſtood centinels; and, 'the city being well fortified on all ſides, the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, more expert at plundering than carrying on a ſiege, laid aſide all thoughts of making themſelves maſters of *Rome*, and marched their forces towards *Tuſculum*.

The Æqui and Volſci appear before Rome.

In the mean time, the plague continued to rage in the city. The two augurs, *Virginius* and *Valerius*, died of it, as well as *Sulpicius* the chief of the *curiones*, that is, the prieſts of each curia. The dead were ſo numerous, that they were thrown into the *Tiber* without burial; ſo that the calamity becoming now greater than ever, the people turned their thoughts intirely to divine aſſiſtance; all made their vows upon the altars, and the matrons ſwept the temples with their hair, and continued proſtrate in the preſence of the gods, till at length a more wholſome ſeaſon put an end to the diſtemper, and delivered *Rome* from a calamity which threatened her with utter deſtruction. Several patricians had governed one after another during the inter-regnum, which had laſted from the death of the conſuls; and now *Valerius Poplicola*, being inter-rex, aſſembled the centuries for the election of new ones, when *Lucretius Tricipitinus* and *T. Veturius Geminus* were choſen. In the beginning of their conſulate, the tribunes, forgetting the miſeries the city had ſuffered, undertook to renew the

old quarrel about the diviſion of the lands; but the people, without hearkening to them, turned all their thoughts upon revenging the inſults *Rome* had received from the *Æqui* and *Volſci* the year before. Even thoſe citizens, whom the laws exempted from going to war, inliſted themſelves for the ſervice; ſo that two conſular armies were immediately raiſed. It fell to *Lucretius*'s lot to march againſt the *Æqui* and *Valſci*, who had united their forces; but were overthrown in a pitched battle, with the loſs of both their generals, and of thirteen thouſand four hundred and ſixty men, the moſt dreadful defeat they had ever received. So memorable an action made *Rome* forget the misfortunes ſhe had ſuffered the laſt year [t].

The Æqui and Volſci intirely defeated.

The tribune Terentius Arſa *propoſes the eſtabliſhment of fixed laws.*

While the two conſuls were thus employed in the field, a tribune of the people, named *C. Terentius Arſa*, took the opportunity of their abſence to weaken the conſular authority, exclaiming in a full aſſembly of the people againſt the exorbitant power of the conſuls, and demanding, that bounds might be ſet to it with regard to public affairs, and that invariable laws might be eſtabliſhed, for the conſuls to be governed by, in deciding the conteſts that aroſe between man and man. We muſt obſerve here, that the people referred all their differences to the judgment of the conſuls, who regulated their ſentences, either by the principles of natural equity, or by antient uſages, or by the laws of *Romulus* and his ſucceſſors, ſome remains of which were ſtill to be found in the ſacred books that were lodged with the pontifices, who, together with the patricians, made a myſtery to the people of thoſe firſt elements of their ſcience of law. *Terentius* therefore, or, as *Livy* calls him, *Terentillus*, repreſented to the people, that the patrician magiſtrates were abſolute maſters of each man's fortune, and that the conſuls, having no rule to go by in deciding cauſes, but their caprice, or laws unknown to the plebeians, might ſtrip them, when they pleaſed, of all their effects, and at the ſame time make them believe, that they acted therein agreeable to the laws. To prevent this inconvenience, inſupportable in a free city, he moved for an immediate eſtabliſhment of laws, known by every body, to ſerve for a rule to the magiſtrates in their ſentences, and to the litigants for proofs of the juſtice or injuſtice of their cauſe. He urged at the ſame time with great vehemence, that the conſuls had all the deſpotic power of kings, and only wanted the name; and therefore demanded, that a choice

[t] Dio. Hal. p 625. Liv. l. iii. c. 8.

ſhould

ſhould be made of five of the beſt men in the republic, who ſhould be authorized to reſtrain within due bounds a power ſo exceſſive; ſo that the conſuls for the future might have no other authority over their fellow-citizens, but what thoſe very citizens ſhould think fit to intruſt them with. The ſenators were all ſurprized at ſuch bold propoſals. *Q. Fabius*, who then governed the city in the abſence of the conſuls, immediately diſpatched meſſengers to them, acquainting them with what had happened, and conjuring them to haſten back to *Rome*. He then convened the ſenate, and, after having enumerated the fatal conſequences of ſuch an innovation, prevailed upon the tribunes to deſiſt from ſeconding *Terentius* in his firſt demand, concerning the limitation of the conſular power; but as for the ſecond, they ſtill perſiſted in demanding a choice to be made from among the ſenators and plebeians, of proper perſons, to form a body of laws for determining ſuits among the citizens; however, overcome by the entreaties of *Fabius*, they conſented to ſuſpend the proſecution of this affair till the arrival of the conſuls. Thus the city continued ſome time quiet; for the tribunes did not ſo much as mention the *Terentian* law, till the new conſuls, *P. Volumnius* and *S. Sulpicius*, were choſen; and then the whole college renewed their efforts to get the law paſſed. The people were often aſſembled to hear the harangues of the tribunes on this ſubject; and the ſenate as often to concert meaſures to oppoſe their deſigns. The factions and blind zeal on both ſides increaſed to ſuch a degree, that there was juſt reaſon to apprehend a civil war. The alarms, which theſe diſſentions gave, were increaſed by the dread, which ſome pretended prodigies occaſioned in the city. At the ſame time, the *Hernici*, who were in alliance with *Rome*, gave notice to the ſenate, that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were ſecretly arming, and that the new colony of *Antium* was entered into that confederacy. This news authorized the conſuls to raiſe an army of citizens as uſual, whoſe abſence would leſſen the ſtrength of the tribunes; but theſe magiſtrates of the people, pretending that this war was nothing but a trick of the ſenate to get the citizens out of *Rome*, oppoſed the levies, and revived the demand of *Terentius* for the compiling a body of laws. The conteſt ran high, and occaſioned great diſturbances. Every thing was carried by mere violence. The conſuls having cauſed a plebeian to be arreſted, becauſe he refuſed to give in his name, the tribunes reſcued him out of the lictor's hands, and ſet him at liberty. On the other hand, the young patricians made great diſturbances in the comitia, diſperſed the people by violence, and, with their clamours, hindered the reading

Great conteſts on this head.

reading of the law, which was drawn up in these words: *Let the people, in lawful comitia, elect ten men of a mature age, consummate wisdom, and unspotted reputation, to draw up a body of laws, as well for the public administration, as for the determination of public affairs; let these laws be fixed up in the forum; and let the annual magistrate, as well as other judges, be obliged to conform to them in their decisions of the controversies, which may arise in* Rome. At length the tribunes gained their point of having this law proposed to the people; but when the day came for the comitia by tribes to determine the affair, the young senators and patricians, having *Quinctius Cæso*, the son of *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, at their head, rushed into the crowd, knocked down all who stood in their way, and dispersed the assembly, in spite of all that the tribunes could do to keep them together. *Cæso* was a young man, tall, well-shaped, of an extraordinary strength of body, and had signalized himself by actions of uncommon bravery in several battles. His eloquence was not inferior to his strength and valour; for no patrician was heard with greater applause, or spoke with more dignity. He was always the first to answer the seditious harangues of the tribunes with great freedom. These magistrates therefore, inraged to meet with so much opposition from one single man, conspired his ruin; and, having agreed among themselves upon articles of impeachment, *Virginius*, the most zealous of the tribunes, caused him to be summoned before the assembly of the people. This made *Cæso* more violent in his opposition to the *Terentian* law; he reviled the plebeians, and inveighed with great bitterness against the tribunes. In the mean time, *Virginius* still went on proposing the law, not so much out of any hopes that it would meet with a ready acceptance, as purely to increase the fury of *Cæso*, and render him, by his violent and rash behaviour, more odious to the multitude. Accordingly the inconsiderate youth, being supported by the senate, who flattered his vanity with their applauses, gave the tribunes new matter of complaint, and made, we may say, open war with them and their party. At length the day came, which was appointed for his trial; and then his courage all on a sudden failed him. He did not imitate the constancy of *Coriolanus*, but condescended to mean intreaties, and endeavoured to save his life by low and unworthy solicitations. He put on mourning, and, with a countenance full of sorrow and humiliation, went about, begging the favour of the meanest plebeians. The tribune *Virginius* opened his accusation, and, in his discourse, enumerated the

The contending parties come to blows.

Quinctius Cæso cited before the people.

His mean behaviour.

the ſeveral violences of the young patrician, and produced thoſe to be witneſſes againſt him, who had been themſelves ill uſed by him; but the chief crime laid to his charge was, his having hindered by violence the meeting of ſome judicial aſſemblies legally called. When the accuſation was ended, the accuſed was called upon to plead; but *Cæſo* refuſed to own the juriſdiction of the aſſembly, offering at the ſame time to ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of the conſuls, his only lawful judges. This ſet the people yet more againſt him; ſo that his father, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, a man highly eſteemed and reſpected of the republic, was obliged to undertake his defence. He denied the capital points in the charge; and, as to haſty words or blows, he excuſed them as the indiſcretions of youth, which rather deſerved pity, than reſentment. Then *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, who had been thrice conſul, *Sp. Furius*, and *Lucretius*, all appeared to witneſs his bravery in ſeveral engagements, and his other good qualities. *Neither the* Quinctian *family*, ſaid *Quinctius Capitolinus*, *nor the city of* Rome, *ever produced a young patrician of greater expectation. He made his firſt campaign under me, and I was witneſs of his glorious exploits.* Nor did *Sp. Furius* give a leſs advantageous teſtimony to young *Cæſo*: The conſul *Quinctius*, ſaid he, often ſent him to my relief, when I was in great danger; and no body contributed more than he to the advantages we gained over the enemy. *Lucretius* likewiſe, who had been honoured with a triumph the year before, did juſtice to the valour of the accuſed: *On this occaſion*, ſaid he, *I think myſelf obliged to ſhare my glory with the brave* Cæſo. *No body ſignalized himſelf more, both in ſingle combats, and the general action, in which I was conqueror. What city is there, to which this gallant youth will not be an ornament, if we drive him from ours? As to the natural impetuoſity he is reproached with, age and prudence will by degrees correct it; and when his virtue is arrived at its maturity, his defects will be worn away. How great a man will* Cæſo *be, when years ſhall have tempered the ardour, which now tranſports him?* The ſuffrages of ſo many illuſtrious men, and the entreaties of the father, made a ſenſible impreſſion on the multitude; but *Virginius*, who was bent upon *Cæſo*'s deſtruction, fruſtrated the hopes of the patricians. He roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *The public*, ſaid he, *does juſtice to your virtues, and the affection you have for the people; but alas! how different is your ſon from you! His proud temper and tyrannical conduct make him unworthy of pardon. The education he has received, under the eye of a modeſt and popular father, has not been able*

His father, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, undertakes his defence.

to

to abate his pride. Romans, *what have you to expect from him for the future? What a pernicious example has he given to the youth, who follow and admire him? If you,* Quinctius, *were ignorant of it before, yet being to-day better informed of it, you ought to join your indignation to ours. If you was acquainted with his conduct and did not correct him, you are not worthy of the favour you ask. But what am I saying? your son's transports were certainly concealed from you; nor have you had any share in his attempts upon the authority of the* Roman *people:* No, Quinctius, *you are not to be blamed for any thing, but being a better father than a commonwealth's man; but, in order to efface in your heart those remains of tenderness which the people share with you, I beg, that my collegue,* M. Volscius, *may be heard in what he has to offer, by way of private complaint against your son. I hope the people will not leave unrevenged one of their own magistrates, who has been so great a sufferer by him.* Then *Volscius* ascending the rostra, to act the part that had been concerted between them, directed his speech to the people thus: *As I was returning one night with my brother, from a friend's house where we had supped, we met, hard by the public stews,* Cæso, *accompanied, according to his custom, by several young patricians of the same character with himself, who, I suppose, had been making a debauch together in those infamous houses. They at first attacked us with abusive language, which I indeed was for taking no notice of; but my brother, less patient than myself, returned injuries for injuries. Then* Cæso, *full of anger and resentment, fell upon him, and, notwithstanding my prayers and entreaties, so beat and bruised him, that he expired upon the spot. This happened the year the plague made such havock among us. I designed to carry my complaints to the consuls; but death took them from us soon after.* L. Lucretius *and* T. Veturius, *their successors, took the field in a hurry, and* Cæso *followed them. At their return I prepared to bring my action; but* Cæso, *hearing of my design, waited for me one night in a by-place, and falling upon me, repeated his blows so thick, that, to avoid my brother's fate, I was forced to promise never to mention what had befallen either of us.*

Cæso *is falsly accused of murder.*

The people were so exasperated at this story, that, without examining into the truth of the fact, they were ready to tear young *Cæso* in pieces; but *Virginius*, to give some appearance of justice to his villainous prosecution, interposed, and moved, that *Cæso* should be secured and imprisoned, till his crime could be fully proved, since *Volscius* had not his witnesses at hand. This occasioned great debates; *T. Quinctius* representing to the assembly, that it was a thing unheard-

of

of in the republic, that, upon a bare accuſation, a citizen ſhould be arreſted and carried to jail. On the other hand, *Virginius* maintained, that ſuch a precaution was neceſſary to prevent ſuch an offender from eſcaping the juſtice of the people. After the queſtion had been long debated, with great warmth and liberty of ſpeech on both ſides, the tribunes took a middle way between *Virginius*'s pretenſions and thoſe of the contrary party, which was, that *Cæſo* ſhould be ſet at liberty, provided he gave ſecurity for his appearance before the people on the day appointed. This raiſed a new debate about the ſum, in which the ſecurities were to be bound; but the ſenate at laſt fixed the ſum to three thouſand aſſes of braſs, that is, about nine pounds thirteen ſhillings and nine pence of our money; and left it to the tribunes to declare how many citizens ſhould be ſecurity for it, in caſe of his eſcape. They were content with ten ſecurities, who bound themſelves to produce *Cæſo* on the day he was to be tried, or to pay the fine. And this is the firſt time we read of bail given for appearance in public and capital caſes. *Cæſo* was no ſooner at liberty than he left *Rome*, and retired into *Hetru ia*; but the tribunes knew nothing of his eſcape, till he was again cited to appear, when his friends endeavoured to prove to the people, that he had executed juſtice on himſelf, and anticipated their ſentence of baniſhment, by baniſhing himſelf; but the tribunes, ſeeing plainly that this was only an evaſion to avoid the payment of the fine, exacted it with more rigour; ſo that *Quinctius*, the father of *Cæſo*, having ſold the beſt part of his eſtate on that account, was forced to retire to a poor cottage on the other ſide of the *Tiber*, where he cultivated, with his own hands, five or ſix acres of land, which were all he had to live upon [u].

Cæſo retires into baniſhment

THE tribunes, believing that the baniſhment of *Cæſo* would keep the young patricians in awe, called an aſſembly of the people, in order to propoſe the *Terentian* law, and get it approved by the tribes; but it was no ſooner mentioned, than there ſprung up as it were a thouſand *Cæſos*, all oppoſing it with the ſame intrepidity. Hereupon the tribunes ordered all the patricians to be driven away from the aſſembly; but the nobility, uniting themſelves more cloſely together after the proſecution of *Cæſo*, oppoſed force by force; and, being attended by a great number of their clients, made the tribunes feel the evil conſequences of the ſedition they had begun. The people were diſperſed anew, and the tribunes obliged to ſave themſelves, by taking refuge in their own houſes. Thus the

The patricians continue ſteady in their oppoſition to the Terentian *law.*

[u] DIO. HAL. l. x. p. 627, —632. LIV. l. iii. c. 11,—13.

law was hindered from paſſing this year. The following year, the ſenate and patricians in conjunction raiſed to the conſulate *Caius Claudius*, brother to *Appius Claudius*, who killed himſelf, and *P. Valerius*, a ſecond time. The tribunes, ſeeing the whole body of the nobility united againſt them, and deſpairing to carry their point by a fair open conteſt, combined together to deſtroy at one ſtroke the better part of the ſenate, and ſuch of the patricians as were obnoxious to them. In order to put in execution ſo deteſtable a project, in the firſt place, by many falſe reports ſpread abroad among the people, they filled the whole city with inquietude and diſtruſt, as if ſome great deſign was ſecretly hatching againſt the public liberty. Then, to give the people ſtrong ſuſpicions of the whole body of the nobility, they cauſed a letter to be delivered to themſelves in public. While they were ſitting in their tribunal, a ſtranger came, and having, in the ſight of all the people, put into their hands a letter, diſappeared in an inſtant, and was never afterwards ſeen. The tribunes read the letter to themſelves, and, in reading it, put on an air of terror and ſurprize, in order to excite the curioſity of the people, and make them more uneaſy. Then, riſing from their ſeats, and cauſing ſilence to be proclaimed by the crier, *Virginius*, with looks full of conſternation, addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, ſpoke thus: Romans, *you are threatened with the greateſt dangers. If the gods, who are the protectors of innocence, had not diſcovered the wicked deſigns of your enemies, you had been all loſt. But you muſt give us leave to acquaint the ſenate with the affair before it be divulged.* *Virginius* having thus ſpoke, the tribunes went all in a body to the conſuls houſes, and the ſenate being immediately aſſembled, the tribunes were admitted into it. In the mean time, the emiſſaries of the tribunes ſpread a thouſand falſe reports among the people about the contents of the letter. Some ſaid, that *Cæſo* was advancing towards *Rome*, where he had correſpondents, at the head of an army of *Volſci*; others, that the patricians had conſpired to call him back, and, with his aſſiſtance, to deſtroy the tribunate; others confined the enterprize to the young patricians, and maintained, that *Cæſo* was ſtill in *Rome*, and would ſoon appear at the head of a numerous body, compoſed of patricians and their clients, *&c.* Thus the people's prejudices were kept up, and their hatred to the patricians increaſed.

The tribunes being admitted into the ſenate, *Virginius* addreſſed himſelf to the conſuls and ſenators in the following words: "Our diſcretion, conſcript fathers, made us keep "ſilence, while the misfortunes, with which we are now "threatened,

" threatened, were yet uncertain. To act upon bare conjec-
" tures againſt ſeditious men not yet diſcovered, is often only
" giving a handle to factious ſpirits to raiſe inſurrections;
" however, we have not been unactive upon our firſt ſuſpici-
" ons, and our private inquiries have been effectual. We have
" been faithfully ſerved by thoſe foreigners, with whom we
" live in hoſpitality and friendſhip. Their letters will convince
" you, that the gods watch over the republic for its preſer-
" vation. The ſymptoms we find at home, agree with the
" accounts we receive from abroad. *Rome* is betrayed.
" Some of the moſt illuſtrious families in this city, and ſome
" even of the ſenate itſelf, are turned conſpirators, and have
" ſworn her deſtruction. Among the *Roman* knights there are
" aſſaſſins, who are ready to murder us. They wait only
" for the opportunity of a dark night to break into our houſes
" to maſſacre us, and all thoſe among the people, who
" ſhew any zeal for the public liberty. They take it for
" granted, that, after this barbarous execution, they ſhall eaſily
" obtain of you the abolition of the tribunate. *Cæſo*, that *Cæ-*
" *ſo*, whom they reſcued from his juſt puniſhment, is the in-
" ſtrument of their fury. He is to appear within the walls,
" attended by numerous troops of *Æqui* and *Volſci*, who are
" to be brought hither privately, and in ſmall parties. The
" tribunes are to fall the firſt victims to his reſentment;
" and ſuch of the people, as ſhall dare to make any reſiſtance,
" are to be ſacrificed without mercy. Theſe are our dan-
" gers; this is the crime of your patricians. What then
" is now to be done? O! ye immortal gods, who unite us in
" the ſame religious worſhip, inſpire the ſenate with ſenti-
" ments of equity; efface out of their minds all regard to
" rank, birth, and party-intereſt. We conjure you, con-
" ſcript fathers, not to give us up to the rage of theſe aſ-
" ſaſſins. In order to prevent their evil deſigns, we hope
" you will not refuſe us a decree, impowering us to make
" further inquiries into this conſpiracy, and to ſecure the
" chief authors of it. Thoſe, who are moſt in danger,
" are moſt nearly concerned to avoid it, and will be moſt
" active in making diſcoveries. Time preſſes us, and our
" aſſaſſins are at the gates. The leaſt delay were danger-
" ous. Who knows, but this very night may be pitched upon
" for the execution of the bloody deſign? They muſt be
" conſpirators themſelves, who are againſt inquiring into the
" conſpiracy".

THE demand of the tribunes much embaraſſed the ſenate. The more timorous were apprehenſive, that a refuſal would irritate the people and raiſe a ſedition; but thoſe who had

more firmneſs of mind repreſented, how dangerous it was to give the tribunes an unbounded power in an affair of a capital nature. But the conſul *Claudius*, addreſſing himſelf to the tribunes, replied thus: "I take upon me to anſwer you, "tribunes, becauſe none of you can have the confidence to "ſay, that I am concerned in the conſpiracy, with which "you charge the patricians. My conduct puts me out of "your reach. However, my deſign in ſpeaking is not to "diſſuade the ſenators from ſuffering informations to be taken of "ſuch a cruel attempt, or to hinder them from giving you "this commiſſion. Were the accuſation true, too much "precaution could not be uſed to ſecure your lives, and the "public liberty; but let us ſearch the matter to the bottom. "the tribunes laſt year could not get their law paſſed: hence "their air of conſternation; hence their continual deliberations, their aſſemblies, and their conferences. And what "reſolutions have they taken in them? No doubt, to "invent the chimerical conſpiracy they now bring to light. "Let us accuſe the patricians, ſaid they, of having conſpired "againſt our lives; and then demand of the ſenate a power "to take cognizance of the conſpiracy. If they refuſe it, "we ſhall then inſpire the populace with new rage againſt "them. If they grant it, we will then give full ſcope to "our reſentment, and intimidate the oppoſers of the *Terentian* law. This is the tribunes ſcheme; theſe are the "ſnares they have laid for us. Speak, *Virginius*, tell us, "whence came theſe letters, which have ſo much alarmed "you? Who are theſe gueſts, and theſe faithful allies? How "came they acquainted with the misfortunes which threaten "you? where is the bearer of this foul accuſation? Why "has he diſappeared? Let us know who are the ſenators "and knights named in the letter you produce? Surely we "have time enough to hear the names of thoſe great criminals. Shall we wait till you are made maſters of our lives "by a decree of the ſenate, and have it in your power "to convict us of treaſon by falſe evidence? You ſay the "ſymptoms at home agree with the informations from abroad; why don't you then ſhew us theſe ſymptoms? Why "don't you produce the accuſers? Could you poſſibly imagine, that the ſenate would deliver up our moſt illuſtrious "citizens to your fury, upon a bare accuſation by letter, "without any kind of proof? To you, conſcript fathers, to "your indulgence the bold attempts of the tribunes are to be "aſcribed. You were too eaſy in delivering up the brave "*Caſo* to the rage of his perſecutors. The tribunes ſucceſs

"againſt

" againſt him encourages them to attempt every thing againſt
" us. To conclude, my opinion is, that, if the ſtate be
" in any danger, it is only from the ſeducers of the people,
" who, while they ſet up for the defenders of the public
" liberty, are indeed its greateſt enemies ". This ſpeech quite ſtunned the tribunes. They withdrew with no leſs ſhame than fury; and repairing to the aſſembly of the people, who waited for them, began there to inveigh moſt bitterly againſt both ſenate and conſuls; but *Appius* following them, aſcended the roſtra, and ſpoke to the people with ſo much ſtrength and eloquence, that the better ſort were fully convinced that the pretended conſpiracy was only an artifice of the tribunes to have it in their power to deſtroy their enemies; but the undiſtinguiſhing rabble continued in their firſt perſuaſion; and the tribunes took great care to maintain the belief of an error, which gave them an opportunity of raiſing new diſturbances in the ſtate [w].

Herdonius, *a* Sabine, *attempts the reduction of* Rome.

THE inteſtine broils of the republic encouraged a private man in *Sabinia*, named *Appius Herdonius*, to attempt the reduction of *Rome*. He was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and, having a great number of ſlaves and clients, he flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able, with their aſſiſtance, to reduce the *Roman* republic under his obedience, and make himſelf king of *Rome*. This bold deſign he imparted to his friends, repreſenting to them, that it was not impracticable to ſurprize the city during the diviſion between the people and the ſenate. Some of his friends, no leſs enterpriſing than himſelf, approving his undertaking, ſoon got together about four thouſand men, conſiſting partly of their own clients, but chiefly of ſlaves, outlaws, and men of deſperate fortunes. This was indeed a ſmall number for ſo great an enterprize; but *Herdonius* took it for granted, that a great number of *Roman* exiles, the *Roman* populace, who were greedy of plunder, ſuch citizens as were enemies to the patricians, the ſlaves, and alſo the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, would not fail to come to his aſſiſtance, upon the firſt news of his attempt. With theſe hopes he embarqued his troops on the *Tiber* by night, brought them down the river, and landed them before break of day by the ſide of the capitol. He got up the hill without being perceived, and, under cover of the darkneſs, poſſeſſed himſelf of the temple of *Jupiter*, and the fortreſs adjoining to it. Thence he threw himſelf into the neighbouring houſes, and put all thoſe to the ſword who refuſed to join him. Some,

[w] DIO. HAL. ibid. p. 635,—637. LIV. ibid. c. 15.

who

who had the good luck to ſave themſelves before the *Sabines* entered their houſes, raiſed with their noiſe an alarm in all the quarters of the city. Nothing was heard but confuſed voices of people, crying out, *To arms, the enemy is in the heart of the city.* The conſuls, awakened by the noiſe, knew not whether this tumult aroſe from a domeſtic faction, or foreign enemy, and were therefore equally afraid to arm the people, or leave them diſarmed They therefore contented themſelves with giving arms to ſome, on whom they could depend, and placing them in the forum, and at the gates of the city. The night was ſpent in doubts and uneaſineſs, neither the conſuls nor the people knowing how many, or what, enemies they were to contend with. At length the return of light diſcovered who was at the head of ſo daring an enterprize. The conſuls immediately repaired to the forum, and ſummoned all the citizens to take arms and follow them; but the tribunes, mounting their tribunal, with their unſeaſonable harangues, cooled the ardor of the people. We don't pretend, ſaid they, to obſtruct the public good; but after all, *Romans*, this is the time for turning the ſervice you are going to do your country to your own advantage. Before you take arms, inſiſt upon the conſuls not oppoſing the *Terentian* law; and don't expoſe your lives to evident dangers, till they have promiſed upon oath, that as ſoon as you have re-taken the capitol, they will ſuffer the *Terentian* law to paſs. Why ſhould you venture your lives, when you can draw no advantage from your bravery? Theſe words made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the multitude, that neither the commands of the conſuls, nor the danger with which they were threatened, could prevail upon them to take arms. The conſul *Claudius*, full of indignation, was for having the patricians attack the citadel themſelves. The people, ſaid he, would ſell you their ſervices too dear. The patricians, attended by their clients, and a few voluntiers, are ſufficient to drive away the raſh *Herdonius*; beſides, we may borrow ſuccours of the *Latins* and *Hernici*: our ſlaves, if we ſet them at liberty, will lend us their aſſiſtance. In ſhort, any ſoldiers are better than refractory citizens, who refuſe to relieve their country in its utmoſt danger. But *Valerius*, who was more moderate and popular than his collegue, was of opinion, that, in the preſent circumſtances, the ſenate ought not to refuſe the multitude any thing, that could induce them to take up arms immediately. The beſt part of the ſenators being of his mind, he advanced into the midſt of the people, and promiſed them, that, as ſoon as the capitol

Valerius prevails upon the people to take arms in defence of their country

was

was re-taken, he would not hinder the tribunes from propoſing the law. The people, charmed with this promiſe, took arms, and ſolemnly ſwore never to lay them down without the conſuls leave. Then the conſuls drew lots for the conduct of the attack, which fell to *Valerius*. *Claudius* was appointed to cover the city, and prevent any ſuccours from joining *Herdonius*. *Valerius*, having drawn up his men in the forum, marched to the attack with them, and a legion of *Tuſculans*, which *L. Mamilius*, the ſupreme magiſtrate of *Tuſculum*, had ſent of his own accord to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*. *Herdonius* ſuſtained the aſſault with ſuch courage and reſolution, that the day was far ſpent before the *Romans* had gained any advantage over him. The conſul *Valerius*, encouraging his men by his example to advance boldly, notwithſtanding the ſhowers of darts which were inceſſantly diſcharged upon them, was ſlain at the head of the legionaries. *P. Volumnius*, who ſaw him fall, ordered his body to be covered, in order to conceal his death. He then took his place, and led on the *Romans* with ſo much bravery and reſolution, that they carried the place before they miſſed their commander. *Herdonius* fought like a man in deſpair, who was reſolved to ſell his life very dear. As he was a man of a tall ſtature and great ſtrength, he made a terrible ſlaughter of the *Romans*, diſputing the ground inch by inch, till he was at length ſlain, after having loſt the greateſt part of his followers. Thoſe, who outlived the loſs of their general, either ſtabbed themſelves, or threw themſelves headlong from the top of the capitol. And thus ended this raſh enterprize, in the deſtruction of *Herdonius*, and all thoſe who were concerned in it *

The conſul Valerius *is killed and the* Sabines *driven from the capitol.*

THE city was no ſooner recovered from its fright, but the tribunes called upon *Claudius*, the ſurviving conſul, to perform his collegues promiſe; but he put it off, under various pretences, and at length refuſed to do any thing in the affair, till a new conſul was elected in the room of *Valerius*. The day for the election being appointed, the ſenate and the whole body of patricians reſolved to chuſe ſome ſenator of great merit, who ſhould be capable of defeating the tribunes deſign, and keeping the people in awe with his authority. They caſt their eyes upon *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, the father of *Ceſo*, who was accordingly elected by the firſt claſs, conſiſting of eighteen centuries of cavalry and fourſcore of infantry; ſo that there was no occaſion for the inferior claſſes to give their ſuffrages. When the deputies, ſent by the ſenate to acquaint *Quinctius* with his promotion, preſented him with the decree of his elec-

Quinctius Cincinnatus *conſul.*

* DIO. HAL. p. 642. LIV. ibid. c. 18.

tion.

tion, the venerable old man, wholly free from ambition, was in ſome doubt what reſolution to take. He had retired, after his ſon's diſgrace, into the country, and was ſo taken with the ſweets of a rural life, that he preferred them to all the pomp of the conſular dignity. However, the love of his country getting the better of his private ſatisfaction, he left the plough, which he was driving, when the deputies arrived, and conſented to go with them to the city; but he firſt took leave of his wife, and recommending to her the care of his domeſtic affairs, I fear, ſaid he, my dear *Racilia*, that our fields will be but ill manured this year. He no ſooner entered upon his office, but he turned his thoughts upon reforming the ſenate, and reſtraining the inſolence of the people and their tribunes. In the firſt ſpeech he made, he reprimanded both the ſenate and people with equal ſeverity, without declaring himſelf for either party. He reproached the ſenate for feeding, with their continual compliance, the rebellious ſpirit of the people; and the tribunes for raiſing continual diſturbances, and promoting an unbridled licentiouſneſs among the populace. Some ſeditious men, ſaid he, reign in *Rome*, with more inſolence and tyranny than ever did the *Tarquins*; but I ſhall take care to carry the people out of the way of thoſe ſeducers. Know then, ye *Roman* people, that my collegue and I have reſolved to make war upon the *Æqui* and *Volſci*. We declare too, that our intention is to paſs the winter in the field, without ever returning, during our conſulate, into a city ſo full of ſedition. We command all thoſe, who have taken the military oath, to appear to-morrow, with their arms at the lake *Regillus*. The tribunes anſwered, that they would not ſuffer any levies to be made; and that if *Quinctius* was determined to take the field, he might chance to go to war only with his collegue. The brave conſul replied, That there was no occaſion for new levies, ſince the oaths the people had taken to *Valerius*, whoſe place he ſupplied, were ſtill binding. The tribunes, to elude that engagement, cried out, That by the oath the people had taken to *Valerius*, they had not laid themſelves under any obligation to *Quinctius*, who was then but a private man. But the anſwers of the tribunes, ſeeming even to thoſe, who were moſt nearly concerned, more ſubtle than ſolid, every one began to take arms, tho' very unwillingly. What ſtill increaſed their uneaſineſs was, a report ſpread abroad, that the conſuls deſigned to hold a general aſſembly on the banks of the lake *Regillus*, and there to annul whatever had been done in former aſſemblies for the advantage of the people, the authority of the tribunes being confined to the city. *Quinctius* further gave

out,

out, that, on his return, he would name a dictator, whoſe authority could not be curbed by the oppoſition of the tribunes. These reports, artfully ſpread abroad, ſtruck both the people and the tribunes with terror. The women and children, all in tears, conjured the principal men in the ſenate to intercede for them with *Quinctius*, and to prevail upon him to ſuffer their huſbands and fathers to return to their homes at the end of the campaign. *Quinctius* ſeemed inflexible; and the people, ſtruck with conſternation at the very mention of ſpending the winter in the camp, became very ſubmiſſive. At length a kind of treaty was made between *Quinctius* and the tribunes: the former promiſed not to force the troops to winter in the field, nor even to march out of the city; and the latter, on their parts, bound themſelves to make no propoſal to the people of new laws. To theſe two articles was added a third, *viz.* that, for the future, neither conſuls nor tribunes ſhould be continued in their offices beyond the year. *Quinctius*, having thus reſtored tranquillity to the city, applied himſelf to hear and determine private cauſes, and pronounced ſuch equitable judgments, that the people, charmed with his conduct, ſeemed to have forgot that there were any ſuch officers as tribunes in the republic [y].

Quinctius makes the tribunes deſiſt from their proſecution of the Terentian *law.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the late agreement between *Quinctius* and the tribunes, the latter got themſelves continued in their employments. Hereupon the patricians were for continuing *Quinctius* in the conſulſhip; but he warmly oppoſed it, upbraiding the ſenators with their contemptible levity in being ſo ready to violate their own laws, and thereby countenancing the breach of them in the people. Before he retired to his farm, he preſided at the comitia, when *Fabius Vibulanus*, a third time, and *L. Cornelius Maluginenſis* were named conſuls for the enſuing year. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome*, that *Antium* had revolted to the *Volſci*, who, together with the *Æqui*, had taken the field. It fell to *Fabius's* lot to march againſt the *Volſci*; and he gained conſiderable advantages over them, while his collegue was attended with equal ſucceſs againſt the *Æqui*, who, after having been defeated in the field with great ſlaughter, ſhut themſelves up in the city of *Antium*. *Cornelius* laid cloſe ſiege to the place, took it by ſtorm, and ordered the chief authors of the revolt to be firſt whipped in the market-place, and then beheaded. The *Æqui* being diſheartened at their repeated loſſes, had recourſe to the clemency of the ſenate, who granted them peace, upon the ſame conditions on

The Æqui and Volſci deſeated.

[y] DIO. HAL. p. 645. LIV. ibid. c. 21.

which it had been formerly granted to the *Latins*. They were to continue in poſſeſſion of their cities, lands, and laws, but under the dominion of *Rome*.

Volſcius proſecuted.

While the conſuls were thus employed in the field, *A. Cornelius* and *Q. Servilius*, both quæſtors this year, being men of great probity, began a proſecution againſt *M. Volſcius*, for having bore falſe witneſs againſt *Cæſo*. In virtue of the power annexed to their office, they convened an aſſembly of the people, and produced their evidences, of whom ſome depoſed, that they had ſeen *Cæſo* in the army, on the very day when *Volſcius* pretended he killed his brother at *Rome*. Others gave teſtimony, that *Volſcius*'s brother died of a languiſhing diſtemper; and that he never ſtirred out of his houſe after he was ſeized with it. Theſe facts, and many others, were atteſted by ſo many perſons of unqueſtionable credit, that there was no room left to doubt of *Volſcius*'s malice; but the tribunes, who had ſuborned *Volſcius*, put a ſtop to this proſecution, declaring, that they would not ſuffer the ſuffrages of the people to be gathered upon any affair whatſoever, before the *Terentian* law was determined. The ſenate, in their turn, made uſe of the like pretence, declaring, that they would not ſuffer the *Terentian* law to be propoſed, till the buſineſs of *Volſcius* was determined. Theſe conteſts were ſpun out till the return of the conſuls, who entered *Rome* in triumph, and ſoon after reſigned the faſces to *C. Nautius* and *L. Minucius*, who were obliged to take the field in the very beginning of their year againſt the *Volſci*, who had revolted from the *Romans*, and the *Sabines*, who, with a numerous army, committed great devaſtations in the *Roman* territory. The latter were routed by the conſul *Nautius*, and forced to ſhut themſelves up in their ſtrong-holds.

The conſul Minucius, *and his whole army in great danger.*

But *Minucius*, by a ſtratagem of *Cluilius* commander of the *Æqui*, being led into a valley, was there hemmed in on all ſides, and in danger of being ſtarved into a ſurrender at diſcretion. Some horſe men, having found means to make their eſcape in the dead of the night, carried the news to *Rome*. Whereupon *Quintus Fabius*, governor of the city, immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the other conſul, to inform him of the danger his collegue was in. *Nautius* repaired to *Rome* in all haſte; and having aſſembled the ſenate, all the fathers were for having recourſe to the remedy made uſe of in their greateſt calamities, which

Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator.

was, to create a dictator. Accordingly the conſul named *Quinctius Cincinnatus* for that high ſtation, and immediately returned to put himſelf at the head of his army. The governor of *Rome* ſent the conſul's decree to *Quinctius*, who was found, as before, cultivating his ſmall inheritance with

his

his own hands. When he ſaw the deputies with a numerous train of attendants, and twenty-four lictors with their faſces advancing to him, he put on his robe, and going to meet them, What tidings, ſaid he, do you bring from *Rome?* Your country, replied the deputies, being in great danger, ſtands in need of a dictator, and has pitched upon you; you are the only refuge *Rome* has in her diſtreſs. At theſe words he ſighed, and, tho' ſorry to quit his beloved ſolitude, yet obeyed the orders of the ſenate, and, having put on the habit of his new dignity, ſet out for *Rome*. The ſenate, having notice that he drew near, ſent him a boat, in which he croſſed the *Tiber*, his three ſons, his friends, and the chief men of the ſenate, receiving him at his landing, and conducting him in triumph to his houſe, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people. The next day the dictator named for general of the horſe *L. Tarquitius*. He was a patrician of uncommon valour, but, not having wherewithal to keep a horſe, had till then ſerved in the infantry; but the dictator, who had obſerved his gallantry and conduct in the campaign he had made under him, did juſtice to his merit; and, notwithſtanding his poverty, raiſed him to that high ſtation. The firſt order *Quinctius* made was, that all the ſhops and tribunals ſhould be ſhut up. Then he commanded all the youth in the city and country to be before ſun-ſet in the *Campus Martius*, each with twelve ſtakes, and proviſions for five days. He then put himſelf at the head of theſe troops, and, before break of day, arriving at the enemy's camp, viewed their intrenchments, as well as the obſcurity of the night would allow him. He made his ſoldiers, by ſeveral loud ſhouts, give the conſul notice of the arrival of ſuccours. Upon this, the conſular army expreſſing as much joy as the *Æqui* did terror, without waiting for day-light, ran to arms, and fell upon the enemy with another ſhout, which was heard by the dictator's army. The *Æqui* firſt turned their arms againſt *Quinctius*, in order to prevent him from ſurrounding them; but being called back to repulſe the conſul, *Quinctius* laid hold of that opportunity to fortify his entrenchments with a palliſado made of the ſtakes his men had brought from *Rome*. Theſe entrenchments ſerved at the ſame time to ſhut up the enemy's camp; ſo that the general of the *Æqui*, named *Gracchus Duilius*, found himſelf at day-light in the ſame ſituation to which he had reduced the conſul. Early in the morning the dictator and conſul attacked the enemy's camp at the ſame time with ſuch vigour, that *Duilius*, fearing his camp would be won ſword in hand, had recourſe to negotiation. He ſent deputies to the conſul,

Relieves the conſul, and makes the Æqui paſs under the yoke.

conſul, who, refuſing to hear them, referred them to the dictator. *Quinctius* having heard their propoſals, which were to quit their camp, and retire without baggage, arms, or cloaths, replied ſternly, That he did not think their death would be of any ſervice to his republic, and therefore was willing to grant them their lives, but upon condition, that they delivered up to him their general and chief officers, and ſubmitted to paſs every man of them under the yoke, to imprint it deeply in their minds, that the *Æqui were a nation conquered by* the *Romans.* If they refuſed to comply with theſe conditions, he threatened to cut them all in pieces. The *Æqui*, being ſurrounded on all ſides, and unable to ſuſtain two attacks at the ſame time, ſubmitted to what conditions the victorious enemy was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. Two javelins were therefore fixed in the ground, and a third laid over them; and under this ſort of gate all the ſoldiers paſſed, naked and unarmed. At the ſame time, they delivered up to the *Romans* their general and chief officers, who were reſerved to adorn the dictator's triumph. *Quinctius* would not allow the troops of the conſul *Minucius* to have any ſhare of the ſpoil. Cowardly troops, ſaid he to the conſular army, you were almoſt become a prey to the enemy; it is not therefore juſt you ſhould have any ſhare of their riches. As for you, *Minucius*, added he, you muſt learn the art of war in an inferior rank, before you pretend again to command in chief. He then obliged him to lay down his office; which the modeſt conſul was ſo far from reſenting, that he and his troops preſented the dictator with a crown of gold of a pound weight, for having ſaved the lives and honour of his fellow-citizens. *Quinctius*, after this victory, returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, being attended both by his own and *Minucius's* army, with garlands of flowers on their heads. Before his chariot were led the enemy's general, and a great number of officers in chains, who were the chief ornament of that proceſſion. The dictator, having finiſhed his expedition in leſs than a fortnight's time, was for laying down immediately his office, and retiring to his beloved ſolitude; but his friends prevailed upon him to continue in the dictatorſhip, till *Volſcius*, the accuſer of his ſon *Cæſo*, was brought to his trial. Accordingly he aſſembled the curiæ; and the informer, being convicted of calumny and falſe teſtimony, was, according to the law of retaliation, condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and *Cæſo* recalled home. This done, *Quinctius* abdicated the dictatorſhip, the ſixteenth day after his advance-

He degrades the conſul Minucius.

ment

ment to it, though he might have held that dignity ſix months [z].

THE abdication of the dictator was followed by new diſturbances. *Virginius* was continued a fifth year in the tribuneſhip; *Volſcius* was recalled from baniſhment, and reinſtated in his office; the tribunes revived the diſpute about the *Terentian* law; and at the ſame time the *Æqui*, though lately ſubdued, together with the *Sabines*, began to make their uſual inroads, and lay waſte the *Roman* territory. The two new conſuls, *C. Horatius*, and *Q. Minucius*, were ordered by the ſenate to raiſe troops, and march without delay againſt the enemy; but the tribunes, after their old way, proteſted, that they would not ſuffer one plebeian to give in his name, till the commiſſioners for making a body of laws, according to *Terentius*'s propoſal, were named. An extraordinary aſſembly of the ſenate was therefore ſummoned, to deliberate on the preſent troubles, and *Quinctius Cincinnatus* recalled to make head againſt the tribunes. He was of opinion, that the whole ſenate and the body of the patricians, with their friends and clients, ſhould take arms, and haſten into the field. His advice was received with applauſe. Even the oldeſt ſenators repaired immediately to their houſes, took arms, and, attended by their clients and friends, appeared in the forum. The people, who flocked thither from all parts, being moved at this new ſight, the conſul *Horatius* exhorted all good citizens to join thoſe illuſtrious ſenators, who choſe rather to expoſe their lives to the utmoſt dangers, than to ſee *Rome* inſulted by her enemies. *Virginius*, in the name of his colleagues and the people, anſwered, That the plebeians would not ſerve, till the *Terentian* law was accepted. Hereupon *Horatius* made a reproachful ſpeech to the curiæ, ſhewing them the diſmal effects, which the ſeditious practices of their tribunes muſt at laſt unavoidably produce. His harangue made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the multitude; which *Virginius* perceiving, thought it adviſeable to conform to the preſent conjuncture. Aſſuming therefore a milder behaviour, he told the conſul, That he was ready to give over oppoſing the levies, nay, that he would himſelf exhort the people to take arms, provided the ſenate would grant them one favour, which would be of great ſervice to them, and no-ways detrimental to the authority of the conſcript fathers. The conſul deſired him to ſpeak his mind freely, aſſuring him,

[z] DIO. HAL. p. 651, 652. LIV. l. ii. c. 28, 29. FLOR. l. i. c. 11. OROS. l. ii. c. 12.

that

that he would find the ſenate ready to comply with any reaſonable requeſt in behalf of the people. Then *Virginius*, having firſt conferred with his collegues, replied, All that the people requeſt of you is, that you will ſuffer the number of the tribunes to be increaſed from five to ten. If you give us a refuſal in an affair of ſo ſmall importance; accuſe yourſelves only of the misfortunes the republic may ſuffer. This unexpected requeſt divided the ſenate. *Caius Claudius* oppoſed it with great warmth, being governed by this hereditary maxim, as we may call it, that all the requeſts of the tribunes ought to be ſuſpected. But *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, conſidering this affair in another light, was for granting the tribunes their requeſt. He thought, that the more numerous the tribunes were, the more eaſy it would be to ſow diviſions among them. The opinion of this great man prevailed, and the ſenate paſſed a decree, giving the people leave to chuſe ten tribunes annually, provided they did not continue the ſame man in office above a year. Purſuant to this decree, the tribes were immediately aſſembled, and two tribunes choſen out of each of the firſt five claſſes. The tribunes being ſatisfied, two armies were raiſed without oppoſition. *Minucius* marched againſt the *Sabines*, who fled before him, and retired into their own country. *Horatius* led his troops againſt the *Æqui*, retook *Corbio* and *Ortona*, which they had ſeized; and then both conſuls returned to *Rome*, to preſide in the comitia at the election of their ſucceſſors [a].

The tribunes of the people increaſed to ten.

Year of the Flood, 2547. Before Chriſt, 452. Of *Rome* 296.

In the following conſulate of *M. Valerius Lactucinus* and *Sp. Virginius Triceſtus*, the tribunes, grown more audacious than ever by their number, propoſed, that, mount *Aventine*, or at leaſt ſuch parts of it as lay uncultivated, or were not poſſeſſed by lawful owners, might be yielded to the people, who, being now very numerous, began to want habitations. The conſuls looking upon this new demand as a prelude to the revival of the *Agrarian* law, and therefore deferring to convene the ſenate to debate it, *Icilius*, one of the tribunes, ventured upon an attempt never heard of before. He ſent an officer to them, commanding them to aſſemble the ſenate forthwith, and to repair to it themſelves. The meſſenger was, by the conſul's order, ſoundly beat, and ignominiouſly driven away by one of their lictors. Hereupon the tribunes cauſed the lictor to be ſeized, and ſome of them were for putting him immediately to death, for violating the ſacred privileges of the tribuneſhip in the perſon of their officer.

A bold attempt of the tribunes.

[a] Dio. Hal. p. 653,—657.

The

The ſenate, to ſave him, had recourſe to intreaties, but without ſucceſs. They were obliged to come to a compoſition with the tribunes. The lictor was ſet at liberty; but mount *Aventine* was, by a decree of the ſenate, yielded to the people. The ſenate ſoon found, that their compliance with the laſt demands of the people, ſerved only to put them upon new pretenſions. *Icilius*, the moſt enterpriſing of the tribunes, formed a deſign to bring the conſuls themſelves under ſubjection. In the conſulate of *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius*, the tribunes made more noiſe than ever about the *Terentian* law; and the conſuls, knowing the republic would never be quiet at home, till ſhe was engaged in a war abroad, reſolved to revenge the inroads, which the *Sabines* and *Æqui* had made the year before; but, in raiſing levies, they uſed ſo much ſeverity, that the people appealed to their tribunes, who, taking the part of the complainants, endeavoured to reſcue out of the hands of the lictors thoſe, whom the conſuls had ordered to be ſeized, for refuſing to anſwer when called upon. The conſuls advanced to ſupport the execution of their orders; but the tribunes, ſupported by the populace, not only repulſed them, but ordered their ædiles to ſeize thoſe ſovereign magiſtrates and carry them to priſon. So daring an attempt provoked the patricians to ſuch a degree, that they fell upon the tribunes, beat them ſoundly, and forced them to fly, with thoſe who ſtood up for them. The next day the tribunes aſſembled the people anew, and ſummoned the conſuls to appear before their tribunal, and there anſwer for what had happened the day before. The conſuls ſcornfully refuſing to obey the ſummons, the tribunes brought their complaints to the ſenate, and threatened to aſſemble the tribes, in order to judge the conſuls, in caſe they did not appear to juſtify their conduct. The conſul *Romilius* haughtily anſwered, That the tribunes had been the aggreſſors and the ſole authors of the tumult; and proteſted, that, if they were ſo daring as to proceed a ſtep further in this affair, he would arm the whole body of patricians againſt them. The ſenate, thinking it equally dangerous to declare either for the conſuls or the tribunes, broke up, without coming to any reſolution. *Icilius*, finding that nothing was to be expected from the ſenate, convened an aſſembly of the people, in order to ſtir them up to ſome vigorous reſolution. Some of the plebeians were for taking arms, and retiring again to the ſacred mount; others for proceeding againſt the conſuls, and inſiſting upon their appearing before the people, or condemning them to death or baniſhment, in caſe they did not appear; but the moſt moderate adviſed the people to defer all proceedings

The conſuls cited before the tribunal of the tribunes.

ceedings againſt the conſuls, till their conſulate was expired, and, in the mean time, to proſecute, with the utmoſt rigour, thoſe patricians, who had aſſiſted them in the inſult they had committed on the perſons of the tribunes. Of theſe three different opinions the tribunes choſe to follow the ſecond; and accordingly ſummoned the conſuls to appear the third market-day. This project, however, came to nothing; for *Icilius* declared in the aſſembly of the people, that the college of tribunes, at the intreaties of the ſenate, forgave the conſuls the perſonal injuries they had received from them; but could not neglect the intereſts of the people, and would therefore propoſe both the *Agrarian* and *Terentian* laws to their conſideration. This ſaid, he fixed a day for a new aſſembly to deliberate upon thoſe matters.

The tribunes renew their purſuit of the Agrarian *law.*

THE time appointed being come, and the people aſſembled, *Icilius* made a long harangue on the reaſonableneſs of the *Agrarian* law, and then declared, that any plebeian might ſpeak his mind freely. Upon this, many plebeians pleaded the right their ſervices gave them to a ſhare of the conquered lands, and made loud complaints of the patricians, who uſurped what the plebeians had gained with their blood. This was the common complaint of the plebeians; but none repreſented it in ſtronger terms than one *Sicinius*, or, as *Livy* calls him, *Siccius Dentatus*. He was a plebeian about threeſcore years of age; but yet in his full ſtrength and vigour, of a handſome ſhape and mein, and not uneloquent for a man of his profeſſion. He enumerated his exploits in war during forty years ſervice; told the multitude, that he had been in a hundred and twenty engagements, that he had received forty five wounds, and all before, twelve of them in that ſingle action againſt *Herdonius* the *Sabine*; that for the thirty laſt years he had been always in ſome command or other; that fourteen civic crowns had been given him for ſaving the lives of ſo many citizens, three mural crowns for having been the firſt who mounted the breach in towns taken by ſtorm, eight other crowns for different exploits, eighty three golden collars, ſixty golden bracelets, eighteen lances, twenty five ſets of furniture for horſes, nine of which he had won from ſo many enemies conquered in ſingle combats. And theſe military toys, added he, are the only rewards I have hitherto received. No lands, no ſhare of the conquered countries. Uſurpers, without any title but that of a patrician extraction, poſſeſs them. Is this to be endured? Shall they alone enjoy the fruits of our conqueſts? the purchaſe of our blood? No, plebeians, let us delay no longer to do ourſelves juſtice. Let us this very day paſs the law propoſed by

Sicinius Dentatus pleads for it.

Icilius.

Icilius. If the young patricians oppoſe it, let our tribunes make them feel what is the extent of their authority. *Icilius* beſtowed the higheſt elogiums on *Dentatus*, but, affecting to appear a ſtrict obſerver of the laws, he told him, that he could not with juſtice propoſe the law, till he had heard what the patricians alledged againſt it. Accordingly, he adjourned the aſſembly to the next day. In the mean time, the conſuls, having ſpent great part of the night in conſulting with the chief men of the ſenate, about the proper means to fruſtrate the deſigns of the tribunes, came to the following reſolution, *viz.* to employ the whole art of eloquence to win over the people; but if they continued obſtinately bent upon the publication of the law, in that caſe to hinder by main force the collecting of the votes. This reſolution being imparted to the patricians, they all repaired early in the morning to the forum, and diſperſed themſelves among the multitude in ſmall parties. The conſuls being come, the tribunes cauſed proclamation to be made by a herald, that whoever had any ſolid reaſons to offer againſt the publication of the *Agrarian* law, might lay them before the people. Several ſenators preſented themſelves one after another; but they no ſooner began to ſpeak, than the populace ſet up ſuch a clamour, that it was impoſſible to hear what they ſaid. The conſuls proteſted againſt all that ſhould be done in ſo tumultuous an aſſembly; but the tribunes, without hearkening to their remonſtrances, commanded the urns to be opened, and the tablets to be delivered out to the people, in order to vote. Hereupon the young patricians ſtarting up, ſnatched away the urns, and ſcattered about the tablets, on which the votes were written, and throwing themſelves, at the head of their clients and friends, into the crowd, by blows and main force hindered the people from dividing into their reſpective tribes. The tribunes, having attempted in vain to oppoſe the patricians, and keep the people together, were at length obliged to retire, and defer the promulgation of the law to another day. Early next morning, the tribunes aſſembled the people, and having demanded and obtained permiſſion of the aſſembly to inquire after the authors of the late diſorder, they reſolved to turn the whole accuſation againſt the youth of the *Poſthumian*, *Sempronian*, and *Clelian* families, who had been the moſt active in the fray. It was then cuſtomary in *Rome* to determine what puniſhment the accuſed deſerved, in caſe he was convicted, before his crime was reported to the people. The tribunes therefore having aſſembled a certain number of the moſt conſiderable citizens, to determine the puniſhment they ſhould inflict upon the ring-leaders of the

The patricians oppoſe by force the paſſing of the law.

tumult, ſome voted for death, others for baniſhment; but *Sicinius* was for the leaſt puniſhment the laws enjoined, *viz.* the confiſcation of their effects; and his opinion prevailed. The chief men of the ſenate, having conſulted together on this occaſion, thought it adviſeable not to oppoſe the proſecution, hoping that the multitude, ſatisfied with this revenge, would drop the more important affair of the law. As for the loſs of the ſufferers, they reſolved to repair it at their private charges. Accordingly, when the day came for the trial, the perſons accuſed, not appearing, were condemned in a fine for default, and their goods publicly ſold to pay it. But the ſenate cauſed them to be bought up by private hands, and reſtored to the former proprietors [b].

The Æqui invade the territory of Tuſculum.

DURING theſe contentions, news was brought, that the *Æqui* had made an irruption into the territory of the *Tuſculans*, who were in alliance with *Rome*. The ſenate immediately decreed, that the conſuls ſhould take the field, and march to the aſſiſtance of thoſe faithful allies. The tribunes did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to raiſe new diſturbances about the *Agrarian* law, proteſting, that they would not ſuffer the plebeians to take arms, till the law was paſſed. But herein they were not ſeconded by the people, who, remembering the aſſiſtance they had received from *Tuſculum* againſt *Herdonius*, readily gave in their names; ſo that two armies were immediately raiſed. *Sicinius Dentatus* was one of the firſt who joined the conſuls, at the head of eight hundred veterans as brave as himſelf, who had all ſerved the time preſcribed by law, but yet were willing to make one campaign more under the command of ſo famous a leader. The conſuls marched out of *Rome* in great ſtate; but the *Æqui*, on the news of their approach, retired to their own frontiers, and incamped on a ſteep rock. The *Romans* pitched their camp not far from the enemy, and kept cloſe within it to conceal their ſtrength, and by that means encourage the enemy to offer them battle. Accordingly, the *Æqui*, imagining the number of the *Romans* to be very ſmall, went down into the plain, and there challenged the *Romans* to an engagement. The conſul *Romilius*, who commanded that day in chief, ſeeing the enemy thus confirmed in their falſe confidence, reſolved to give them battle in the plain, and at the ſame time to attack their camp on the hill. With this view he ſent for *Sicinius*, and either out of eſteem for ſo valiant a commander, or, what is moſt likely, with a deſign to

[b] Dio. Hal. p. 662--668. Liv. l. iii. c. 31.

expoſe

expoſe him and his veterans, who were all plebeians, to be cut in pieces, gave him the charge of attacking the enemy's camp. *Sicinius*, being well appriſed of the danger of ſo deſperate an attempt, gave the conſul this reſpectful anſwer. I never yet declined any dangerous enterpriſe out of fear: but give me leave to repreſent to you, that the execution of what you command, is not ſo eaſy as you ſeem to imagine it. The rock we muſt climb up is very ſteep on all ſides, and not acceſſible but by a narrow way, which an handful of men may defend againſt a whole army. If you will have me therefore to make this attack, inlarge my troop, and put us in a condition to ſhew our bravery without diſhonouring ourſelves by a raſh attempt. At theſe words, the conſul told him in great anger, that his buſineſs was to obey, and not to act the general; and then added, with a ſcornful ſmile, this then is the brave man who has ſignalized himſelf in an hundred and twenty battles, who has been forty years in the ſervice, and whoſe whole body is covered over with wounds! He draws back at the ſight of danger, and has no courage, but in words. Go, *Sicinius*, go to the comitia, and fight the patricians with your tongue. What you refuſe to undertake, others ſhall put in execution for you. The brave plebeian, inraged at the general's reproaches, told him boldly, that he found he was reſolved either to deſtroy an old ſoldier, or to ſhame him; that he had been always ready to ſacrifice his life for his honour, and therefore would now march up to the enemy's camp, and either win it or fall in the attempt, with all the veterans under his command. Then turning to them, my dear fellow-ſoldiers, ſaid he, let us go whitherſoever honour and the command of our general call us. You will bear me witneſs after my death, that I was deſtroyed only for having defended with zeal the public liberty. His veterans took their leave of the reſt of the ſoldiers, who looked upon them as men ſent to ſlaughter. But *Sicinius*, who underſtood the art of war better than the conſul, inſtead of following the narrow path, which he had pointed out to him, led his men round about, and at length entered a great wood, that ſeemed to ſtretch along the hills quite to the enemy's camp. There he met with a peaſant, who conducted him to an eminence, which overlooked the enemy's camp, and was not far from it. From thence he had a ſight of the two armies, which were already engaged, and at the ſame time obſerved, that the ſoldiers, who were left to guard the enemy's camp, were all gone to that ſide which was next the plain, to ſee from thence the battle. In this juncture *Sicinius*, with his veterans, entering the intrenchments

The gallant behaviour of Sicinius Dentatus.

trenchments without oppoſition, ordered his men to give a loud ſhout, and at the ſame time falling upon the *Æqui*, whoſe eyes were turned another way, ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that they abandoned the camp, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion to the main body of their army. *Sicinius* purſued them cloſe, made a great ſlaughter of them by the way, and then falling upon the rear of the main body, which was engaged with the *Romans*, quickly put an end to the conflict. The *Æqui* betook themſelves to flight, and the conſuls, following them, killed above ſeven thouſand men in the purſuit. *Sicinius*, as ſoon as it was dark, retired with his veterans to the camp he had taken from the enemy, and having there put to the ſword all the priſoners, killed the horſes, and ſet fire to the tents, arms, and baggage, marched with all poſſible expedition to *Rome*, with his victorious cohort, and gave an account to the tribunes of what had paſſed, begging, that the honours of a triumph might not be allowed to generals, who had abuſed their authority to deſtroy their fellow-citizens. The people, full of indignation, promiſed they would never conſent, that the conſuls ſhould have a triumph, and accordingly, when the generals returned from the campaign, the multitude refuſed to let them enter the city with the uſual pomp on ſuch occaſions. The ſenate, fearing ſome new commotions, did not think proper to eſpouſe the conſuls cauſe, ſo that they returned without honour, and loaded with freſh odium.

The Æqui are routed by the Romans.

THE two conſuls had no ſooner reſigned the faſces to their ſucceſſors, *Sp. Tarpeius*, and *A. Æternius*, but they were cited before the aſſembly of the people. *Sicinius*, whom the people had raiſed to the tribuneſhip, took upon him the management of the proſecution againſt his enemy *Romilius*, whilſt *Allienus*, one of the ædiles, accuſed *Veturius*. On the day appointed for their trial, they both appeared, depending on the promiſes the patricians had made them, which were not to ſuffer the ſuffrages of the people to be gathered. But *Sicinius* took ſuch meaſures to prevent the young patricians from raiſing any diſturbances, that they were both regularly tried for having offered violence to the tribunes, and diſturbed them in the execution of their office, and beſides, for abuſing their authority in the army, in order to deſtroy *Sicinius* and the eight hundred veterans of his cohort. The people fined them both, *Romilius* in ten thouſand aſſes, and *Veturius* in fifteen thouſand. Hiſtory has not told us, why the people made this difference in their fines; *Veturius* ſeems to have been leſs guilty than his collegue, and yet his fine was one

The laſt year's conſuls tried by the people, and fined.

one third larger. Perhaps *Sicinius*, ſatisfied with humbling his adverſary, did not care to reduce him to poverty.

UNDER this year's conſuls a law was made, with the conſent of all orders in the ſtate, impowering any magiſtrate to lay a fine upon ſuch as ſhould be wanting in reſpect to his dignity; a prerogative reſerved before to the conſuls only. This new regulation raiſed the authority of the tribunes, and put them almoſt upon a level with the conſuls. However, to prevent any particular magiſtrate from abuſing his authority in this point, it was provided by the ſame law, that the higheſt fine for ſuch crimes ſhould never exceed the value of two oxen and thirty ſheep [c].

The tribunes reſume the purſuit of the Terentian *law.*

THE tribunes, finding they could not by any means bring the conſuls to hear of the *Agrarian* law, returned to the purſuit of the *Terentian*. The ſenate, to put an end to the continual conteſts between them and the people, which they foreſaw would at length make *Rome* become a prey to her enemies, began to hearken to the tribunes propoſal, and declared, that they would not oppoſe the drawing up a body of laws, which ſhould be a guide to the magiſtrates, provided all the legiſlators were choſen out of the nobility. On the other hand, the tribunes were for having them choſen partly out of the nobility, and partly out of the plebeians. On this occaſion, *Romilius*, to the great ſurpriſe of both parties, declared with great warmth for the eſtabliſhment of fixed laws, and at the ſame time propoſed the ſending of deputies to *Athens*, to tranſcribe the laws of *Solon*, and of the other law-givers of *Greece*, in order to form thereby a body of *Roman* laws, which ſhould be the rule for magiſtrates in all the parts of their adminiſtration. The opinion of *Romilius* was followed by the two conſuls, and a great majority of the ſenators. But before the decree paſſed, the tribune *Sicinius* roſe up and beſtowed great encomiums on *Romilius*, proteſting, that for the future he ſhould ever be his friend. Nay, he went further; and as *Romilius* had not yet paid the fine, the tribune declared, that he remitted it in the name of the people. But as fines, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days, were always applied to religious uſes, *Romilius* rejected this favour, proteſting, that he would not defraud the gods of the money which belonged to them. A decree, conformable to *Romilius*'s propoſal, being paſſed by the ſenate, and confirmed by the people, *Sp. Poſthumius*, *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, *Which at length paſſed.*

were appointed to repair to *Greece*, and there collect the beſt laws and inſtitutions of the *Greek* cities, eſpecially of *Athens*.

[c] Idem, p. 674. Liv. l. iii. c. 31.

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The quæſtors ordered ſome gallies to be fitted out and magnificently adorned, to give the *Greeks* an advantageous opinion of the *Roman* republic, with which they were yet intirely unacquainted. On board theſe gallies the deputies ſet out, leaving *Rome* in the enjoyment of a profound peace, which laſted all this year and the following, when *P. Horatius* and *Sextus Quintilius* were conſuls; but almoſt all *Italy* was afflicted with a plague, which ſwept away great numbers of citizens at *Rome*, amongſt others the conſul *Quintilius*, *Sp. Furius*, who had been named to ſucceed him, *Servius Cornelius*, the high-prieſt of *Jupiter*, the augur *Horatius Pulvillus*, four tribunes of the people, and the beſt part of the ſenators. The next year, *P. Seſtius* and *T. Menenius* being conſuls, the plague ceaſed, and the deputies, who had been ſent into *Greece*, returned home. Upon their return, the people preſſed the nomination of the ten commiſſioners or decemvirs for the great work of drawing up a body of laws. But the conſuls *Seſtius* and *Menenius*, being averſe to the whole deſign, put off the election under various pretences. At firſt they alledged in excuſe of their delay, that their ſucceſſors, in whoſe conſulate this great affair was to be ſettled, ought to be previouſly elected. This haſtened the election of the new conſuls, and *Appius Claudius* and *T. Genucius*, were choſen before the uſual time. *Appius* was the ſon of that *Appius* who killed himſelf, and grandſon of the firſt *Appius*. All the patricians gave him their ſuffrages, hoping he would be no leſs zealous for the power of the ſenate than his anceſtors. After this election of magiſtrates for the next year, the tribunes applied themſelves anew to the preſent conſuls for the nomination of the decemvirs. But *Menenius*, pretending to be out of order, kept at home, and *Seſtius* declared, that he would not act in ſo great an affair without his collegue. Hereupon the tribunes applied themſelves to the conſuls elect. It then evidently appeared, that the *Roman* conſtancy, and zeal of the moſt rigid patricians, for the intereſts of their body, was nothing elſe but a refined ambition.

The conſul Appius Claudius *joins the tribunes.*

For *Appius Claudius*, who had hitherto valued himſelf on his immoveable attachment to the party of the nobility, and ſeemed to have derived it with his blood from his anceſtors, changed all at once, and joined with the tribunes, in order to get the decemvirs appointed. His collegue *Genucius* followed his example, but with more moderation. *Appius* publicly undertook the defence of the popular faction, and, at the inſtigation of the tribunes, made an harangue in their favour in a general aſſembly of the people. He there publicly declared, that the nomination

nomination of the decemvirs ought to be deferred no longer, and added, that if the election of himself and his collegue to the conſulate was thought to be of any hindrance to it, they were both ready to relinquiſh their pretenſions to that dignity. *Appius* had in this his private views; he expected, that, by the favour of the tribunes, he ſhould be placed at the head of the decemvirs, and by that means have a more abſolute authority, than if he had continued conſul. The next ſtep was to bring the affair before the ſenate. *Menenius* ſtill pretended ſickneſs, and ſtayed at home; but *Seſtius* was at length prevailed upon by *Appius* and *Genucius* to aſſemble the conſcript fathers, and propoſe the nomination of thoſe new magiſtrates, which did not paſs without ſome oppoſition. The patricians did not find their account in eſtabliſhing theſe laws, the authority of the conſuls being much greater, while they continued to determine cauſes in an arbitrary manner. Many therefore among the ſenators were for adhering to the antient cuſtoms, and rejecting all changes in the government of the ſtate. But *Appius*, who had a ſtrong party in the aſſembly, maintained on the contrary, that it was highly reaſonable that laws ſhould be eſtabliſhed, equally binding all citizens, and equally favourable to all; adding, that ſuch an eſtabliſhment would put an end to the domeſtic feuds, which had ſo long divided *Rome*, as it were, into two cities. The opinion of *Appius* prevailed, and it was reſolved, that ten men, venerable for their age and wiſdom, ſhould be choſen to compile a body of laws out of thoſe that had been brought from *Greece*. It was likewiſe decreed, that theſe commiſſioners ſhould for one whole year be inveſted with the ſovereign power, that the authority of conſuls, tribunes, ædiles, and quæſtors ſhould ceaſe; that there ſhould be no appeal from the decemvirs; and laſtly, that, during their adminiſtration, they ſhould be the ſole judges of peace and war, and of all matters of juſtice. This is the firſt inſtance of ſuſpending the tribuneſhip, which, as the tribunes were not properly magiſtrates, had hitherto been always preſerved even under the dictators. But when the ten commiſſioners came to be choſen, a new difficulty aroſe. The tribunes demanded, as they had done before, that ſome plebeians ſhould be let into the commiſſion; but the ſenate oppoſing with great unanimity this pretenſion, the tribunes yielded, for fear the nomination of the decemvirs ſhould be dropt intirely; but upon condition that no alteration ſhould be made by the decemvirs in two laws favourable to the people, *viz.* the *Icilian*, which gave the people ground to build upon on the *Aventine*, and that of the *Mons ſacer*, by which the tribunes were appointed to defend and protect the

people

people againſt the oppreſſions of the patricians. Theſe two articles being agreed upon, a ſolemn aſſembly was held of the whole *Roman* people convened by centuries, and the auſpices being taken, they proceeded to the election of the decemvirs. *Appius Claudius* and his collegue *T. Genucius* were the firſt named. To them were added *Seſtius* the conſul, who had laid this matter before the ſenate againſt his collegue's will; *Sp. Poſthumius*, *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, who had brought the laws from *Greece*; *T. Romilius*, the firſt who propoſed that deputation; *C. Julius*, *T. Veturius*, and *P. Horatius*, all conſulars, and men of great diſtinction. This was almoſt as remarkable a revolution in the government of *Rome*, as that from kings to conſuls. Nothing could be more moderate and gentle than the beginning of this joint reign, as we may ſtyle it, of the decemvirs. They agreed among themſelves, that only one of them at a time ſhould have the faſces and the other conſular ornaments, aſſemble the ſenate, confirm decrees, &c. To this honour they were to ſucceed by turns, each enjoying it one whole day, and then reſigning it to another. The reſt who were not actually exerciſing their authority, affected no diſtinction but that of guards, their habits differing very little from thoſe of the other ſenators. They repaired every morning, each in his turn, to their tribunal in the forum, and there diſtributed juſtice with ſo much impartiality, that the people, charmed with their conduct, ſeemed to have quite forgot their tribunes. *Appius* was the moſt popular of them all. He, who was formerly a ſevere and inflexible magiſtrate, was now all affability and complaiſance. He knew moſt of the citizens by their names, received them with reſpect, and ſaluted them with great marks of affection; inſomuch, that, from being the deteſtation, he became the idol of the people, and was looked upon as a ſecond *Poplicola*. Before the end of the year, each of the decemvirs preſented to the people that part of the laws which he had drawn up. They were aſſiſted by one *Hermodorus*, baniſhed from *Epheſus*, his native city, and then accidentally at *Rome*, in underſtanding the *Greek* tranſcripts brought from *Athens*. We are told, that *Heraclitus*, one of *Hermodorus*'s friends, wrote him a congratulatory letter, on the pains he had taken in drawing up the *Roman* laws; adding, that in a dream he had ſeen all the nations of the earth bowing down before thoſe laws, and worſhipping them after the *Perſian* manner [d]. When the whole work was compleated, the decemvirs aſſembled the people, and harangued them with the

Decemvirs created for making new laws.

Year after the Flood, 2553. Before Chriſt 446. *Of* Rome 302.

The decemvirs propoſe the ten tables of laws.

[d] Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Strab. l. xiv.

following

following words; May the gods grant, that what we now repreſent to you, *Romans*, may be equally agreeable to you, and advantageous to the republic, to you and your remoteſt poſterity! go, read the laws we have drawn up. We have uſed all the care and attention poſſible. But, after all, a whole nation muſt ſee further than any ten perſons. Examine our laws therefore in private, make them the ſubject of your public converſation; conſer upon them among yourſelves, and conſult with one another, what ought to be taken from them, and what may be added to them. Nothing that we have drawn up ſhall have the force of a law, till it is received with univerſal conſent. Be you, *Romans*, rather the authors, than barely the approvers of laws, which are to eſtabliſh order and regularity, and to be the main foundation of the happineſs both of the ſenate and people. A diſcourſe ſo modeſt and candid was heard with great applauſe. Immediately the laws were cut in ten tables of oak, fixed up in the forum, and all, who came to ſtart any difficulties about them, well received and readily heard. When all neceſſary corrections and amendments had been made, the ten tables were carried before the ſenate, where they met with no oppoſition; ſo that a decree was paſſed for convening the centuries for their ratification. This aſſembly was ſoon after held, and the auſpices being ſolemnly taken, the laws were firſt confirmed by the unanimous voices of the whole *Roman* people, and then tranſcribed on pillars of braſs, and ranged in order in the forum, as the foundation of all judicial determinations, with regard both to public and private affairs [c].

The decemviral government continued for one year more.

As many eminent men in the republic were of opinion, that ſeveral regulations, which would fill two other tables, were neceſſary to be added to the ten already eſtabliſhed, the continuation of the decemviral government for one year more was propoſed in a general aſſembly of the people, and approved of by the ſenate and people, with equal readineſs, but for different reaſons. The ſenators were glad at any rate to get rid of the tribunes; and the people extremely deſirous to keep back the reſtoration of the conſular dignity. Never was any office ſo much ſollicited by the graveſt and wiſeſt ſenators, as the decemvirate at this time. Thoſe patricians, who were formerly the moſt declared enemies of the people, and who ſcorned to canvaſs for public offices, were now wholly taken up in flattering and courting the meaneſt of the citizens. *Appius*, though a decemvir, forgetting his dignity, debaſed himſelf more than any of the candidates.

[c] DIO. HAL. p 680---683. LIV. l. iii. c. 33, 34.

He was perpetually ſeen in public places in company with thoſe who had been formerly tribunes, and whom he knew to be agreeable to the people. By their means he recommended himſelf to the multitude, for they were continually boaſting of him to the populace, as the author of the happineſs they enjoyed under the mild government of the decemvirs. But *Appius* himſelf when aſked by the patricians, whether he deſired to be continued in his office for the next year, affected to diſlike it, and was continually talking of the uneaſineſs that attends public employments. But his collegues ſaw into his deſigns, and wiſely formed their judgment of him by his actions, and not his words. They obſerved, that he abuſed the regard the people had for him to leſſen the moſt venerable ſenators in the eſteem of the people; that he excluded all men of known merit and ſteadineſs from ſtanding at the approaching election, by artfully defaming them among the multitude; that contrary to the pride of the *Claudian* family, he affected great affability and moderation, *&c.* All this gave great uneaſineſs to his competitors, and rendered him ſuſpicious to his collegues. Theſe latter therefore formed a deſign to diſappoint him. When the time of the comitia for the creation of the new decemvirs drew near, they appointed *Appius* to preſide in them; for the preſident in theſe aſſemblies propoſed to the people the perſons who ſtood for the office in queſtion, and it had never yet been known, that any one had nominated himſelf. But *Appius*, contrary to all the rules of decency, prpoſed himſelf for the firſt decemvir; and the people who were now intirely devoted to him, readily gave him their ſuffrages. The other perſons he named were all men at his devotion, and ſuch as he favoured. The firſt of the number was *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who had been three times conſul, a patrician indeed of a character hitherto unblameable. After him were choſen five other patricians, viz. *M. Cornelius*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minucius*. *T. Antonius*, and *M. Rabuleius*, all men little eſteemed in their own body, but in great favour with *Appius*. But what moſt ſurpriſed the ſenate was, that *Appius* out of complaiſance to the people, propoſed three plebeians for the decemviral dignity, viz. *Q. Petilius*, *Caſo Duilius*, and *Sp. Oppius*. Theſe, though excluded by their birth, and by a late agreement between the patricians and plebeians from this ſupreme magiſtracy, were by a plurality of voices added to the number of the decemvirs. Several men of known probity and moderation had offered themſelves for candidates, only to exclude thoſe, whoſe behaviour gave them cauſe to ſuſpect them of ſome ill

The ambitious views of Appius.

Second decemvirate.

deſigns

deſigns, namely *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *Caius Claudius*, uncle to *Appius*. But theſe *Appius*, who preſided at the election, did not ſo much as name, leſt the people who were well acquainted with their merit, ſhould prefer them to his creatures f.

The decemvirs reſolve to perpetuate themſelves in that government.

AND now *Claudius*, ſeeing himſelf once more at the head of the decemvirs, threw off the maſk, and turned his thoughts wholly on making his domination perpetual. As he governed his collegues with abſolute ſway before they began to exerciſe their office, he inſpired them with his own ſentiments. They had private meetings every day to deliberate about the moſt proper means of perpetuating themſelves in that dignity. Above all things they thought it neceſſary, and agreed to keep up a good underſtanding with one another. *Appius*, at their head, directed all their proceedings, and told them what they were to do. From that time they appeared reſerved and myſterious, ſuffered few perſons to come near them, and had no intercourſe but with thoſe of their own body. This cloſe union and confederacy of ambitious men made the ſenate apprehenſive, that the decemvirs for the enſuing year would behave themſelves very differently from their predeceſſors. When the ides of *May* came, and the new decemvirs made their firſt appearance, the *Romans* were greatly ſurpriſed to ſee each decemvir appear in the forum, early in the morning, with twelve lictors bearing axes among their faſces, like thoſe that were antiently carried before the kings, and afterwards before the dictator; ſo that the forum was filled with an hundred and twenty lictors. This was a dreadful ſight to *Rome*, the people prognoſticating from thence, that this would be a year of tyranny and injuſtice. And they were ſoon made ſenſible, that their fears were not groundleſs. The decemvirs began to reign imperiouſly, and with a deſpotic power. They were always ſurrounded, not only by the numerous train of their lictors, but alſo by a crowd of deſperate men, loaded with debts, and guilty of the blackeſt crimes. Many of the young patricians, preferring licentiouſneſs to liberty, made their court to them in the moſt abject manner, in order to ſcreen themſelves from juſtice, and eſcape by their favour the puniſhment due to their crimes. No man's life or property was any longer ſafe. The young patricians, ſupporters of the ten tyrants were not aſhamed upon the moſt frivolous pretences to take poſſeſſion of their neighbours eſtates; and when application was made to the decemvirs for redreſs, the com-

And reign imperiouſly

f Idem, ibid.

plainants were treated with contempt, and their complaints rejected. An inconſiderate word, or an expreſſion of concern at the remembrance of their antient liberty, was a capital crime. Some of the chief citizens were beaten with rods for complaining of the preſent adminiſtration; others were baniſhed, and ſome even put to death, and their goods confiſcated. The new tyrants vented their fury chiefly upon the people, treating them more like ſlaves than *Roman* citizens. As for the patricians, moſt of them, dreading the tyranny of the decemvirs, gave way to the ſtorm, and retired into the country for the remaining part of the year. They hoped, that the tempeſt would ceaſe with the annual power of the decemvirs. In the mean time, the ides of *May*, the time fixed for holding the comitia, in order to elect new magiſtrates, drew near; but the decemvirs inſtead of aſſembling the people, propoſed two new tables of laws, the firſt relating to religion and the worſhip of the gods, the ſecond to marriages and the right of huſbands. Theſe made up the number of twelve tables ſo much ſpoke of, which the *Romans* preſerved ever after as a ſacred depoſitum. Notwithſtanding the hatred the public bore to the decemvirs, they found little to object to their laws. The laſt only forbidding patricians and plebeians to intermarry, ſeemed an artful invention of the tyrants to keep the two parties always divided, that they might reign with more ſecurity. In the mean time, the ides of *May* paſſed, and not a word of any comitia for an election of new magiſtrates. The tyrants then ſhewed themſelves bare-faced, and, in ſpite both of the ſenate and the people, retained their power, without any other title but poſſeſſion and violence. All who gave them the leaſt umbrage were proſcribed; and many worthy citizens, retiring voluntarily from their country, took refuge among the *Latins* and *Hernici*. The people, groaning under ſo cruel a tyranny, caſt their eyes upon the ſenate, as their only refuge. But the ſenators, inſtead of comforting them, took an ill-natured pleaſure in ſeeing them oppreſſed, and bearing a great ſhare in the misfortunes they had occaſioned. When any plebeian complained to them, they maliciouſly referred him to *Claudius*, that idol, whom they had ſet up, and preferred to ſo many illuſtrious defenders of their country. *C. Claudius*, greatly concerned to ſee his nephew become the tyrant of his country, went ſeveral times to his houſe, with an intention to reprove him, and put him in mind of the glorious examples left him by his anceſtors. But *Appius*, gueſſing at the errand he

Two new tables of laws added to the ten.

The tyrannical government of the decemvirs.

he came upon, conſtantly eluded him, having ordered his attendants to admit none, but the ſupporters and partners of his tyranny.

IN the mean time, the *Sabines* and *Æqui*, hearing of the weak condition of the republic, and diſdaining to live ſubject to a city which had loſt her own liberty, invaded the *Roman* territory, and advanced within a few miles of *Rome*. This unexpected invaſion alarmed the decemvirs. It was neceſſary to make head againſt the enemy; but the difficulty was how to raiſe an army, when the people were diſſatisfied with their governors. In this perplexity the decemvirs reſolved to aſſemble the ſenate, and endeavour to prevail with the conſcript fathers to interpoſe their authority, and make a decree for legal levies. The people were ſurprized to hear a proclamation made in the forum for the ſenators to meet. We are indebted, ſaid they, to our enemies for the appearance of this ſingle ſpark of our antient liberty. But when the decemvirs repaired to the ſenate, they found no-body there but their own creatures. The others had retired to their country ſeats; and thither the decemvirs ſent meſſengers, ſummoning them to appear on a day appointed. Moſt of them obeyed the ſummons, and returned to *Rome*, but with views very different from thoſe of the uſurpers. *Appius*, in a ſtudied harangue, repreſented the danger which threatened the republic from the *Sabines* and the *Æqui*, and deſired a decree for levies without delay. He had ſcarce finiſhed, when *L. Valerius Potitus* roſe up to ſpeak, without waiting till it came to his turn. He was the grandſon of the famous *Valerius Poplicola*, and ſon of that *Valerius*, who was ſlain at the head of the *Romans* fighting againſt *Herdonius* the *Sabine*. *Appius*, apprehending he was going to propoſe ſomething contrary to the intereſt of the decemvirs, ſternly commanded him to ſit down and hold his peace, till ſenators, older than himſelf and more conſiderable in the republic, had declared their opinions. But the brave *Valerius*, deſpiſing his command, complained of his pride and inſolence, in preſuming to impoſe ſilence upon a ſenator ſtanding up for the liberty of the commonwealth, laid open the conſpiracy they had all formed againſt the republic; and laſtly, called upon *Fabius*, one of the decemvirs, as a man of juſtice and probity, to undertake the defence of his oppreſſed country, telling him, that on him chiefly the ſenate turned its eyes. *Fabius*, overwhelmed with ſhame and confuſion, did not anſwer. But *Appius* and the other decemvirs, ſtarting up from their ſeats in a great rage, ſurrounded *Valerius*, and obliged him to hold his peace. Such an extraordinary proceeding raiſed a tumult in the aſſembly, moſt of the ſenators being highly

They convene the ſenate to obtain a decree for the levying of troops.

L. Valerius *oppoſes the decemvirs.*

And is ſeconded by M. Horatius Barbatus.

highly provoked at the haughty behaviour of the decemvirs; but no body more than *M. Horatius Barbatus*, the grandſon of that *Horatius* who had been conſul with *Poplicola*. As he was an intimate friend of *Valerius*, and animated with the ſame zeal for liberty, he could no longer bear the inſolence of *Appius* and his collegues; but, ſtanding up, called them the *Tarquins* and *tyrants* of their country. What hinders us, ſaid he, from immediately executing the ſame vengeance on the new *Tarquins*, which our anceſtors did on the former tyrants? To reſtore liberty to *Rome* is an hereditary honour in the families of the *Valerii* and *Horatii*. It is not the name of king that makes a tyrant, *&c.* He was going on, when the decemvirs, ſurrounding him, drowned his voice with their clamours, threatening to have him thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, if he did not inſtantly hold his peace. But when they perceived, that the ſenate in general expreſſed an uncommon reſentment at their tyrannical proceedings, they repented of having impoſed ſilence upon thoſe who had a mind to ſpeak. *Appius* their chief, as ſoon as the tumult was appeaſed, declared to the aſſembly, that it was not the intention of the decemvirs to hinder by any violence the conſcript fathers from delivering their opinions; but that it was neceſſary to conform to the ordinary method, which was, that every one ſhould ſpeak in his turn, and confine himſelf to the matter in hand. He added, that whatever *Horatius* might imagine to the contrary, the commiſſion of the decemvirs was limited to no period but that of the eſtabliſhment of the laws; that they would not lay down their office till the twelve tables were ſettled in due form, and that then they would give an account of their adminiſtration. But, till that be done, continued he, we will ſteadily maintain and execute the offices of conſuls and tribunes, which are united in us. Then turning to his uncle *C. Claudius*, he deſired him to ſpeak his mind with freedom concerning the levies. But he, without confining himſelf to that ſubject, in a long harangue imputed all the misfortunes of the ſtate to the uſurpation and tyranny of the decemvirs, exhorted the ſenators to inſiſt on their being depoſed, and in a very pathetic ſtrain urged his nephew to abdicate an authority, which was become intolerable to a free people. *Appius* diſdained to give his uncle an anſwer; but *M. Cornelius*, one of his collegues, ſpoke for him, and applying himſelf directly to *C. Claudius*, We don't want your advice, ſaid he, to direct our conduct; if you want to give particular counſels to your nephew, go to his houſe: the only affair in queſtion here is the war with the *Sabines* and *Æqui*: tell us in plain terms your opinion concerning the levies.

Claudius

Claudius roſe up a ſecond time, and, turning to the ſenate, ſince my nephew, ſaid he, will not condeſcend to ſpeak to me, either in his own houſe or in full ſenate, and I am ſo unhappy as to ſee the tyrant of my country ariſe out of my own family, I declare, conſcript fathers, that I am reſolved to retire to *Regillus*. I baniſh myſelf from *Rome*, and make an oath never to enter it again, but with our liberty. However, to fulfil the obligation I lie under of giving my opinion with relation to the preſent buſineſs, I am for coming to no determination concerning the levies, till conſuls are choſen to lead them. His opinion was followed by *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *L. Lucretius*, all conſular perſons, and by the chief men in the ſenate. When it came to *L. Cornelius*'s turn to ſpeak, he, in a harangue, which he had concerted before-hand with his brother *M. Cornelius*, one of the decemvirs, imputed the enmity of the old ſenators againſt the decemvirate to envy and private reſentment, for having been themſelves diſappointed in the purſuit of that office; urged the unreaſonableneſs of loſing time in diſputes about new magiſtrates, when the enemy was almoſt at the gates of *Rome*, and repreſented, that it was impoſſible to come to a new election in leſs time than twenty ſeven days, during which time the city might be beſieged and reduced to the utmoſt extremity. His ſpeech was highly applauded by the creatures of the decemvirs; and even ſome of the oldeſt ſenators were for granting levies, hoping, that when the war was finiſhed, the abdication of the decemvirs would quietly follow of courſe, and the government return naturally into the hands of the conſuls. *Appius*, ſeeing with great pleaſure that the majority were for granting him and his colleagues a power to raiſe levies, aſked, for form ſake, the opinion of *Valerius*, on whom he had impoſed ſilence in the beginning of the aſſembly. *Valerius*, riſing up, propoſed the creating a dictator, an expedient which had been ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed on many occaſions. All the ſenators who ſpoke after *Valerius*, declared for this motion, as did alſo many of thoſe who had before voted for the continuation of the decemvirate. A warm diſpute hereupon aroſe with much clamour and tumult. *Appius* taking advantage of the diſorder, ſtepped forth into the midſt of the aſſembly, and cried out aloud, that the ſuffrages had been gathered, and that the opinion of *Cornelius* had prevailed. He then ordered the decree of the ſenate, which he had brought with him ready drawn up, and which impowered the decemvirs to raiſe troops, to be read in the aſſembly, and immediately diſmiſſing the ſenators withdrew [s].

Claudius *uncle to the decemvir* Appius *retires from* Rome.

The decemvirs are allowed to raiſe levies.

[s] DIO. HAL. l. xi. p. 69. LIV. l. iii. c. 4.

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Appius Claudius *the decemvir falls in love with* Virginia.

Appius, as we have obſerved above, remained at home with a body of troops to keep the city in awe, while his collegues marched againſt the *Sabines* and *Æqui*. As he was one day going to his tribunal, he obſerved a young virgin of extraordinary beauty, and though he ſeemed dead to all ſoft paſſions, yet he was taken with her charms. It was then cuſtomary at *Rome* for young perſons of both ſexes to purſue ſuch ſtudies, as were proper for them, in public ſchools erected in the forum; and in one of theſe it was, that *Appius* firſt ſaw this beautiful young woman, and was charmed no leſs with her intent application to her book, than with her graceful mein, and engaging behaviour. As his office obliged him to appear frequently in the forum, this ſevere magiſtrate and grave lawgiver was obſerved to ſtop when he paſſed by the ſchool of the young virgins, and there to behold with great ſatisfaction ſome pleaſing object. The perſon, who thus drew his attention, was the daughter of one *L. Virginius*, a man famous in the city for his probity, and in the army for his valour. Though he was a plebeian, he made a conſiderable figure in the troops, and had led ſeveral detachments in the preſent war with the *Æqui*, as commander in chief. His daughter's name was *Virginia*. Her mother *Numitoria* being dead, her father *Virginius*, upon his departure for the war, had committed her to the care of an uncle by her mother's ſide, who ſhewed for her all the affection and concern of a father. She was now marriageable; and *Virginius* had already promiſed her to *Icilius*, who had been tribune of the people, and was to marry her at the end of the campaign. But, in the mean time, the decemvir, conceiving a violent paſſion for her, reſolved at all adventures to ſatisfy it. He would willingly have married her; but he had a wife already, and though divorces were allowed by law, yet there had never been any inſtance of one. Poligamy was ſtrictly forbidden, and beſides, the decemvir himſelf had juſt paſt a law prohibiting all marriages between patricians and plebeians; ſo that he had no room to hope the accompliſhment of his wiſhes, but by the ſcandalous means of debauching the young maid; and theſe he began to purſue, by endeavouring to corrupt, with large preſents and great offers, *Virginia*'s nurſe or governeſs. But ſhe, equally faithful and prudent, inſtead of making a private market of the beauty and charms of young *Virginia*, rejected his offers with the utmoſt indignation, and kept a more watchful eye over her charge than ever. The amorous tyrant, finding he could neither corrupt nor deceive the truſty and watchful nurſe, had recourſe to another ſtratagem, the execution of which he intruſted to *M. Claudius*, one of his clients, an infamous wretch, and fit

He contrives a ſtratagem to get her into his

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for any villainous enterprize. This miniſter of the decemvir's paſſion, taking with him a band of profligate fellows, entered the ſchool, where *Virginia* was, and ſeizing her by the arm, declared that ſhe was the daughter of one of his ſlaves, and therefore belonged to him. As he was carrying her to his houſe, with all the authority which the law gave to a maſter over his fugitive ſlave, the people flocked about him, and being touched with ſo moving a ſight, obliged him to ſet her at liberty. *Claudius*, finding he could not execute his firſt deſign, cited her to appear before the decemvir; and ſhe by the new laws was obliged to follow him to the tribunal. *Appius*, who was alone upon the bench, was juſt ready to adjudge her to the claimant, as his lawful ſlave, when the people, full of indignation, cried out with one voice, that *Virginia*'s relations ought firſt to be heard. *Appius*, abſolute as he was, dared not refuſe to ſuſpend the ſentence, till ſome of the priſoner's relations appeared. The firſt who came was *Numitorius*, the uncle of the young woman, attended by a great number of his friends and relations. Upon his arrival, ſilence being made, *Claudius* renewed his claim, founded on a lie concerted between him and the judge; he pretended, that *Virginia* was born in his houſe of a ſlave belonging to him; that her mother had given her to *Numitoria*, the wife of *Virginius*, and that *Numitoria* had impoſed the child upon her huſband, and made *Virginia* paſs for her daughter. He added, that he would ſoon produce undeniable teſtimonies of what he advanced; that, in the mean time, it was but juſt, that a ſlave ſhould go with her maſter, and that he would give ſecurity to produce the young woman again in court, when *Virginius*, her pretended father, returned from the war. *Numitorius* repreſented, that it was highly unjuſt to diſpute a citizen's right to his very children, when he was not preſent to aſſert it, adding, that *Virginius* who was ſerving his country in the camp, would not fail to be at *Rome* in two days, and that it was reaſonable her uncle, who had the care of her perſon, ſhould, in the mean time, be the guardian of her honour. This, he ſaid, was conformable to the laws, which ordained, that, during a law-ſuit, and before a definitive ſentence, the plaintiff ſhould not diſturb the defendant in his poſſeſſion. But this law *Appius* eluded, by artfully obſerving, that in the preſent diſpute there were two circumſtances, which altered the caſe. Here, ſaid he, there are two perſons claiming; one as a father, the other as a maſter; if the pretended father were preſent, he indeed ought to be allowed the poſſeſſion; but he being abſent, the perſon, who claims her as his ſlave, ought to be preferred to any other, provided he gives good ſecurity to

produce her again, at the return of the perſon, who is called her father. Having thus ſpoke, he ordered *Virginia* to be put into *Claudius*'s hands. The iniquity of the judgment incenſed all who were preſent. The women who ſurrounded *Virginia* made ſuch outcries, that they were heard at a great diſtance. They kept her in the middle of them, and ſeemed reſolute to defend her. At that inſtant, *Icilius*, to whom ſhe had been promiſed in marriage, arrived, and, breaking through the croud, forced his way to the tribunal to defend his dear *Virginia*. A lictor endeavoured to oppoſe his paſſage, crying to him, that ſentence was already paſſed. But nothing could ſtop the inraged lover; he took *Virginia* in his arms, and addreſſing himſelf to *Appius*; No, *Appius*, he cried, nothing but death ſhall ſeparate me from *Virginia*. Add my murder to the many crimes with which thou art already polluted. Aſſemble all thy lictors, and thoſe of thy collegues too, I will defend her honour to my laſt breath. Have you deprived us of the protection of our tribunes, only to ſubject our wives and our daughters to your lewdneſs? Go on to exerciſe your rage upon our eſtates and lives; but ſpare the chaſtity of our virgins. If any attempt be made upon the honour of *Virginia*, I call the gods to witneſs that it ſhall not go unrevenged. What will not *Virginius* be able to do in the army, and *Icilius* among the people, when the one is to revenge the cauſe of an injured wife, and the other of a diſhonoured daughter? He was going on, when the lictors were ordered to drive him away, and to ſeize *Virginia*. But the people, moved with his misfortune and his courage, fell upon the officers of the decemvir, diſperſed them, and obliged *Claudius* to take refuge under the tribunal. *Appius*, ſeeing the people incenſed againſt him beyond meaſure, called his client to him, whiſpered in his ear, and then, having cauſed ſilence to be made, It is not, ſaid he, the fury of the violent *Icilius* which makes me comply, but the intreaties of *Claudius* my client. He is willing to give up the right he has to carry home his ſlave, and to commit her to the ſame hands in which ſhe was before. At his requeſt I will wait for *Virginius*'s return till to-morrow. Let his friends take care to give him notice. If *Virginius* does not appear at the time appointed, I would have *Icilius* know, I ſhall not want any aſſiſtance from my collegues to put my decree in execution. When he had done ſpeaking, *Claudius* deſired, that *Icilius* might give ſecurity for producing *Virginia* the next day, which he did accordingly, all the people then preſent offering eagerly to be his ſecurity. *Icilius* and *Numitorius* immediately diſpatched, the firſt his brother, the ſecond his ſon, to bring *Virginius* from the camp. *Appius* at the

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ſame time ſent a courier with orders to the generals to put him under arreſt. But the other meſſengers were more expeditious; and *Virginius*, upon the firſt notice of his daughter's danger, had left the army, and was ſo fortunate as to eſcape two parties which were ſent, one from the camp, and the other from the city, to ſtop him. He appeared the next morning in the forum, leading his daughter in deep mourning, attended by a great number of matrons of diſtinction. He addreſſed himſelf to his fellow-citizens as he paſſed, and uttered his complaints with an air of dignity, which ſeemed rather to demand, than implore aſſiſtance. *Icilius* broke into the throng, inveighed loudly againſt *Appius*, and endeavoured to tranſfuſe his own reſentment into every breaſt. But the ſilent tears of the women, who attended *Virginia*, affected the multitude more than any words. *Appius* was greatly ſurpriſed to hear that *Virginius* was in the forum. Full of rage he repaired thither, and, tho' informed of the diſpoſition of the people, he aſcended his tribunal, being ſurrounded by a numerous croud of his dependants and creatures. *Claudius* ſpoke the firſt, renewed his claim, and produced the ſlave, whom he had ſuborned to declare that ſhe was the mother of *Virginia*, and that ſhe had ſold her to the wife of *Virginius*. Several other witneſſes appeared to atteſt the ſame thing, all gained with great promiſes by *Appius* and his client *Claudius*. The friends and relations of *Virginia*, to deſtroy this impoſture, urged the little probability of *Numitoria*'s impoſing a child upon her huſband. He had married her, when ſhe was very young, and was almoſt of the ſame age with her. *Virginia* was born ſoon after their marriage. Where was the neceſſity then, ſaid they, for *Numitoria*'s practiſing ſuch a fraud as is pretended. Beſides, if ſhe had proved barren, and had deſigned to introduce a ſtranger into her family, why ſhould ſhe have choſen the child of a ſlave, rather than that of a free woman? Why a girl, when ſhe might as eaſily have had a boy? Beſides, was it probable, that a contrivance carried on by ſo many perſons, ſhould continue ſo long a ſecret? Would not the ſlave have made her court to her maſter, as ſoon as *Numitoria* was dead, by diſcovering a ſecret to him, which would have put him in poſſeſſion of a young woman, well educated and of extraordinary beauty? Why was this myſtery kept undiſcovered till *Appius* was decemvir, ſince the ſlave for a long time paſt could have no intereſt in concealing it? To theſe preſumptions *Virginius* added undeniable proofs, and brought ſome of the moſt conſiderable women in *Rome*, who depoſed, ſome that they had ſeen *Numitoria* when ſhe

Virginius arrives at Rome.

The impoſture of Claudius made manifeſt.

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was big with child, others, that they had aſſiſted at her labour, and ſome, that they had ſeen her ſuckle young *Virginia*, which ſhe could not have done, had ſhe been barren, as *Claudius* pretended. *Appius*, obſerving that theſe unanſwerable proofs made a great impreſſion upon the multitude, interrupted the evidence, and commanding ſilence ſignified, that he himſelf had ſomething to ſay. All the people liſtened with attention, being anxious to know what he could object againſt ſo many witneſſes of unqueſtionable credit. He then ſpoke thus: *Virginius*, ſaid he, I muſt acquaint you and all who are preſent, that this is not the firſt time I have heard of this affair. *Claudius*'s father revealed the ſecret to me at his death, when he made me his ſon's guardian. Afterwards, I examined into the matter, and found it to be true. However, I did not think it became me to meddle in an affair of this nature, and therefore left it to my pupil to recover his right, or to agree with the parties concerned when he ſhould come of age. But now that the cauſe is brought before me in judgment, being obliged to give ſentence, according to my own perſonal knowledge, I declare both as judge and witneſs, that the young woman belongs to *Claudius*, and my ſentence is, that ſhe be delivered up to him as his property. *Virginius*, provoked to the higheſt degree at ſo unjuſt and cruel a ſentence, was no longer maſter of himſelf. He trembled with rage, and, accompanying his words with a threatening geſture, infamous wretch, ſaid he, I never deſigned my daughter for thee. I educated her for a lawful huſband, and not to be a prey to a luſtful ravager. Muſt then brutal paſſions among us take the place of honourable marriages! How the citizens here will bear with theſe things I know not; but I truſt that the army will revenge my wrongs. At theſe words the people ſet up a loud cry full of indignation, as if they were determined to oppoſe the execution of *Appius*'s decree. But the decemvir, having firſt caſt his eyes on all ſides, to obſerve his ſtrength, and how his friends were poſted, told the multitude with a threatening voice, that he was not unacquainted with the plots that had been laid to cauſe an inſurrection, but that he neither wanted power nor reſolution to inflict exemplary puniſhments on ſuch, as ſhould offer to diſturb the public peace. Let every one therefore, ſaid he, retire to his own houſe, and none preſume to give law to a ſupreme magiſtrate. As for you *Claudius*, added he, ſeize your ſlave, and make uſe of my guard to diſperſe the croud. At theſe words, uttered with an imperious tone, the multitude gave back, and left *Virginia* ſtanding by herſelf, a helpleſs prey to injuſtice. The unfortunate

Appius decrees Virginia to his client.

tunate father, ſeeing there was no other remedy, drew near *Appius*, and in a ſuppliant manner addreſſed him thus: Pardon, *Appius*, the unguarded words, which have eſcaped me in my firſt tranſports of grief, and allow me to ask in the young woman's preſence ſome queſtions of her nurſe, that I may carry home at leaſt the comfort of being ſet right in this matter. *Appius* readily granted him his requeſt, and *Virginius* taking his daughter in his arms, and wiping the tears in which ſhe was all bathed, drew near to ſome ſhops, which were in the forum. There he ſnatched up a butcher's knife, and turning to *Virginia*, My dear daughter, ſaid he, this is the only way to ſave thy liberty and thy honour; go, *Virginia*, go to thy anceſtors, whilſt thou art yet a free woman, pure and undefiled. With theſe words he plunged the knife into her heart, and then drawing it out again all ſmoaking with her blood, and turning to *Appius*; by this blood, he cried, I devote thy head to the infernal gods. The decemvir immediately ordered him to be ſeized; but he with the knife in his hand made his way through the croud, got out of the city, and mounting his horſe took the road to the camp. In the mean time, *Numitorius* and *Icilius* ſtaying by the dead body of *Virginia*, and ſhewing it to the people, raiſed a great commotion in the city. As for *Appius*, he ſeemed to have quite loſt his reaſon; inſtead of endeavouring to pacify the multitude, he retired to his own houſe, and from thence ſent his lictors to ſeize *Icilius*, and carry away the dead body. But the people oppoſed the execution of his orders, and falling upon the lictors, broke their faſces, and drove them out of the forum. Hereupon the decemvir had the boldneſs to come in perſon, attended by a choſen company of young patricians, to ſupport his authority. But *Valerius* and *Horatius*, thoſe ſworn enemies of the decemvirs, putting themſelves at the head of their friends and clients, obliged the decemvir to retire. In this perplexity, *Appius* haſtened to the temple of *Vulcan*, and there pretending to act the part of a tribune of the people, demanded that *Valerius* and *Horatius* ſhould be thrown head long from the *Tarpeian* rock, as diſturbers of the public tranquillity. But his harangue was often interrupted with hiſſes; and, in the mean time, *Valerius*, having cauſed the body of *Virginia* to be carried to the top of a flight of ſteps, whence it might be ſeen by the people, was from the ſame eminence inveighing againſt *Appius*. So that there were two aſſemblies and two orators in different parts of the forum, declaiming againſt each other at the ſame time. But *Appius*'s auditors ſoon left him to go to *Valerius*;

Virginius, to ſave the honour of his daughter, ſtabs her.

The decemvir obliged to retire.

Valerius; and *Appius*, terrified at the defertion of many of his creatures, privately withdrew, and, hiding his face with his robe, took refuge in a neighbouring houfe. At that juncture *Oppius*, the plebeian decemvir, ruſhed into the forum to defend his collegue; but finding that the party of *Horatius* and *Valerius* was by far the ſtrongeſt, he judged, that the wiſeſt method in the preſent exigence was to convene the ſenate; and this immediately quieted the multitude, for they hoped, that the decemvirate would by that means be aboliſhed. But the ſenators then in *Rome*, being all friends to the decemvirs, only ordered the people to behave themſelves peaceably, and commiſſioned ſome young members of their body to go to the camp near mount *Algidus*, and prevent the ſedition which *Virginius* might raiſe there [h].

He had entered the camp, attended by four hundred citizens, and holding the fatal knife in his hand. The ſoldiers, at this ſtrange ſight, flocked to him from all quarters, when he, ſtanding on an eminence, with his face drowned in tears, related to them the plot laid by *Appius* againſt his daughter's honour and liberty, and the cruel method he had been forced to take for the preſervation of her chaſtity. The centurions and ſoldiers, full of indignation againſt *Appius*, aſſured him, that they were determined to ſtand by him in whatever he ſhould undertake againſt ſo wicked a tyrant. The decemvirs, who commanded the army, being informed of *Virginius*'s return, and the diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, attempted to ſeize the former, and appeaſe the latter. But the ſoldiers, refuſing to pay any obedience to the orders of men, whom they looked upon as uſurpers and tyrants, flew to their arms, ſnatched up their enſigns, and took the way to *Rome*, which they reached about evening, and entered without making the leaſt diſturbance. They marched quietly through the city to mount *Aventine*, and there intrenched themſelves, declaring, that they would not lay down their arms, till the decemvirate was aboliſhed, and the tribuneſhip reſtored. Hereupon *Oppius* convened the ſenate, for *Appius* was afraid to appear in public, and the conſcript fathers agreed to ſend three of their body to the army, to aſk, why they had left the camp without their generals orders, and what their intent was in poſſeſſing themſelves of mount *Aventine*? As they had not yet choſen a head, they all cried out with one voice, let *Valerius* and *Horatius* be ſent to us, we will return no anſwer to the ſenate but by them. As ſoon as the three commiſſioners were gone, *Virginius* adviſed the troops to chuſe chiefs to

The ſoldiers revolt from their generals, and encamp on mount Aventine.

[h] Dio Hal. p 709—— 719. Liv. l iii. c. 42-----49.

govern

govern them, and manage for them. Agreeable to his advice, ten perſons were elected under the name of *military tribunes.* The army was deſirous to have *Virginius* at the head of them; but he declined the honour. My daughter, ſaid he, is dead, and I have not yet revenged her death. No kind of honour will become me, till her manes are appeaſed. Beſides, what prudent or moderate counſels can you expect from me, who am ſo incenſed againſt the tyrants? I ſhall be of more ſervice to the common cauſe by acting in it as a private man.

Ten military tribunes elected.

IN the mean time, the three legions ſent againſt the *Sabines*, being ſtirred up by *Numitorius* and *Icilius*, abandoned their generals, and having, after the example of the other army, choſen themſelves ten military tribunes, marched through the city, and joined the legions on the *Aventine.* The two armies thus united, commiſſioned their twenty tribunes to elect two out of their number, to be ſupreme over all, and the choice fell upon *M. Oppius* and *Sextus Manilius.* In the mean time, the ſenate aſſembled every day, but ſpent the whole time in debates, without coming to any reſolution. At length it was carried by a majority of voices, that *Valerius* and *Horatius* ſhould be ſent to the revolted army. But they proteſted, that they would not move a ſtep, ſo long as the decemvirs were maſters of the government. The two armies, tired out with theſe delays, removed their camp to the *ſacred mount*, intrenched themſelves there, and obſerved the ſame good diſcipline as their anceſtors had formerly done. In this decampment they were followed by ſuch numbers of citizens, with their wives and children, that *Rome* was in a manner deſerted. The ſenators, ſurpriſed to ſee the ſtreets ſo thin of people, reſolved at length to aboliſh the decemvirate, to reſtore to the people their tribunes, and to the ſenate its conſuls. The decemvirs, finding they could not retain their authority any longer, only deſired, that they might not be ſacrificed to the hatred of their enemies, offering to reſign the power with which they were inveſted, whenever the ſenate ſhould think fit to create new conſuls. Upon this *Valerius* and *Horatius* repaired to the army, where they were received with inexpreſſible joy. *Icilius*, whom the army choſe for their ſpeaker, after having returned the deputies thanks for the zeal they had ſhewn all along in behalf of the people, demanded, in the name of all who had retired to the *Mons ſacer*, 1. The reeſtabliſhment of the tribunes of the people, with a right of appeal to them from the deciſions of the conſuls. 2. An ammeſty for all who had left the camp, without permiſſion from their generals. 3. That the decemvirs ſhould be delivered into their hands,

The ſenate reſolves to aboliſh the decemvirate.

Valerius; and *Appius*, terrified at the desertion of many of his creatures, privately withdrew, and, hiding his face with his robe, took refuge in a neighbouring house. At that juncture *Oppius*, the plebeian decemvir, rushed into the forum to defend his collegue; but finding that the party of *Horatius* and *Valerius* was by far the strongest, he judged, that the wisest method in the present exigence was to convene the senate; and this immediately quieted the multitude, for they hoped, that the decemvirate would by that means be abolished. But the senators then in *Rome*, being all friends to the decemvirs, only ordered the people to behave themselves peaceably, and commissioned some young members of their body to go to the camp near mount *Algidus*, and prevent the sedition which *Virginius* might raise there [b].

He had entered the camp, attended by four hundred citizens, and holding the fatal knife in his hand. The soldiers, at this strange sight, flocked to him from all quarters, when he, standing on an eminence, with his face drowned in tears, related to them the plot laid by *Appius* against his daughter's honour and liberty, and the cruel method he had been forced to take for the preservation of her chastity. The centurions and soldiers, full of indignation against *Appius*, assured him, that they were determined to stand by him in whatever he should undertake against so wicked a tyrant. The decemvirs, who commanded the army, being informed of *Virginius*'s return, and the disposition of the soldiers, attempted to seize the former, and appease the latter. But the soldiers, refusing to pay any obedience to the orders of men, whom they looked upon as usurpers and tyrants, flew to their arms, snatched up their ensigns, and took the way to *Rome*, which they reached about evening, and entered without making the least disturbance. They marched quietly through the city to mount *Aventine*, and there intrenched themselves, declaring, that they would not lay down their arms, till the decemvirate was abolished, and the tribuneship restored. Hereupon *Oppius* convened the senate, for *Appius* was afraid to appear in public, and the conscript fathers agreed to send three of their body to the army, to ask, why they had left the camp without their generals orders, and what their intent was in possessing themselves of mount *Aventine*? As they had not yet chosen a head, they all cried out with one voice, let *Valerius* and *Horatius* be sent to us, we will return no answer to the senate but by them. As soon as the three commissioners were gone, *Virginius* advised the troops to chuse chiefs to

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[b] Dio Hal. p 709——719. Liv. l. iii. c. 42-----49.

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The ſenate reſolves to aboliſh the decemvirate.

that they might be burnt alive. But the prudent deputies made a great difference between the two firſt articles and the laſt. Your two firſt demands, ſaid they, are agreeable to reaſon; but the third is the effect of paſſion. You are offered a ſhield; do not pretend to take a ſword too. The ſenate has not yet declared you innocent, and will you already take upon you to give law to it? The people, being ſatisfied that no tribunes whatſoever could have their intereſts more at heart, than thoſe two ſenators, impowered them to make what terms for them they ſhould think fit. *Horatius* and *Valerius* returned immediately to the ſenate, and gave them an account of the demands of the people, but omitted their threats againſt the decemvirs, who, hearing no mention made of their puniſhment, readily conſented to all that was aſked. Only *Appius* ſeemed unwilling to part with his power: *To re-eſtabliſh the tribuneſhip*, ſaid he, *is only to put arms into the hands of the inraged multitude. I find my life muſt be ſacrificed to the public hatred. But ſince it muſt be ſo, I will not any longer oppoſe the rage of the populace. I am ready to reſign the decemvirate, and care not how ſoon I do it.* Accordingly, a decree was paſſed, aboliſhing the decemvirate, and reſtoring the tribunes. Then the decemvirs, repairing to the forum, there laid down their authority, to the great joy of the city. When the news of their reſignation was carried to the camp, the army, leaving the ſacred mount, incamped a ſecond time on mount *Aventine*, and there choſe their tribunes, the pontifex *Maximus* preſiding at the election. *Virginius*, *Icilius*, and *Numitorius*, were firſt named. *C. Sicinius*, *M. Duilius*, *M. Titinius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Apronius*, *P. Villius*, and *C. Oppius*, were appointed their colleagues. An inter-rex was afterwards created, who held an aſſembly of the people by centuries, in which *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius* were raiſed to the conſulate. Theſe conſuls, being both very popular, got ſeveral laws paſſed, which gave the people a ſuperiority over the ſenate. Formerly the decrees of the people, convened by tribes, obliged only the plebeians; but now it was enacted, that all decrees made in the comitia by tribes, ſhould have the force of laws with relation to all citizens. That the tribunes might be maintained in perpetual poſſeſſion of their right of judging cauſes brought before them by appeal, it was likewiſe enacted, that for the future no magiſtrates of any kind ſhould be inveſted with authority, without appeal to the aſſembly of the people, and that it ſhould be lawful for any one to kill the man, who ſhould attempt the creation of ſuch a magiſtrate. The ceremonies were likewiſe renewed, whereby the perſons of the tribunes were made ſacred. To theſe regulations another

A decree paſſes aboliſhing the decemvirate.

L. Valerius *and* M. Horatius *raiſed to the conſulate.*

another was added, *viz.* that the decrees of the ſenate ſhould for the future be carried to the ædiles, and kept in the temple of *Ceres*. This was done, leſt the ſucceeding conſuls ſhould ſuppreſs the decrees now made, and by that means render them uſeleſs.

THE power of the tribunes being now firmly eſtabliſhed, they reſolved to proſecute the decemvirs, and begin with *Appius*, who was accordingly cited to appear. *Virginius*, who was appointed to be his accuſer, without enumerating all his crimes, inſiſted only on his having, contrary to law, refuſed a young woman, who was in poſſeſſion of her liberty, the right of enjoying it, till the ſuit was determined. If you do not inſtantly clear yourſelf from this breach of the law, I will order you, ſaid *Virginius*, to be carried to priſon. *Appius* kept ſilence; but when the tribunes officers offered to ſeize him, he cried out, *I appeal*; and having enumerated the ſervices done to the republic by his family, and reminded the people of his own zeal for the common good, in promoting and compiling the body of laws contained in the twelve tables, he claimed the protection of the laws, juſt made in favour of appeals. *Virginius* anſwered, that ſuch a monſter as *Appius* ought not to partake of the common benefits of ſociety, nor be allowed to eſcape impriſonment on giving ſecurity, ſince he had refuſed that privilege to *Virginia*. He added, that it was but reaſonable, that ſo profligate a wretch ſhould be carried to that priſon, which he himſelf had built, and inſolently named *the habitation of the people of* Rome. Accordingly he was led, notwithſtanding his appeal, to priſon; but his trial was put off to the third market-day. In this interval *Claudius*, the uncle of *Appius*, who had ſo much diſapproved of his nephew's conduct, and had always been againſt the decemvirs, upon hearing of the danger of *Appius*, haſtened to *Rome*, and appeared in the forum, with all his friends and relations in habits of mourning. He went from citizen to citizen, beſeeching them not to fix ſuch an ignominy on the *Claudian* family; but to no purpoſe; *Virginius*, on the other hand, begging them to ſhew compaſſion for him and his daughter, and not for the *Claudian* family, which had tyrannized over them. But, before the day appointed for the trial, *Appius* died in priſon. *Dionyſius* tells us, that the tribunes gave out he had ſtrangled himſelf; but that it was much ſuſpected he had been diſpatched by their orders. *Livy* barely relates, that *Appius*, to avoid the infamy of a public puniſhment, laid violent hands on himſelf in priſon[1].

Appius impeached by Virginius,

And carried to priſon,

And dies there.

[1] Idem, p. 726. LIV. l. iii. c. 56,--58.

Oppius, another of the decemvirs, thrown into prison where he dies.

The profecution of *Oppius*, one of the plebeian decemvirs, followed next. He was accuſed by *Numitorius*, *Virginia*'s uncle, as an accomplice with *Appius*, whoſe injuſtice in her affair he had not oppoſed, though at that time in *Rome*. Nor was this the only crime laid to his charge. A veteran, who had ſerved twenty ſeven years in the army, and had been eight times honoured with military rewards, uncovering his ſhoulders, expoſed to the multitude the marks of the rods, with which he had been beaten by *Oppius*'s orders, and offered to undergo the ſame treatment again, if the decemvir could aſſign any good reaſon for his cruelty. The accuſed was by the unanimous ſuffrages of the people thrown into priſon, where he died the ſame day. The other eight decemvirs, terrified with theſe impriſonments, which were followed by ſudden deaths, retired into baniſhment of their own accord. Upon their flight their effects were confiſcated and ſold, and the money ariſing from them carried by the quæſtors into the public treaſury. As for *M. Claudius*, the client, who had been ſuborned to ſerve the pleaſures, and carry on the iniquity, of his patron, he was condemned to death. But *Virginius*, pitying a wretch, who had offended at the inſtigation of a powerful magiſtrate, and a ſovereign, from whom he had no appeal, changed the ſentence of death into that of perpetual baniſhment, upon his confeſſing that he had been ſuborned. After this, *Duilius*, one of the tribunes, adviſed his collegues to carry vengeance no farther; and accordingly a general amneſty was granted, and the ſtate enjoyed a profound tranquillity at home the remaining part of the year.

The others retire of their own accord into baniſhment

The Æqui, the Volſci, and the Sabines, defeated by the conſuls.

Affairs being thus ſettled, the two conſuls took the field againſt the *Æqui*, *Volſci*, and *Sabines*, who, during the late inteſtine diviſions, had pillaged the *Roman* territory. *Valerius* defeated the two former, and *Horatius* the latter. But the ſenate, diſſatisfied with their too popular adminiſtration, and moved by a ſpeech of *C. Claudius*, who inveighed bitterly againſt them, refuſed them a triumph. But this oppoſition ſerved only to gain the people a new prerogative, the right of decreeing triumphs. For the conſuls applied to them, and, the tribunes eſpouſing their cauſe, *Icilius* declared, in the name of the people of *Rome*, that the conſuls ſhould, in ſpite of the ſenate, have the honour of a triumph, which was thought ſo legal a one, that it had a place in the *Faſti Capitolini*. The tribunes did not ſtop here, but formed a deſign of getting themſelves continued in the tribuneſhip after the expiration of their year. This was a conſpiracy not unlike that of the decemvirs; but to prevent any ſuſpicion, that their

their aim was to make themſelves ſole maſters of the government, they were for having the people continue *Valerius* and *Horatius* in the conſulate. *Duilius*, one of their college; a man of great moderation, and very zealous for the public liberty, oppoſed this project, and made it abortive, by prevailing upon the conſuls to declare publicly, that they would not hold the conſulate after their year was expired, though the people ſhould deſire it. After this *Duilius* held the aſſembly for electing tribunes, and by his influence got five new ones choſen, in ſpite of the cabals of the old tribunes. However, the latter prevailed ſo far by their intrigues, as to hinder any other of the candidates from having the neceſſary number of voices. Hereupon the nomination of the five tribunes yet wanting was referred to the five actually choſen, according to the direction of a law, which expreſly provided, that *if upon a day of election the full number of tribunes could not be choſen, thoſe who were elected ſhould have power to name their collegues.* Agreeable to this law the new tribunes no ſooner entered upon their office, but they named their collegues, and among them, to the great ſurprize of all, *S. Tarpeius* and *A. Æternius*, both patricians, old ſenators, and even conſulars. Some writers are of opinion, that theſe patricians had got themſelves adopted into plebeian families; but this is a groundleſs conjecture; for *Livy* tells us, that the five firſt tribunes were directed by the ſenate in the choice of their collegues, whence it is more likely, that the ſenators privately joined with *Duilius*, who acted all along in concert with them, to get ſome of their body into the tribuneſhip, in order to counterbalance the power of the plebeian tribunes. The election of the conſuls followed that of the tribunes, when *Lartius Herminius* and *T. Virginius* were choſen without any diſturbance. In their conſulate, *L. Trebonius*, one of the tribunes, diſſatisfied to ſee two patricians in that college, gave himſelf intirely up to croſs the ſenate in every thing, whence he acquired the ſurname of *Aſper*, or *The Crabbed.* In order to exclude patricians for the future, he got a law paſſed, which from his name was called *Lex Trebonia*, by which it was ordained, that *whoſoever ſhould for the future hold the comitia*, *for electing tribunes of the people, ſhould not diſmiſs the aſſembly, till the number of ten tribunes was compleated by the votes of the people.* This law took from the tribunes, who were firſt choſen, the right of naming their collegues, which the *Romans* called *Cooptatio* [k].

Two patricians choſen tribunes of the people.

Lex Trebonia.

[k] Liv. l. iii. c. 65.

THE

The following conſulate of *M. Geganius* and *C. Julius* produced nothing remarkable. But the ſucceeding conſuls, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, a fourth time, and *Agrippa Furius*, found the people highly exaſperated againſt the nobility, on account of ſome inſults they had offered the plebeians. The aggreſſors were cited to appear before the people, which occaſioned great contentions. Upon the news of theſe freſh domeſtic broils, the *Æqui* and *Volſci* entered the *Roman* territory, and ravaged the country to the very gates of *Rome*, the tribunes oppoſing the neceſſary levies to repulſe them. Hereupon the conſul *Quinctius*, a man illuſtrious for ſeveral victories, and greatly reſpected for the purity of his manners and the wiſdom of his counſels, having convened a general aſſembly of the people, made an harangue to them, with which they were ſo affected, that they concurred unanimouſly in taking arms. All the youth offered themſelves in crouds to be inliſted; inſomuch, that on the ſame day the levies were raiſed, and the army marched ten miles on its way. The next day, the conſuls came in ſight of the enemy, and the day following gave them battle, and gained a compleat victory. However, the conſuls, as *Livy* obſerves, did not demand a triumph, nor did the ſenate offer them one. He conjectures, that the conſuls were aſhamed to aſk an honour for one victory, which the fathers had refuſed to *Valerius* and *Horatius* for two. This would have been a glorious year for the republic, had not the *Roman* people diſhonoured themſelves by an iniquitous judgment, in a cauſe that was referred to their deciſion. The inhabitants of *Ardea* and *Aricia* choſe them arbitrators in a diſpute concerning a large tract of land, to which they both laid claim. The tribes being aſſembled and the cauſe heard, the votes were going to be taken, when one *Scaptius*, a *Roman* eighty three years old, deſired to ſpeak. He pretended, that the diſtrict in queſtion belonged formerly to the city of *Corioli*, and conſequently now to the *Romans*, who ought therefore to make no ſcruple of ſeizing it. The conſuls uſed their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade the people from taking a ſtep, which muſt caſt a blemiſh on the *Roman* probity. But all their efforts were to no purpoſe; the people, in ſpite of their remonſtrances, adjudged the territory to themſelves [1].

The Romans gain a compleat victory over the Æqui and Volſci.

Iniquitous judgment of the people of Rome, in a cauſe referred to their arbitration.

In the following conſulate of *M. Genucius Augurinus* and *C. Curtius Philo*, the tribunes carried their pretenſions farther than ever. For they not only demanded, that the law, pro-

[1] Dio. Hal. l. xi. p. 729. Liv. l. iii. c. 71.

hibiting

hibiting patricians and plebeians to intermarry, might be repeal'd, but likewiſe that plebeians might be admitted to the conſulate. *Canuleius*, the moſt active of the tribunes, declared to the ſenate, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would conſtantly oppoſe all levies of troops; let the want of them be never ſo preſſing, till theſe conceſſions were made to the people. The conſuls and patricians declared with great warmth againſt theſe new claims of the incroaching tribunes; but the *Ardeates*, the *Æqui*, the *Veientes*, and the *Volſci*, invading at the ſame time the *Roman* territory, the ſenate found it neceſſary to let the law concerning marriages paſs, hoping, that this conceſſion would induce the tribunes to give over intirely the purſuit of the law relating to the conſulſhip, or at leaſt to ſuſpend it till the concluſion of the war. But their hopes proved vain; for the tribunes, though the alarm from abroad daily increaſed, ſtill oppoſed the levies, and puſhed their point with the ſame zeal as before. Nay, at the inſtigation of *Canuleius*, they all bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath not to deſiſt from their enterprize, till the ſenate had granted them their demand. *C. Claudius*, in a private aſſembly of the oldeſt ſenators, moved to have recourſe to arms and violence, rather than yield to the people the dignity of the conſulſhip. But *T. Quinctius* and the majority of the aſſembly thought it better to comply, than come to a rupture with the people. Hereupon *Claudius*, to prevent the debaſing of the conſular dignity, made a new propoſal, *viz.* that, inſtead of conſuls, a certain number of military tribunes ſhould be choſen, partly out of the ſenate, and partly from among the plebeians, and that theſe new magiſtrates ſhould be inveſted with conſular power. This project being approved, the ſenate was aſſembled, and the tribunes called to it to give their reaſons in behalf of the new laws in queſtion. After they had ſpoke, *Claudius*'s ſcheme was propoſed, and received with great applauſe both by the patricians and plebeians. A decree was immediately paſſed for this fourth revolution in the *Roman* government, and the comitia were held without delay. But when the people came to vote, they refuſed to give their votes to any but patricians, ſo that only three military tribunes were choſen, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Attilius*, and *S. Cecilius*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Clilius*. But they did not long continue in office. *Curtius*, the late conſul, who had preſided at the election, declared three months after, that the auguries preceding it had been inauſpicious, which made their promotion void. This was probably an artful contrivance of the nobility to reſtore the antient form of government. However that be, the three new magiſtrates readily reſigned

New proceedings of the tribunes.

Military tribunes created with conſular power; but ſoon after abdicated.

reſigned their office, and an inter-rex was named, that the commonwealth might not remain without a head. *T. Quinctius* the inter-rex aſſembled the people, to determine whether the conſular government ſhould be reſtored, or that of the military tribunes continued? The ſenate were for the former; the tribunes for the latter; but the people, being reſolved to confer the ſupreme dignity only on patricians, were indifferent whether it ſhould be called *conſulſhip* or *tribuneſhip*. At length all agreed to reſtore the old form of government, and *L. Papirius Mugillanus* and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*, brother to one of thoſe patricians, who had laid down the military tribuneſhip, were appointed conſuls for the remaining part of the year. Under the ſucceeding adminiſtration of *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, a fifth time conſul, and *M. Geganius*, a ſecond time, the *Conſorſhip* was eſtabliſhed. There had been no cenſus for ſeventeen years, which occaſioned great diſorders. Theſe the new conſuls undertook to remedy; but, as they had many civil and military affairs on their hands, they deſired the ſenate to diſcharge them of the care of numbering the people, and to lay it upon two magiſtrates created for that purpoſe, who, with the title of *Cenſors*, ſhould, every five years, take a general review of the whole *Roman* people, and an account of their effects. The ſenate approved the motion; and the tribunes, tho' always upon their guard againſt every thing offered by the ſenate, thought the employment of too little importance to oppoſe it. They did not even demand, that the plebeians ſhould be allowed a ſhare in it, not foreſeeing to what a pitch of power and grandeur the office of cenſor would in time arrive. As men generally ſtudy how to inlarge their authority, the cenſorſhip was no ſooner made a diſtinct magiſtracy, than the cenſors began to take upon them the reformation of manners, and by that means ſubject to their tribunal the ſenators and knights, as much as the meaneſt of the people. *Papirius* and *Sempronius*, the conſuls of the preceding year, were the firſt cenſors, this dignity being unanimouſly conferred upon them, to make them amends for the ſhort duration of their conſulate [m].

The cenſorſhip eſtabliſhed. Year of the Flood, 2561. Before Chriſt, 438. Of *Rome* 310.

A civil war among the Ardeates.

While the conſuls were thus eaſing themſelves of the burden annexed to their office, a neighbouring city found them employment enough abroad. The *Ardeates*, who had lately renewed their alliance with *Rome*, were unhappily involved in a civil war, which aroſe from a very ſlight cauſe. Two

[m] Liv l. iv. c. 9. Cic. de leg. l. iii.

citizens

citizens of *Ardea*, one of a noble family, the other of a plebeian, had fallen in love with the ſame young woman. As ſhe was a plebeian, her guardians were for giving her to a man of her own rank; but her mother, an ambitious woman, was fond of matching her with a man of quality. The diſpute about this marriage engaged all *Ardea*, the nobility declaring for one of the ſuitors, and the people for the other. At length the cauſe between the mother and the guardians was tried, and ſentence pronounced by the judges in favour of the former, who, they ſaid, had a right to diſpoſe of her child to whom ſhe pleaſed; but the latter, refuſing to ſtand to this determination, had recourſe to violence, gathered together ſome plebeians, and, entering the widow's houſe, carried away her daughter. The nobility, on the other hand, taking the mother's part, ran to arms, fell upon the plebeians, and, having killed ſeveral of them, brought the young woman back to her mother's houſe. Hereupon the plebeians, leaving the city in great numbers, encamped on a neighbouring hill, and from thence ſent out parties to lay waſte the lands of the nobility. The mutineers, being joined by the *Volſci*, choſe themſelves a commander, named *Cluilius*, and laid ſiege to *Ardea*. In this diſtreſs the nobility applied to the *Romans*, and the ſenate ſent immediately an army to their relief, under the command of the conſul *Geganius*, who inveſted the beſiegers, obliged them to ſurrender their arms, and made them paſs under the yoke. After this, the conſul returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, with uncommon pomp and ſolemnity [n].

The Romans aſſiſt the nobility of Ardea.

THE ſucceeding conſuls, *M. Fabius* and *Poſthumius Ebutius*, made the *Ardeates* ſome amends for the wrongs the *Romans* had done them, on occaſion of their conteſt with the *Aricians*; for they ſent a colony to re-people their city, much depopulated by the civil war, and privately agreed, that no lands, except thoſe formerly in diſpute, ſhould be divided among the new colony, and even of thoſe only a ſmall part; and that the reſt ſhould be reſtored to their antient proprietors. As this was diſannulling the judgment of the people, *Agrippa Menenius*, *F. Claelius*, and *M. Ebutius*, who had put the decree in execution, were cited to appear before the people; but theſe three patricians, to avoid the proſecution, declared themſelves citizens of *Ardea*, and continued there. The following year, when the government was in the hands of *C. Furius*, and *M. Papirius*, proved a year of peace. But,

[n] Liv. ibid.

in the ſucceeding conſulate of *Proculus Geganius* and *L. Menenius*, great diſturbances aroſe, occaſioned by a *Roman* knight, named *Sp. Mælius*, who had the confidence to aſpire to the ſovereign power. A dreadful famine happening in *Rome*, the people, to prevent the evil conſequences of it, created, with the conſent of the ſenate, an extraordinary magiſtrate, with the title of *Superintendant of proviſions*. The perſon they named for this office, was one *L. Minucius*, an active and prudent man, who immediately ſent his agents into the neighbouring countries to buy corn, but with little ſucceſs, *Sp. Mælius*, who was one of the richeſt men in *Rome*, having been before-hand with him at the markets. The corn *Mælius* bought was, by his order, diſtributed among the meaner people; ſo that his houſe quickly became the place of refuge for the poor, the idle, and thoſe who had undone themſelves by debauchery. *Minucius*, who was continued in his office under the new conſuls, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, the ſixth time, and *Agrippa Menenius*, found out that *Mælius*, under cover of an extraordinary liberality, formed aſſemblies at his houſe, and that great quantities of arms had been conveyed thither by night. Upon this intelligence he inquired further into the matter, and at length diſcovered, that a conſpiracy was formed to ſubvert the preſent government; that *Mælius* aſpired to the ſovereign power; that the people were to take arms in his favour; and that even ſome of the tribunes had conſented to ſell the public liberty. *Minucius*, without loſs of time, gave an account of his diſcoveries to the ſenate; and the ſenate, following the advice of *Quinctius Capitolinus*, impowered him to name his brother *Quinctius Cincinnatus* dictator. It was thought neceſſary to take this ſtep in ſo critical a juncture, to prevent *Mælius* from eſcaping the puniſhment due to his wicked attempt. He might have appealed from the conſuls to the people, who, as they were intirely devoted to him, would have ſaved him; but from the dictator there was no appeal. *Cincinnatus*, being then paſt fourſcore, would have declined the office; but, the conſuls and the whole ſenate inſiſting upon his charging himſelf with the care of the commonwealth, he at length acquieſced, and named *Servilius Ahala* to be his general of the horſe, and the next day placed guards in all the quarters of the city. This precaution ſurprized thoſe who knew nothing of the conſpiracy; but *Mælius* and his aſſociates being well appriſed, that the power of the ſupreme magiſtrate was wholly bent againſt them, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to engage the multitude in their favour. Hereupon the

Sp. Mælius *aſpires to the ſovereign power.*

Quinctius Cincinnatus *dictator.*

the dictator, having cauſed his tribunal to be carried into the forum, ſent his maſter of the horſe to cite *Mælius* to appear before him. *Mælius*, inſtead of obeying the ſummons, attempted to make his eſcape. Whereupon *Servilius* commanded a lictor to ſeize him; and his orders were put in execution: but the multitude having reſcued him out of the lictor's hands, he was very near making his eſcape, when *Servilius*, throwing himſelf into the crowd, overtook him, and killed him on the ſpot. This action pleaſed the dictator, who, on ſeeing his maſter of the horſe all ſprinkled with the blood of the criminal, told him, that to him *Rome* was indebted for her liberty. He then convened a general aſſembly of the people, and, having acquainted them with the conſpiracy, declared, that *Mælius* had been juſtly ſlain. His houſe was, by the dictator's orders, razed to the ground, and the prodigious quantities of corn found in it ſold to the people at low rates. As for *Minucius*, a ſtatue was erected to him without the gate *Trigemina*, as a reward of his vigilance; but three of the tribunes, provoked at the murder of *Mælius*, made loud complaints in the aſſembly of the people, and obſtinately oppoſed the election of the conſuls; inſomuch, that the patricians, to avoid a tumult, were forced to conſent, that military tribunes ſhould be choſen for the next year. The tribunes hoped, that the people would now divide the government between the patricians and plebeians; but they choſe only three patricians, *viz. Mamercus Æmilius*, *L. Quinctius*, the ſon of the dictator, and *Julius Julus* [o]. During their adminiſtration, the city of *Fidenæ* not only revolted from *Rome*, but, putting themſelves under the protection of *Tolumnius* king of the *Veientes*, murdered four embaſſadors ſent by the ſenate to aſk the reaſon of their conduct. As a war was unavoidable, it was thought more proper to chuſe conſuls than military tribunes for the next year; and accordingly *M. Geganius*, a third time, and *L. Sergius* were elected. It fell to the latter to make war upon the *Veientes*; but, though he gained ſome advantages over them, he loſt a great number of men; which determined the ſenate to remove him from the command of the army, and to create a dictator in his room. The conſuls named *Mamercus Æmilius* for that dignity, who choſe young *Quinctius Cincinnatus* for his general of the horſe, and appointed *Quinctius Capitolinus* and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, two great commanders, his lieutenant generals. He ſoon

Mælius is ſlain.

Fidenæ *revolts from the* Romans.

Mamercus *Æmilius dictator.*

[o] LIV. l. iv. c. 17. VAL. MAX. l. v. c 3.

after took the field, came to an engagement with the united forces of the *Faliſci*, *Fidenates*, and *Veientes*, and gave them a total overthrow. *Tolumnius* himſelf was ſlain in the battle by *Cornelius Coſſus*, a legionary tribune, who ſtripped him of his armour and royal robes, and carried theſe ſpoils, called *ſpolia opima*, on his ſhoulders in the dictator's triumph. When the triumph was over, he depoſited them in the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, they being the ſecond of the ſort known in *Rome*. In the following conſulate of *M. Cornelius* and *L. Papirius*, one *Sp. Mælius*, a tribune of the people, and a near relation of the famous *Mælius*, cited *Minucius* and *Servilius Ahala* to anſwer for his death. Some hiſtorians tell us, that theſe proſecutions ſerved only to bring the tribune into contempt; but the greater part ſay, that *Servilius* was condemned to baniſhment, and afterwards recalled. As for *Minucius* we do not find any puniſhment inflicted upon him.

The ſecond ſpolia opima.

THE *Veientes* and *Fidenates* renewed the war, in the following conſulate of *Julius Julus*, the ſecond time, and *L. Virginius*, while the *Romans* were greatly diſtreſſed by a plague; but *Q. Servilius Priſcus* being created dictator, gave them battle near *Nomentum*, routed them, and took the city of *Fidenæ*. This ſucceſs was followed by a cenſus of the *Roman* people, which, after the eſtabliſhment of the cenſors, never failed to be renewed every five years. The following year *Mamercus Æmilius* was named to the dictatorſhip a ſecond time, upon a report, that all *Hetruria* was preparing for war; but theſe fears proving vain, *Æmilius*, who had no hopes of gaining glory abroad, reſolved to do ſomething remarkable at home, and propoſed to the people the ſhortening the duration of the cenſorſhip, and reducing it from five years to eighteen months. This motion was received with applauſe, and paſſed into a law. Then *Æmilius*, to ſhew the diſlike he had to magiſtracies of long continuance, reſigned his own, and retired to his houſe, amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude. However, this wiſe law coſt him dear; the cenſors, who were the inſpectors of the manners of the people, ſtruck him out of the roll of his tribe, took from him the privilege of voting, deprived him of all the rights of a *Roman* citizen, and loaded him with a tribute eight times greater than he uſed to pay; but this perſecution gave him a new luſtre, and ſtirred up the people againſt his perſecutors, *Furius* and *Geganius*, to ſuch a degree, that they would have tore them in pieces, if *Æmilius* had not been ſo generous, as to uſe his intereſt with the multitude to ſave them. The tribunes of the people, by renewing their ordi-

Fidenæ *taken by the* Romans.

nary

nary harangues againſt the electing of conſuls, prevailed to have military tribunes choſen for the next year. However, the people raiſed to that dignity only three patricians, *M. Fabius*, *M. Faſtius*, and *L. Sergius*. Nothing memorable happened during their adminiſtration, but a plague, which ceaſed in the following year, when the republic was again governed by three military tribunes, all patricians, *viz. L. Pinarius*, *L. Furius*, and *Sp. Poſthumius*. Hereupon the rich plebeians complained of the poorer ſort, for not chuſing any but patricians to that magiſtracy, notwithſtanding the law, which allowed three plebeians to be elected. They met at the houſes of the tribunes of the people to conſult upon this matter, and there reſolved to propoſe a law, forbidding any pretenders to the ſuperior offices to go about, in garments of an extraordinary whiteneſs, to ſolicit the votes of the people. It was cuſtomary for thoſe, who aſpired to any office, to ſhew themſelves to the people on market-days, in a habit of an extraordinary whiteneſs, and, in that dreſs, to court the meaneſt of the citizens, to call them by their names, to ſhake hands with them, &c. From this habit they were called *candidati*, or *candidates*, a word derived from the *Latin candidus*, ſignifying *white*. As this way of canvaſſing for offices was uſed only by the nobility, the principal plebeians undertook the aboliſhing of ſuch a cuſtom, hoping thereby to put an end to the various arts uſed by the patricians to gain the favour of the people. The law prohibiting the uſe of white garments paſſed, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the patricians, who, ſeeing the people highly incenſed againſt the nobility, began to fear, that they would no longer refuſe their voices to the chief plebeians for the military tribuneſhip; wherefore, to avert this danger, they turned their thoughts on getting conſuls choſen for the next year, the formidable preparations which the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were making at this time for war favouring their deſign. As no plebeians had ever commanded armies, the people were quite indifferent, whether conſuls or military tribunes were choſen; for they were determined to give their ſuffrages to none but old captains, and conſequently to patricians. Thus the election being left to the ſenate, the conſulſhip was reſtored, and *T. Quinctius*, the ſon of *Lucius*, and *C. Julius Mento* were promoted to that dignity. They were both officers of great experience and courage; but a miſunderſtanding ariſing between them, they were defeated by the enemy near mount *Algidus*. Hereupon the ſenate thought it neceſſary to name a dictator; but the conſuls obſtinately refuſing to comply with their deſire in this particular, as being piqued at the diffidence they ſhewed of their abilities,

A law prohibiting the uſe of white garments.

the

the ſenators had recourſe to the tribunes of the people, exhorting them to interpoſe their authority, and oblige the conſuls to name a dictator. The tribunes, who were then in the ſenate, charmed with a motion which tended to increaſe their authority, having withdrawn a while to conſult, returned with this declaration, that it was the pleaſure of the tribunes, that the conſuls ſhould obey the ſenate, or be led to priſon, if they perſiſted in their diſobedience. Hereupon the conſuls ſubmitted; but juſtly reproached the ſenators with betraying the intereſts of their own body, and ſubjecting the conſular authority to the tribunitian power. Another difficulty ſtill remained: the conſuls could not agree about the perſon who ſhould be dictator; ſo that they were obliged to draw lots for the privilege of nominating. It fell to *Quinctius*, and he named his father-in-law *Poſthumius Tubertus*, who appointed *L. Julius Vopiſcus* to be his general of the horſe. The dictator ſoon raiſed an army, with which he marched againſt the enemy, and having defeated them in a bloody battle, returned in triumph to *Rome*, and laid down his employment [p].

Poſthumius Tubertus *dictator defeats the Æqui and Volſci.*

THE next year, when *C. Papirius* and *L. Julius Vopiſcus* were conſuls, the *Æqui* deſired to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, on the ſame foot with the *Latins* and *Hernici*; but all they could obtain was a truce for eight years. Nothing remarkable happened at *Rome* during the preſent conſulſhip, but the making a law to ſettle the value of oxen and ſheep, paid by way of fines for diſobedience to magiſtrates. The fines were ordered to be paid in money for the future, each ox being valued at an hundred aſſes of braſs, and each ſheep at ten. The tribunes were the firſt projectors of this new law; but the conſuls, having notice of their deſign, propoſed the new regulation themſelves, and by that means gained the favour of the people. The next year the republic enjoyed a profound peace, under the adminiſtration of *L. Sergius*, a ſecond time conſul, and *Hoſtus Lucretius*, which was not diſturbed even by the tribunes. The next year, when *T. Quinctius*, a ſecond time, and *Cornelius Coſſus*, were raiſed to the conſulate, was remarkable for nothing but an extraordinary drought, which occaſioned a famine, that was followed by a dreadful plague. On this occaſion the *Romans* had recourſe to deities unknown, and introduced new ſuperſtitions; but the ſenate, appriſed of the danger of innovations in religion, ordered the ædiles to take care, that no gods were worſhipped but thoſe of the country; and by

[p] Liv. l. iv. c. 26.

this

this means a ſtop was put to all foreign ſuperſtitions. The *Veientes* had obtained a truce for eight years, after their defeat near *Nomentum*, as we have related above; but before the time was expired, had ravaged the lands of the republic. The ſenate, therefore, in the conſulate of *L. Papirius*, a ſecond time, and *Servilius Ahala*, reſolved to puniſh them; but, a diſpute ariſing between the people and the ſenate concerning the right of declaring war, thoſe enemies of the republic eſcaped vengeance this year. The next the tribunes inſiſted upon having the government placed in the hands of military tribunes; and accordingly four patricians were choſen, *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *C. Furius*, *M. Poſthumius*, and *A. Cornelius Coſſus*. The latter ſtaid at *Rome*, and the other three marched againſt the *Veientes*; but as they did not act in concert, they were routed, and obliged to keep within their camp. The people, upon the news of their defeat, inſiſted upon their being depoſed, and a dictator appointed in their room; but, as there were then no conſuls, whoſe prerogative it was to nominate a dictator, recourſe was had to the augurs, who declared, that *Coſſus*, who had had no ſhare in the late ſhameful diſaſter, might nominate a dictator. Accordingly he named *Mamercus Æmilius*, who had been in the ſame poſt twice before, and whom the cenſors had degraded. The new dictator appointed *Coſſus* his general of the horſe, and ſoon after took the field againſt the *Veientes*, whom the *Fidenates* had joined, after having maſſacred the *Roman* colony in their city. The dictator, coming up with them near the city of *Fidenæ*, gained a complete victory over their united forces, and made himſelf maſter both of the city of *Fidenæ*, and of the camp of the *Veientes*. We are told, that the left wing of the *Roman* army was at firſt greatly terrified, and put into confuſion, by the enemy's new manner of fighting; for the *Fidenates*, having all on a ſudden opened one of the gates of their city, ſent out ſome ſoldiers, with lighted torches in their hands, and dreſſed like furies. Theſe, running through the *Roman* battalions, and threatening them with fire and ſword at the ſame time, occaſioned no ſmall diſorder; but the dictator upbraided his men with cowardice, What, ſaid he, are you as much afraid of ſmoke, as a ſwarm of bees? Make uſe of your ſwords to wreſt the torches out of the enemies hands, and then go and ſet fire to their city with them. Theſe words inſpired the *Romans* with new courage; and *Coſſus* falling upon the enemy at the ſame time with his cavalry, the latter were intirely defeated. This glorious expedition being finiſhed in ſixteen days, *Æmilius* led back his troops

The Romans *defeated by the* Veientes.

The Veientes *and* Fidenates *defeated by* Mamercus *Æmilius dictator.*

troops to *Rome*, had the honours of a triumph, and then laid down his employment [q].

NOTWITHSTANDING the ill conduct of the laſt military tribunes, the tribunes of the people prevailed ſo far, as to have the ſame government continued the two following years; but had ſtill the mortification to ſee patricians only elected. Theſe were, the firſt year, *A. Sempronius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Quinctius*, and *L. Horatius*; the ſecond, *Ap. Claudius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *L. Sergius*, and *Sex. Julius*. The tribunes of the people uſed their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade them from this preference of the patricians to them in the elections. The richeſt and moſt eminent men among the plebeians gave out, that if they could be once choſen, they would not fail to get the public lands divided among the poor citizens. This made no ſmall impreſſion upon the multitude; but the patricians, who were then in poſſeſſion of the military tribuneſhip, to avoid the ſhame of having plebeians for their ſucceſſors, agreed among themſelves, to lead out of *Rome* thoſe who aſpired to that dignity, under pretence of making an incurſion into the territory of the *Volſci*. In their abſence, *Appius Claudius*, ſon of the decemvir, and one of the military tribunes, held an aſſembly for electing conſuls, when *C. Sempronius Atratinus* and *C. Fabius Vibulanus* were choſen. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Volſci* had taken the field with a very numerous army, and were advancing towards the frontiers, with a deſign to lay waſte the lands of the republic. The conſul *Sempronius*, a man of greater courage than conduct, was ſent againſt them; but he, deſpiſing an enemy whom the *Romans* had ſo often vanquiſhed, and attacking them with the infantry alone, was ſurrounded on all ſides, and would have been cut off with all his men, if one *Tempanius*, an old officer of the horſe, had not taken upon him the command of the cavalry. This brave officer, obſerving the danger the legions were in, leaped from his horſe, and addreſſing himſelf to his companions, Follow my lance, ſaid he, as if it were a ſtandard, and let us ſhew the enemy, that we can fight on foot as well as on horſe-back. At theſe words the whole body of horſe diſmounted, and following their leader, fell upon the enemy with incredible fury. The general of the *Volſci* ordered his men to retire in good order to a neighbouring hill; but *Tempanius*, after having reſcued the legions from the danger they were in, continued to preſs the enemy with ſuch vigour, that they could no longer withſtand him. Then the *Volſcian* commander, who was a

A bloody battle between the Romans *and the* Volſci.

[q] Liv. l. iv. c. 31—33. Flor. l. i. c. 12.

man

man of great experience in war, ſent orders to his troops to open their ranks, and give paſſage to the troops *Tempanius* led, and then to cloſe again, in order to ſeparate them from the reſt of the *Roman* army. His orders were obeyed, and *Tempanius*, ruſhing ſtill forwards, found himſelf at laſt cut off from the *Roman* main body. He did his utmoſt to force his way through the enemy's ranks; but not being able to break their order, he retired to an eminence, and there drawing up his men in a circle, defended himſelf with incredible bravery, till night coming on put an end to the conflict. The brave *Roman* did not doubt but the enemy would renew the attack as ſoon as the darkneſs was diſpelled, and therefore encouraged his men to behave like *Romans*, and, ſince they muſt periſh, to ſell their lives dear; but he was much ſurprized, when at day-break he ſaw neither friends nor enemies. He could not imagine what was become of the two great armies, which, a few hours before, had covered the plain. He went down with a few of his men to take a view, firſt of the *Volſcian*, and afterwards of the *Roman*, camp. Not a man was to be ſeen in either, except ſuch of the wounded as had not been able to follow the main body of their reſpective armies. Both the *Romans* and *Volſcians* had fought till night, and being equally afraid to renew the fight the next morning, had quitted their camps, leaving many of their wounded, and a great part of their baggage, behind them, and retired to the neareſt mountains. *Tempanius*, not knowing to what place the conſul was retired with his troops, took up the wounded *Romans*, and marched ſtraight to *Rome*, where he found the people actually aſſembled. Some runaways, having got to the city before him, had given out, that the conſul was defeated, and the whole body of cavalry cut in pieces. The tribunes of the people, thinking this to be a favourable opportunity of humbling a conſul, obliged *Tempanius* to appear in the aſſembly, before he ſet foot in his own houſe, and aſked him aloud ſeveral queſtions concerning the conduct of *Sempronius*. *Tempanius* anſwered, That it did not become a private officer to judge of the capacity and behaviour of his general; that he had ſeen him fight at the head of his legions with great bravery; and that, by what appeared to him upon a view of the field of battle, he could aſſure them, that the *Volſci* had loſt at leaſt as many men as the *Romans*. Notwithſtanding this favourable teſtimony of *Tempanius*, *L. Hortenſius*, one of the tribunes of the people, cited *Sempronius*, as ſoon as the year of his conſulate was expired, to anſwer for his conduct in the late battle, but when he appeared upon his trial, *Tempanius*, who had been choſen tribune of the people, with three other officers of the horſe, in re-

Sempronius cited to appear for his conduct in the battle.

ward of their ſervices, generouſly made themſelves his advocates, and aſked their collegue, why he proſecuted a brave general, whom he could reproach with nothing but bad fortune? *Sempronius*, ſaid they, was our general and our father; and therefore, like true children, we will appear in the habit of criminals as well as he, and, as we have ſhared his fortune, partake of his diſgrace, if any befalls him. No, replied *Hortenſius*, that ſhall never be; the *Roman* people ſhall never ſee their tribunes in mourning. I have done; I have nothing further to ſay againſt a general, who underſtood ſo well how to gain the affection of his ſoldiers: and thus he dropped his accuſation[r]. *Sempronius*, and his collegue *Fabius*, had been ſucceeded by military tribunes, *L. Manlius*, *Q. Antonius*, *L. Papirius*, and *L. Servilius*; but this year *Rome*, having ſuch moderate tribunes of the people, returned to her antient form of government, and choſe, without any diſturbance. *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, ſon of the famous *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *Numerius Fabius* conſuls.

The accuſation is dropped.

New diſturbances about the quæſtorſhip.

The peace, which continued this year, gave the new tribunes an opportunity of raiſing diſturbances about the quæſtorſhip. Hitherto there had been only two quæſtors, and thoſe choſen annually from among the patricians. Their office was to collect the taxes, defray the expences of the war, and to keep exact accounts of the receipts and diſburſements of the public money, for which they were accountable. To this time they had never ſtirred out of *Rome*; the conſuls therefore propoſed, that two new quæſtors ſhould be added, to attend the generals, in the field, take account of the ſpoils, ſell the booty, and, above all, provide for the ſubſiſtence of the army. This motion was received with great applauſe both by the ſenate and people; but, when it came to be paſſed into a law, the tribunes demanded, that two of thoſe magiſtrates ſhould always indiſpenſibly be plebeians. The ſenate was willing, that, in the election of quæſtors, as in that of military tribunes, the people ſhould, if they thought fit, chuſe as many plebeians as patricians; but the tribunes obſtinately requiring, that the people ſhould not be left at liberty to chuſe plebeians or patricians, the ſenate thought it adviſeable, rather than ſubmit to this, to drop the motion. The tribunes, by way of revenge, proteſted againſt holding the comitia for electing conſuls, and inſiſted on having military tribunes for the next year. The obſtinacy of the two parties threw the republic into a kind of anarchy, the tribunes oppoſing even the ſenate's meeting to name an inter-rex. After warm diſputes, the tribunes agreed

An inter-rex choſen.

[r] Liv. ibid c. 42. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 5.

to

to the naming of an inter-rex; and the ſenate choſe for that office *L. Papirius Mugellanus*, who, by expoſtulations and ſoft perſuaſions, brought the contending parties to this compromiſe, that the ſenate ſhould ſuffer the people to chuſe military tribunes inſtead of conſuls; and that the tribunes of the people ſhould allow the tribes to beſtow the quæſtorſhip on patricians or plebeians, as they thought fit. Notwithſtanding all the cabals and ſeditious harangues of the tribunes of the people, not only the military tribunes, but the quæſtors too, were choſen out of the patricians only, though one of the tribunes had propoſed his brother, and the other his ſon. The tribunes, inraged at this preference, were for accuſing *A. Sempronius*, who had preſided at the election, of ſome unfair dealing in taking the votes; but, as he was a man of known probity, and then one of the military tribunes, they turned all their fury againſt *C. Sempronius* his couſin-german, who had not been acquitted on his former trial, tho' the proſecution had been dropped at the requeſt of *Tempanius*. He was again cited to appear at the end of twenty ſeven days, during which time he conſtantly attended the ſenate, and zealouſly oppoſed the requeſt of the tribunes, concerning the diſtribution of lands. With the ſame ſteadineſs he behaved on his trial, and pleaded his cauſe with great eloquence. But, notwithſtanding all the ſolicitations of the ſenate in his favour, and the favourable teſtimonies of many officers, who had ſerved under him, he was fined fifteen thouſand aſſes of braſs. Soon after a veſtal, who, by her levity and too free airs, had brought herſelf under a ſuſpicion of incontinency, was tried before the pontifices, and acquitted; but the *pontifex maximus* admoniſhed her to be more reſerved for the future. In the following military tribuneſhip of *Agrippa Menenius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *P. Lucretius*, and *C. Servilius*, a plot was formed by the ſlaves to ſet fire to the city, and ſeize the capitol; but the ſecret being diſcovered by ſome of the conſpirators, the evil conſequences of it were prevented. The next year, when the republic was governed by three military tribunes only, *M. Papirius*, *C. Servilius*, and *L. Sergius*, *Labicum*, a city of *Latium* about fifteen miles diſtance from *Rome*, revolted, and entered into an alliance with the *Æqui*, who, after having pillaged the territory of *Tuſculum*, encamped at the foot of mount *Algidus*. Hereupon two of the military tribunes were ordered to take the field, and the third to remain in *Rome*; but each of the three, thinking himſelf the moſt capable of commanding the army, deſpiſed the leſs glorious employment of governing the city. The ſenate was highly

C. Sempronius *is again cited, and condemned in a fine.*

Labicum revolts.

offended to ſee three magiſtrates, whoſe duty it was to take care of the intereſt of the public, ſacrifice it to their private ambition; but no one of that body had weight enough to put an end to the diſpute. At length *Q. Servilius*, who had been formerly dictator, interpoſing his paternal authority, commanded his ſon *C. Servilius* to ſtay at home; and *Caius*, tho' very deſirous of commanding the army, and raiſed above his father by the office he then bore in the republic, obeyed, without ſhewing the leaſt reluctance, and remained in *Rome*.

The Roman *army defeated by the Æqui.*

But the two generals agreeing no better in the field than they had done in the city, the army under their command was drawn into an ambuſh, and entirely defeated. Hereupon the ſenate ordered a dictator to be created; and young *Servilius* nominated his father, who appointed him his general of the horſe. The father and ſon, leaving *Rome* at the head of a new army, encamped within two miles of the enemy, and, a few days after, attacked them, put their army to flight, took *Labicum* their place of refuge by ſtorm, and returning to *Rome* eight days after he had left it, laid down his office. The republic enjoyed a profound peace both at home and abroad under the ſucceeding military tribunes, *P. Lucretius*, *L. Servilius*, *Agrippa Menenius*, and *Sp. Veturius*. But the next year, when *A. Sempronius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Sp. Nautius*, governed the republic, the tribunes of the people revived the old quarrel about the diſtribution of lands. *Sp. Mæcilius* and *Sp. Metilius*, who were at the head of the factious, pretended, that the patricians had uſurped the lands they enjoyed, and therefore propoſed a new diviſion of them between the nobility and the plebeians. The ſenate met frequently to concert meaſures for defeating this propoſal; *Appius Claudius* propoſed gaining over ſome of the college of the tribunes, as the only remedy againſt their tyranny. His advice was received with great applauſe, and put in execution with ſucceſs; for the fathers applying themſelves to the tribunes, by entreaties and remonſtrances, won over ſix of the ten to oppoſe the promulgation of the law; ſo that *Mæcilius* and *Metilius* were obliged to drop their petition. The ſame good underſtanding was maintained the next year between the ſenate and

The old quarrel about the diſtribution of lands revived.

ſome of the tribunes, when *Cornelius Coſſus*, *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Valerius Voluſus*, and *Fabius Vibulanus*, were military tribunes. But in the military tribuneſhip of *Q. Fabius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *P. Poſthumius*, and *L. Valerius*, the affair of the *Agrarian* law was revived. The *Æqui* having retaken *Bola*, a little town which the *Romans* had lately ſeized, *P. Poſthumius*, one of the military tribunes, was ſent with an army to recover it. After ſome ſkirmiſhes with the enemy in the field, he

he ſat down before the place, and, to encourage his men, promiſed to diſtribute the plunder among them, if they took the town. The place was ſoon after carried by aſſault; but the general, who hated the plebeians, of whom the greateſt part of his army conſiſted, breaking his word, put all the ſpoil into the hands of the quæſtors, and thereby alienated the hearts of the army from him. In the mean time *Sextius*, one of the tribunes of the people, having brought on anew the affair of the *Agrarian* law, *Poſthumius* was ſent for to *Rome*, to aſſiſt his collegues in oppoſing the tribunes. As he was an obſtinate wrong-headed man, on his arrival, he let many inconſiderate expreſſions drop in the preſence of the curiæ. One day *Sextius* having propoſed a decree for dividing the city of *Bola* and its territory among the ſoldiers then in the field, who had made that conqueſt, *Poſthumius*, in a violent paſſion, cried out, Wo be to my men, if any ſuch thing be done. *Sextius*, perceiving by this the haſty temper of the general, took pleaſure in exaſperating him, and making him ſay many things offenſive to the people and ſoldiers. Then the crafty tribune, turning to the people, upbraided them for thinking ſuch a brute more worthy of the military tribuneſhip than their own tribunes, whoſe whole buſineſs was to procure them lands, houſes, and a comfortable retreat in their old age. His artful diſcourſe much leſſened the partiality of the people for the nobility in the elections; but when the threats of *Poſthumius* were related in the camp, the ſoldiers began to mutiny; and becauſe *P. Seſtius*, one of the quæſtors, ordered a lictor to ſeize a ſoldier, who was more mutinous than the reſt, his companions not only reſcued him, but one of them wounded the quæſtor with a ſtone. *Poſthumius*, informed of this tumult, haſtened to the camp; but, inſtead of appeaſing the ſedition, increaſed it by his unſeaſonable ſeverity. He commanded the moſt guilty of the mutineers to be thrown into a ſhallow water, to be there covered with hurdles, and then preſſed to death, by heaping ſtones upon them. As this was a ſlow kind of death, which made the criminals cry out in an affecting manner, the ſoldiers flocked about them, and reſcued them out of the hands of the executioners. Hereupon the general, in a tranſport of rage, came down from his tribunal, broke through the crowd, and being attended by his lictors, endeavoured to diſperſe the multitude; but the ſoldiers, forgetting their duty, oppoſed force with force, and, being worked up to fury, threw ſtones at their general, and killed him on the ſpot. This was the firſt inſtance of a commander killed by his troops from the foundation of *Rome* [f].

The ſoldiers mutiny in the camp,

And kill their general.

[f] LIV. l. iv. c. 49. ZONAR. annal. l. vii.

THE

The ſenate, fearing leſt the people, in order to ſcreen the murderers, ſhould chuſe military tribunes for the next year out of the plebeians, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to get conſuls elected, and, after warm debates, prevailed. *A. Cornelius Coſſus* and *L. Furius Medullinus* were raiſed to that dignity. As they were both men of great prudence and moderation, they were unanimouſly named, by the ſenate, people, and army, to proſecute the ſoldiers who had murdered their general; which they did with ſuch circumſpection, for fear of driving the army to an open revolt, that thoſe few who died, fell by their own hands, and not by the axes of the lictors. Nothing remarkable, except a plague and famine, happened in the three following conſulates of *Q. Fabius* and *C. Furius*, of *M. Papirius* and *C. Nautius*, of *M. Æmilius* and *C. Valerius*. But in the conſulate of *Cn. Cornelius* and *L. Furius*, a ſecond time, the tribunes of the people, eſpecially three of the *Icilian* family, who were more active than the reſt, prevailed upon the people to make uſe of the liberty allowed them by the laws, and to chuſe three plebeians into the quæſtorſhip. The *Icilii* having carried this point, encouraged the plebeians to oppoſe the election of conſuls, hoping, that ſome of their body might he raiſed to the military tribuneſhip, as they had been to the quæſtorſhip. The diſputes on this head grew warm, when news was brought, that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were again in motion, and had retaken *Carventum*. It was therefore neceſſary to raiſe forces, in order to ſtop their further progreſs; but the tribunes obſtinately oppoſed the levies, till the ſenate conſented to the election of military tribunes; but, to diſappoint the *Icilii*, they added this clauſe to their decree, that none of the tribunes of the people ſhould either be choſen military tribunes, or continued in their office the next year. As the tribunes could not object to this, without diſcovering their ambition, troops were raiſed without oppoſition; and tho' *Carventum* was not recovered, the city of *Verrugo* was taken from the *Volſci*, and ſome other advantages gained over them. In the mean time, the election of the military tribunes coming on, the patricians engaged ſome plebeians of no merit or weight to ſtand candidates. The plebeians, diſguſted with their meanneſs, and aſhamed to ſee them ſtand in competition with ſenators and conſulars of the firſt rank, gave all their ſuffrages to the nobles, and choſe three patricians, *C. Julius Julus*, *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, and *C. Servilius Ahala*. During their adminiſtration, the *Volſci* renewed the war, and, having engaged ſome of the new allies of the republic to join them, encamped near *Antium*. The ſenate, apprehending the republic to be in great danger, ordered a dictator

Of the four quæſtors three are choſen out of the plebeians.

The Volſci *renew the war.*

dictator to be nominated; but as the three military tribunes had already drawn lots for the command of the army, which had fallen to *Julius* and *Cornelius*, thoſe two generals, offended at the diſtruſt the fathers had ſhewed of their conduct, refuſed to name a dictator. Hereupon the ſenate complained to the tribunes of the people, as they had done before upon the like occaſion, and deſired them to interpoſe their authority: but they gave them a ſcornful anſwer; Who are we, ſaid they, but contemptible plebeians, ſcarce to be reckoned in the number of men, much leſs of *Roman* citizens? When the honours and dignities of the republic ſhall be made common to us with the patricians, we ſhall take care, that no proud magiſtrate diſobeys the decrees of the ſenate. Till then you muſt expect nothing from us, but do your own buſineſs the beſt you can. This refuſal greatly perplexed the ſenate; but at length *C. Servilius*, the third military tribune, extricated them out of the preſent difficulty, by taking upon him to act alone and to name a dictator. The perſon he raiſed to that high ſtation was *P. Cornelius Rutilus*, who appointed him to be general of the horſe. The dictator took the field, gained a complete victory over the *Volſci*, and returning to *Rome* laid down his office. Upon his reſignation, the military tribunes reſumed the functions of their employment, and to be revenged on the ſenate for the treatment they had met with, without conſulting the fathers, ordered the centuries to aſſemble for the election of military tribunes againſt the enſuing year. The patricians, alarmed at this ſtep, had recourſe to a new artifice, to prevent the government from falling into the hands of the plebeians. They obliged the moſt illuſtrious members of their own body to ſtand candidates; ſo that, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the tribunes, four patricians of diſtinguiſhed merit were choſen, *viz. C. Valerius*, *C. Servilius*, *Lucius Furius*, and *Fabius Vibulanus* [t].

P. Cornelius Rutilus *dictator gains a complete victory over the* Volſci.

THE truce with the *Veientes* being at this time ended, the *Romans* ſent feciales to demand ſatisfaction for the injuries they had formerly done the republic; but the feciales meeting on the road envoys from *Veii*, at their requeſt proceeded no farther. Theſe envoys, being admitted into the ſenate, repreſented, that their city, being at preſent diſturbed by domeſtic broils, was not in a condition to give the *Romans* ſatisfaction. Theſe diſſentions gave the *Romans* a favourable opportunity of falling upon their old enemies; but they had

[t] Liv. ibid. c. 58.

too much generoſity, as *Livy* obſerves, to take advantage of the misfortunes of a rival ſtate, and therefore did not diſturb them this year. The *Volſci* retook *Verrugo* from the *Romans* the ſame year, and put the gariſon to the ſword; but the military tribunes having ſurprized the *Volſci*, while they were diſperſed about the country in queſt of booty, cut them all to pieces. In the following tribuneſhip of *C. Cornelius*, *L. Valerius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, and *Fabius Ambuſtus*, all patricians, the *Veientes* having inſulted the *Roman* embaſſadors, and driven them out of their city with contempt, the ſenate ordered a declaration of war againſt them to be immediately propoſed to the people; but the tribunes oppoſed the levies making the old affair of the *Agrarian* law their pretence. However, it was agreed, that three of the military tribunes ſhould lead an army againſt the *Volſci*, who, at the approach of the legions, betook themſelves to flight, and left the country open to be pillaged. Hereupon the *Roman* generals, having divided their army into three bodies, made incurſions into it on three different ſides. *Fabius* laid ſiege to *Anxur*, and having taken it by ſtorm, divided the ſpoil equally among the ſoldiers of all the three armies. This piece of generoſity paved the way for a reconciliation between the nobility and the people, which was intirely compleated by a decree of the ſenate, that for the future the *Roman* infantry ſhould be maintained in the field at the public expence. Hitherto all the citizens had been obliged to ſerve in war at their own coſt and charges, which was an exorbitant burden on the poorer plebeians, and frequently ruined their families. The ſenate therefore, pitying their condition, and reflecting on the many diſorders which were occaſioned by their refuſing to liſt themſelves, even for the moſt neceſſary wars, of their own accord decreed, that the foot ſhould have pay out of the public money; and that, to furniſh this expence, a new tax ſhould be raiſed, from which no citizen whatſoever ſhould be exempt. What pay was given at this time to each ſoldier, we find no-where recorded; but in *Polybius*'s time, that is, in the time of the ſecond *Carthaginian* war, each foot-ſoldier was allowed two *oboli* a day, a centurion double that pay, and a horſeman treble. Two *oboli* were about the third part of an *Attic* drachma, which was worth ſeven pence three farthings of our money [u]. Upon the firſt news of this decree, the people, tranſported with joy, ran in crouds from all parts to the ſenate-houſe, and kiſſing the ſenator's hands, called them the true fathers of

The Veientes *inſult the* Roman *embaſſadors.*

The Roman *infantry begin to receive pay.*

[u] Vide præfat præfix. Vol. I.

the

the people, proteſting at the ſame time, that they would ſpill the laſt drop of their blood for their country, which they now looked upon as a tender mother; but the tribunes of the people, not liking this union of the two orders, which hindered them from making a figure in the ſtate, endeavoured to leſſen the value of the favour. They inſinuated to the people, that this pay was to come out of their own pockets; that it was not juſt to make thoſe citizens, who had compleated the time of their ſervice at their own charge, contribute to the ſupport of the new ſoldiers; that they would protect all thoſe who ſhould refuſe to pay the tax, *&c.* However, as the ſenators began by laying great ſums on themſelves, which they paid readily, according to the real value of their eſtates, the common people followed their example, without ſhewing the leaſt uneaſineſs [w].

AND now the ſenate, finding themſelves in a condition to maintain an army abroad, as long as they pleaſed, began to form great deſigns. All oppoſition to the levies being over, they reſolved to beſiege *Veii* itſelf, one of the ſtrongeſt places of *Italy*, in hopes of making themſelves maſters of a new city and territory larger than their own. Before they embarqued in this great undertaking, the people, being aſſembled, all voted for a war, and choſe for the firſt time ſix military tribunes, all patricians, *viz. C. Julius Julus, C. Æmilius Mamercinus, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, L. Furius Medullinus, Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, and *A. Manlius Vulſo Capitolinus*. Some of theſe remained at home, while others took the field againſt the *Veientes*, who, declining a battle, ſhut themſelves up in their city. The *Romans* inveſted it; but there was little action this year, and leſs the following, when *P. Cornelius Malugenenſis, Sp. Nautius Rutilius, Cn. Cornelius Coſſus, C. Valerius Potitus, C Fabius Ambuſtus*, and *M. Sergius Fidenas*, were military tribunes. Theſe were obliged to divide their army into two bodies; one of which continued before *Veii*, and the other marched againſt the *Volſci*, defeated them, took and razed the city of *Artena*, and then rejoined the forces left at the ſiege. The ſucceeding military tribunes, *M. Æmilius, M. Furius, Ap. Claudius*, grandſon of the decemvir, *L. Julius, M. Quinctius*, and *L. Valerius*, puſhed on the ſiege with great vigour. In the mean time the *Veientes*, changing their form of government, choſe themſelves a king; which ſo diſpleaſed the other ſtates of *Hetruria*, that they refuſed to ſend them any ſuccours. It was at this ſiege that

The Romans *inveſt* Veii.

[w] LIV. ibid. c. 61. ZONAR. l. vii. PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

the *Romans* are thought to have firſt invented lines of circumvallation and contravallation; at leaſt, this is the firſt time we find them mentioned in hiſtory. They fortified their camp both on the ſide of the city they inveſted, to prevent ſallies, and on the ſide of the country, to guard themſelves againſt any ſuccours, which the *Hetrurians* might ſend to the beſieged. The military tribunes, conſidering likewiſe that *Veii* could not be taken but after a long ſiege, and then not ſo much by force as by famine, reſolved, as the troops were now more at their command, to keep the army in the field all winter in wooden barracks covered with ſkins. To this deſign the ſoldiers made no oppoſition, chuſing rather to live in the camp at the expence of the public, than in *Rome* at their own; but the tribunes of the people, diſliking a project which kept great numbers of their adherents out of *Rome*, and conſequently leſſened the ſtrength of their party in the comitia, aſſembled the tribes, and inveighed bitterly againſt the military tribunes, accuſing them of ambitious deſigns, and cruelty, in keeping the troops all winter in the field. *Appius*, whom the other military tribunes had left at *Rome*, in a long ſpeech, which he made to the people, expoſed the ſeditious and unreaſonable conduct of the tribunes. The people gave no great heed to *Appius*'s remonſtrances; but a loſs, which the beſiegers ſuſtained before the place, animated the plebeians, more than his prudent diſcourſe, to purſue the ſiege with vigour. The *Veientes* in a ſally ſurprized the *Romans*, ſlew a great number of them, ſet fire to their machines, and ruined in a few hours the work of many days. This misfortune, inſtead of ſinking the ſpirits of the *Romans*, inſpired them with new courage. The citizens who had wealth enough to be placed in the firſt claſs among the knights, but had not yet received horſes from the republic, which ceremony was neceſſary to make a man a knight, went in a body to the ſenate, and offered to mount themſelves at their own expence, and ſerve at the ſiege of *Veii*. The fathers accepted the offer; and the people, following the example of the new knights, declared themſelves ready to ſerve, and ſupply the places of the ſoldiers who had been killed. The ſenate ordered the ſame pay to be given to the voluntiers as to the reſt of the army, and decreed at the ſame time, that for the future the cavalry likewiſe ſhould receive pay out of the public treaſury*.

The Roman army kept in the field all the winter.

The cavalry receive pay.

* Liv. l. v. c. 3.

The

THE election of new military tribunes furniſhed the army with new generals. The ſix choſen were *C. Servilius*, *Q. Sulpicius*, *Q. Servilius*, *A. Manlius*, *L. Virginius*, and *Manius Sergius*. The ſiege of *Veii* was carried on by the two latter; but as theſe two generals could not agree, each of them had a body of troops under his command, and, as it were, a ſeparate army. *Sergius* commanded the attack, and *Virginius* covered the ſiege. While the army was thus divided, the *Faliſci* and *Capenates* fell upon *Sergius*, and at the ſame time the beſieged ſallying out attacked him on the other ſide. The *Romans* under his command, thinking they had all the forces of *Hetruria* to deal with, began to loſe courage, and retire. *Virginius* could have ſaved his collegue's troops; for his forces were ranged in order of battle at a ſmall diſtance: but *Sergius* was too proud to ſend to him for ſuccour; and *Virginius*, tho' well appriſed of his danger, reſolved not to ſend him any, unleſs he aſked it. Thus the public good was ſacrificed to a private pique. The enemy made a dreadful ſlaughter of the *Romans* in their lines; but *Sergius* himſelf, having the good luck to eſcape, fled to *Rome*, not ſo much to juſtify his own conduct, as to complain of that of his collegue. Hereupon *Virginius* was recalled, and both commanders ordered to give an account of their conduct to the ſenate, where they inveighed againſt each other with great acrimony. The conſcript fathers, to quiet the matter, thought it adviſeable to make a decree, that all the military tribunes of that year ſhould lay down their dignity, and the people immediately proceed to a new election. The four, who had been guilty of no fault, made no oppoſition to the decree; but the two, on whoſe account it had been made, proteſted againſt it, declaring, that they would not reſign their authority before the ides of *December*, the due time for its expiration. The tribunes of the people, thinking this a favourable opportunity for them to appear again and make ſome figure, threatened with an air of authority, to ſend the two refractory magiſtrates to priſon, if they did not obey the ſenate. But *Servilius Ahala*, one of the military tribunes, after having ſeverely reprimanded the tribunes of the people for treating his collegues in ſo haughty a manner, declared, that, if *Sergius* and *Virginius* continued obſtinate, he would name a dictator. Hereupon the two magiſtrates, finding it fruitleſs to reſiſt any longer, abdicated their magiſtracy, and the people choſe ſix new tribunes, *viz. L. Valerius*, *L. Julius*, *M. Æmilius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *Cæſo Fabius*, and *Furius Camillus*. Theſe new magiſtrates were ordered to begin anew

The Romans *routed before* Veii.

All the military tribunes of this year forced to abdicate.

anew the ſiege of *Veii*; but when the troops came to be raiſed, the tribunes of the people kindled freſh broils, by diſſuading the old ſoldiers, left in *Rome* to guard it, from paying the taxes, as if they were exempted from that burden by being inliſted. The diſturbances raiſed on this occaſion were ſo great, that the tribes could not agree in the choice of more than eight new tribunes of the people; however, the majority of theſe eight named two more, in defiance of the *Trebonian* law, which gave *C. Trebonius*, one of the preſent tribunes, an opportunity of drawing the hatred of the people upon three of his collegues; but they diverted the hatred of the public from themſelves, by turning it againſt *Sergius* and *Virginius*, the two generals of the laſt year, who were both cited to appear before the people, and condemned to pay a great fine for miſconduct. This proſecution had the deſigned effect; for the people were ſo intent upon it, that they forgot the *Trebonian* law, and their quarrel with the three tribunes [y].

The tribunes, encouraged by the ſucceſs that attended them in the proſecution of *Sergius* and *Virginius*, renewed the domeſtic broils, and propoſed two laws; the firſt requiring a partition of the lands as formerly; the ſecond excuſing the people from any more contributions towards the ſoldiers pay; and, in fact, they would not ſuffer them to pay the taxes: ſo that the legions, being deprived of their ſubſiſtence, began to mutiny. But at length all was quieted, by chuſing a plebeian into the military tribuneſhip. His name was *P. Licinius Calvus*. The other five were, *P. Mælius*, *P. Mænius*, *Sp. Furius*, *L. Titinius*, and *L. Publilius*. *Licinius*, tho' a plebeian, was an old ſenator; for ſome time ſince the conſiderable plebeians had begun to be admitted into the ſenate. The tribunes of the people were ſo much rejoiced to ſee a plebeian raiſed to the ſupreme magiſtracy, that they dropped their oppoſition to the tax; ſo that the ſoldiers, receiving their pay again, took new courage, made themſelves maſters of *Anxur*, which belonged to the *Volſci*, and carried on the ſiege of *Veii* with great reſolution and perſeverance, tho' they ſuffered much from the ſevere cold of the winter.

A plebeian choſen military tribune.

Five plebeians military tribunes.

Licinius having diſcharged his truſt with univerſal approbation, the centuries choſe for the year following five military tribunes out of the plebeians, and only *M. Veturius* out of the patricians. The five were *C. Duilius*, *L. Atinius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *M. Pomponius*, and *Volero Publilius*. Their ad-

[y] Idem, c. 12.

miniſtration

miniſtration proved very glorious; for they carried on the ſiege of *Veii* with great vigour, and intirely defeated the confederate forces of the *Faliſci* and *Capenates*, who came to the relief of the beſieged city; but the extreme cold of the weather, changing of a ſudden to exceſſive heat, occaſioned a mortality both among men and cattle. Hereupon the *Sybilline* books being conſulted, the *duumviri* pretended to find there a new ſort of expiation. Three beds were placed in a temple round a plentiful table, and the ſtatues of *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury*, and *Neptune* taken down from their niches, laid on the beds, and ſerved with magnificent repaſts for eight days together. Theſe public ceremonies were imitated in private families; every one kept open houſe for friends, ſtrangers, and even enemies; all lawſuits, diſputes, and animoſities were ſuſpended, and the very priſoners releaſed to partake of the public rejoicings [z].

The ceremony of the lectiſternium.

IN the mean time the patricians, taking advantage of the preſent ſtate of affairs to recover the chief offices of the republic, and knowing the ſuperſtition of the people, attacked them on that ſide, and gave out, that the uncommon ſeverity of the winter the laſt year, and the preſent year's plague, were puniſhments from the gods, who were diſpleaſed to ſee all diſtinctions of families confounded, and plebeians placed in the higheſt offices. By this means, and by propoſing only ſuch candidates to the centuries as were of ſuperior merit, they diſpoſed them to favour the nobility; and accordingly they reſtored the military tribuneſhip to the patrician order, raiſing to that office *L. Valerius*, *L. Furius*, *M. Valerius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Q. Sulpitius*, and the famous *Camillus*, all patricians. During their adminiſtration, *Rome* was aſtoniſhed with a prodigy. It happened to be a very dry ſummer; but nevertheleſs the lake of *Alba* ſwelled on a ſudden to ſuch a height, as to cover the tops of the rocks which ſurrounded it; whereas it had never before reached to the foot of them. This ſtrange accident was much talked of in the camp before *Veii*; and as in long ſieges the ſoldiers on both ſides frequently become acquainted, they talked of the prodigy from their different camps; but an old ſoldier of the *Veientes* one day, while the others were making merry with the prodigy, cried out in an enthuſiaſtic manner, *Veii* ſhall never be taken, till all the water is run out of the lake of *Alba*. A *Roman* centinel, who had great faith in divination, hearing him, aſked, who the old man was? and being informed that he was a diviner, made him priſoner by a ſtra-

The lake of Alba *overflows.*

[z] LIV. l. v. c. 10. SIGONIUS & PICHIUS in faſt. Capitol.

tagem,

tagem, and carried him before the *Roman* general, who ſent him to the ſenate. The old man declared, that what he had ſaid was agreeable to an antient tradition written in ſome prophetic books of his country; and that if the *Romans* could draw the water out of the lake, *Veii* would be taken: but he adviſed them to take particular care, that the drains, which ſhould be made to carry it off, did not convey it to the ſea. Tho' the ſenate was unwilling to truſt the bare word of the diviner, yet they thought the matter of ſuch conſequence, as to ſend a deputation of three patricians to *Delphos*, to conſult the oracle. Theſe returned the next year, while *L. Julius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Sergius*, *A. Poſthumius*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Cornelius*, all patricians, were militafy tribunes. The anſwer of the oracle was, to the great ſurprize of the ſenate and people, perfectly agreeable to the advice and prediction of the old man. The ſenate therefore immediately ſent out pioneers to make a canal, to carry off the waters of the lake, and convey them all over the fields in trenches. This wonderful work ſubſiſts to this day, and the waters of the lake *Albano* run through it [a]. The election of the preſent military tribunes being defective with regard to the auguries, they all abdicated, and, after a ſhort inter-regnum, were ſucceeded by ſix new ones, all plebeians, *viz. L. Atinius*, *P. Mælius*, *L. Titinius*, *P. Mænius*, *Cn. Genucius*, and *P. Licinius*. *Atinius* and *Genucius* marched with ſome troops to oppoſe a great body of *Hetrurians*, who were coming to attack the *Roman* entrenchments before *Veii*; but the two tribunes falling into an ambuſh, *Genucius* was killed, and his collegue driven out of the field. The news of this defeat ſo terrified the ſenate, that they had recourſe, as uſual in ſuch caſes, to a dictator. *M. Furius Camillus* was accordingly raiſed to that ſupreme dignity. He named *P. Cornelius Scipio* for general of the horſe, and ordered new troops to be raiſed. The people ſtrove who ſhould firſt liſt themſelves under the banners of ſo renowned a commander. The *Latins* and *Hernici* of their own accord ſent him a ſtrong ſupply of their choiceſt youth. On his firſt taking the field, he came to a battle with the united forces of the *Faliſci*, *Capenates*, and *Hetrurians*, and having intirely defeated them, ſat down before *Veii*, and puſhed on the ſiege with incredible vigour; but the beſieged defending themſelves with more courage than ever, *Camillus*, deſpairing to carry by aſſault a place, which had a whole army for its gariſon, had recourſe to mines

Canals are made to drain the lake.

M. Furius Camillus *dictator.*

[a] Vide Kircher, vet. Lat. l. iii.

and

and ſapping. His pioneers, whom he divided into ſix companies, relieving one another, and the work continually advancing without interruption, a paſſage under ground was opened to the very caſtle. The dictator then thinking himſelf ſure of conqueſt, ſent to the ſenate, to know how they would have the ſpoils of the city diſpoſed of. The queſtion was debated with great warmth; *Appius Claudius* was for having the rich plunder of *Veii* made a fund for the payment of the troops; but *Licinius*, thinking that this would give riſe to endleſs murmurs and ſeditions, propoſed, that the ſpoils ſhould be divided between the army and thoſe citizens who ſhould be in the camp when the town was taken. This advice prevailed, and a decree was made, giving leave to all the citizens to go to the camp, and take their ſhare of the booty. Accordingly vaſt numbers flocked thither well armed, and joined the dictator's troops in the attack. The ſignal being given for the aſſault, part of the army ſcaled the walls, while the ſoldiers in the mine ſallied out, and ſpread themſelves in ſeveral bodies through the town. One fell upon thoſe who were defending the walls; another broke down the gates, and the whole *Roman* army entering the city, put all thoſe to the ſword who did not ſurrender their arms. Thus was the rich city of *Veii* taken, like a ſecond *Troy*, after a ten years ſiege. The booty, which was exceeding rich, was divided among the ſoldiers; but the priſoners of free condition were ſold to the beſt bidder, and the money ariſing from thence put into the public treaſury; but, tho' this was the only part of the ſpoil from which the public reaped any benefit, the people murmured at it, and inveighed both againſt the ſenate and the dictator. The diſpleaſure of the multitude was increaſed with regard to *Camillus*, by ſome ſingularities in the pomp of his triumph; for he entered the city in a ſtately chariot, drawn by four horſes all milk-white, and coloured his face with vermilion. White horſes, ſince the expulſion of the kings, had been allowed only to *Jupiter* and the ſun; and the ſtatues of the gods were commonly painted with vermilion. The people therefore, in the midſt of the praiſes which they gave the dictator, could not, without a ſecret indignation, behold him affecting a pomp, which, in a manner, put him upon a level with the gods. What ſtill more incenſed the people againſt him was, his demanding back from them a tenth part of the ſpoil of *Veii*, to diſcharge a vow, which he had made to *Apollo* juſt before the aſſault, and afterwards forgot. This contribution at a wrong time irritated the people againſt him, and the tribunes gladly

Veii *taken, after a ten years ſiege.* Year after the Flood, 2608. Before Chriſt 391. *Of* Rome 357.

ſeized

ſeized ſo favourable an occaſion of inveighing againſt him. In the mean time, it was propoſed to buy ſuch a vaſe of gold with the produce of what the ſoldiers returned, as might ſhew *Greece* the magnificence of the *Roman* republic; but there being little gold to be found in the city, the ladies, of their own accord, contributed all their toys and ornaments, of which a vaſe with two handles was made, weighing eight talents; and three ſenators were ſent to *Delphos* with it. In return for the ladies generoſity, the republic granted them two favours, 1. That funeral orations ſhould be made for illuſtrious women, as for great men. 2. That they ſhould have leave to ride in chariots at the public games [b].

Sicinius Dentatus *propoſes, that half of the ſenators, knights, &c ſhould remove to* Veii.

The next year, the republic being under the government of ſix military tribunes, *viz. P. Cornelius Coſſus, P. Cornelius Scipio, M. Valerius, Cæſo Fabius, L. Furius*, and *Q. Servilius*, all patricians, *Sicinius Dentatus*, a tribune of the people, propoſed, that half of the ſenators, knights, and people of *Rome* ſhould remove to *Veii* and ſettle there. The affair, according to cuſtom, was carried before the ſenate; and the fathers, eſpecially *Camillus*, oppoſed it with great warmth. They feared, that two ſuch cities would, by degrees, become two different ſtates, which, after a deſtructive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies. They therefore proteſted, that they would ſooner die than conſent to ſo unreaſonable a law. By this means, *Camillus* and the other ſenators, after much ſtruggle, brought this project to nothing. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by *Camillus* to this law, he was choſen one of the ſix military tribunes for the year following. His collegues were, *L. Furius, P. Cornelius Scipio, C. Æmilius, Sp. Poſthumius*, and *L. Valerius*. The conduct of the war againſt the *Faliſci* being committed to the care of *Camillus*, he beſieged *Falerii*, their capital city, and ſurrounded it with lines; but at ſo great a diſtance from the walls, that there was ſufficient room for the beſieged to take the air without danger. The *Faliſci* had brought from *Greece* the cuſtom of committing all their children to the care of one man, who was to inſtruct them in all the branches of polite literature, to take them out a walking with him, and ſee them perform the exerciſes proper for their age. The children had uſed often to walk with their maſter without the walls of the city before the ſiege; and their fears of an enemy, who kept quiet and at ſuch a diſtance, were not great enough to make them diſcontinue that exerciſe afterwards. But the preſent ſchool-maſter prov-

[b] Plut. in Camillo. Liv. l. v. c. 21,—25.

ed

ed a traitor; he at firſt led the youth only along the walls; then he carried them a little farther; and at length, when a favourable opportunity offered, he led them through the guards of the *Roman* camp, quite to the general's tent. As they were the children of the beſt families in the place, their treacherous leader, when he came into *Camillus*'s preſence, addreſſed him thus: With theſe children I deliver the place you beſiege into your hands. They were committed to my care and tuition; but I prefer the friendſhip of *Rome* to my employment at *Falerii*. *Camillus*, ſtruck with horror at the treachery, ordered his lictors to ſtrip the traitor, to tie his hands behind him, and to furniſh the youth with rods to whip him back again into the city. The *Faliſci*, moved by this generous action, immediately ſent a deputation to *Camillus* to treat of a ſurrender, tho' they had a little before proteſted, that they would rather undergo the fate of the *Veientes*, than ſubmit to *Rome*. *Camillus* out of modeſty referred the deputies to the ſenate, which they addreſſed in the following manner: *Rome*, conſcript fathers, has juſt now gained a victory over us, which can never be ſhameful to us in the ſight either of gods or men. We ſubmit to you out of a perſuaſion, that we cannot live more happily, than under the laws of a republic, in which juſtice and probity reign. The *Romans* and *Faliſci* are this day giving two great examples to poſterity; you, in preferring juſtice to victory; we, in rather yielding to the charms of virtue, than to the force of arms. We ſurrender ourſelves into your hands. Command the *Faliſci* to lay down their arms, to give you hoſtages, and to receive a *Roman* gariſon, and we will obey and open our gates. We ſhall never repent of ſubjecting ourſelves to your government; nor ſhall you ever have reaſon to complain of our being unfaithful to you. The ſenate heard this diſcourſe with pleaſure; but left to *Camillus* the terms of the peace which was to be made with the *Faliſci*, not as a conquered people, but as with a nation which voluntarily ſubmitted to the dominion of the republic. He therefore entered into an alliance with them, and demanded only the expences of the preſent campaign. He then led back his army to *Rome*, where his ſoldiers increaſed the number of his enemies. They had promiſed themſelves great riches from the plunder of *Falerii*, and thinking *Camillus* had given the *Faliſci* better terms than they deſerved, they looked on their general as an enemy to the people, and as one who was no-ways inclined to promote

The Faliſci, *overcome by the generoſity of* Camillus, *ſubmit to* Rome.

their intereſt; ſo that the hatred of the multitude to this hero increaſed as faſt as his reputation [c].

The Æqui defeated.

While *Camillus* was thus employed, two of his collegues, *Æmilius* and *Poſthumius*, having united their forces, defeated the *Æqui* in a pitched battle; but while the arms of the republic proſpered abroad, new diſturbances were raiſed at home. When the time came for electing tribunes of the people, the multitude was for continuing thoſe who had propoſed the law for going to *Veii*; and the patricians were for re-electing thoſe who had oppoſed it; but the former prevailing in the comitia by tribes, the promoters of the law were re-choſen. Hereupon the patricians, in revenge, reſolved, if poſſible, to reſtore the conſular government; and, accordingly, in the comitia by centuries, where they had moſt ſway, *L. Lucretius Flavus* and *Severus Sulpitius Camerinus* were choſen conſuls. During their adminiſtration, *Sicinius* the tribune uſed his utmoſt endeavours to get the law paſſed for removing half of the people and ſenate to *Veii*. *A. Virginius* and *Q. Pomponius*, two of the tribunes of the people for the laſt year, who had oppoſed it, were cited to appear before the tribes, and fined ten thouſand aſſes of braſs. The whole ſenate was offended at this ſentence, but eſpecially *Camillus*, who adviſed the conſcript fathers to appear in the comitium, when the tribes aſſembled to determine the affair, as men prepared to defend their temples, their houſhold gods, and their country. Accordingly the patricians, by tears, entreaties, and the more powerful arguments drawn from religion, prevailed to have the law rejected, tho' it was only by a majority of one tribe. And now the ſenate was ſo well pleaſed with the people, that the very next morning a decree was paſſed, aſſigning ſix acres of the lands of *Veii*, not only to every father of a family, but to every ſingle perſon of free condition. On the other hand, the people delighted with this liberality, made no oppoſition to the election of conſuls. *L. Valerius Potitus* and *M. Manlius Capitolinus* were raiſed to the conſulate, and began their year by performing the vow, made by *Camillus* when dictator, to celebrate the *great games*. Of theſe there were two ſorts, the one celebrated every year in the month of *September*, in honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the other, called votive or extraordinary, had no fixed day, and was celebrated in honour of *Jupiter* only. This year the *Volſinii*, one of the twelve *Hetrurian* nations, alarmed at the fate of *Veii* and *Falerii*, took arms againſt *Rome*, and, being joined by the *Salpinates*, made incurſions into the *Roman* territory; but a con-

Conſuls created inſtead of military tribunes.

[c] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. v. c. 27.

tagious

tagious diſtemper made the republic ſuſpend her revenge. The two conſuls being ſeized with it, the ſuperſtitious multitude imagined they had been inauſpiciouſly choſen. They were therefore ordered by the ſenate to reſign. Upon their reſignation an inter-regnum enſued, during which the republic was governed by three preſidents, *Valerius Potitus*, (not the conſul) *Camillus*, and *Cornelius Scipio*, who ſucceeded each other for a few days. *Valerius* held an aſſembly for the election of ſix military tribunes, which ſort of government was now re-eſtabliſhed, that, in caſe ſome of the ſupreme magiſtrates were infected with the contagion, there might ſtill be others to take care of the public welfare. By a cenſus taken this year it appeared, that the number of citizens, able to bear arms, amounted to one hundred fifty two thouſand five hundred and eighty three. No wonder therefore that numerous armies were often raiſed within the walls of *Rome* itſelf. The troops, ſince their receiving pay, were more obedient than formerly to their commanders, who kept them in the field ſummer and winter. They had never had a more gallant or experienced commander than *Camillus*. The frontiers of the republic were now extended above ſixty miles beyond the *Tiber*; and the people ſeemed to be in a ſettled tranquillity, and perfectly reconciled to the ſenate; but this unuſual proſperity was interrupted by the *Gauls*, a memorable event, which almoſt ruined the *Roman* nation.

An inter-regnum.

Military tribunes elected anew.

Gaul was antiently divided into three parts, *viz. Gallia Belgica*, *Gallia Celtica*, and *Gallia Aquitanica*. The firſt reached from the *Britiſh* ſea to the *Seine*; the ſecond comprehended all the country between the *Seine* and the *Garonne*, quite to the *Alps*; the third contained all that tract of ground which lies between the *Garonne*, the *Pyrenees*, and the weſtern ocean. The *Celtæ*, or the inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*, were the only *Gauls*, who, at different times, croſſed the *Alps*, and ſettled in *Italy*. The firſt invaſion of *Italy* by the *Gauls* happened about the year of *Rome* 160, during the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*; when *Ambigatus*, king of the *Celtæ*, finding his dominions overſtocked, ſent away vaſt numbers of his ſubjects to ſeek their fortune, under the command of his two nephews, *Segoveſus* and *Belloveſus*. The former took his way through the *Hircinian* foreſt, and ſettled in a canton of *Germany*, ever ſince called *Bohemia* or *Boïemia*, from the word *Boii*, the greateſt part of his followers being of that *Celtic* nation which was ſo named; but theſe, being afterwards driven from thence by the *Marcomani* or *Sclavonians*, retired into that country, which lies between the *Inn* and the *Iſer*, and which from them took the name of *Boiaria*, or *Bavaria*. As for

Several invaſions of Italy *by the* Gauls.

Belloveſus, he croſſed the *Rhone*, and, paſſing the *Alps*, poſſeſſed himſelf of thoſe countries which are at preſent known by the names of *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*, after having driven out the *Hetrurians*, who then held them. A ſecond irruption into *Italy* was made by the *Cænomani*, or thoſe people of *Gallia Celtica* who dwelt between the mouths of the *Seine* and the *Loire*, under the conduct of one *Elitouis*. Theſe new adventurers ſettled in the preſent *Breſciano*, *Cremoneſe*, *Mantuano*, *Carniola*, and the territories now ſubject to the republic of *Venice*. The *Lævues*, or *Lævi*, and the *Ananes* made the third irruption into *Italy*; the former ſeized the country of *Novara*, on the north ſide of the *Po*; and the latter that of *Piacenza*, on the ſouth ſide of the ſame river. The fourth tranſmigration of the *Gauls* into *Italy* was, when the *Boii* and *Lingones* paſſed the *Alpes Penninæ*, and ſettled on the ſouth ſide of the *Po*, between *Bologna* and *Ravenna*. Two hundred years after the invaſion by *Belloveſus*, the *Senones*, who poſſeſſed that part of *Gaul* which lies between *Paris* and *Meaux*, made a fifth irruption into *Italy*; which was occaſioned by the following accident: *Arunx* one of the chief men of *Cluſium* in *Hetruria*, had been guardian to a young *Leucumo*, or lord of a *leucumony*, and had educated him in his houſe from his infancy. The *Leucumo*, as ſoon as he was of an age to feel the force of a paſſion, fell in love with his guardian's wife, and, upon the firſt diſcovery of their intrigue, conveyed her away. *Arunx* endeavoured to obtain reparation for the injury he had received; but the *Leucumo*, by his intereſt and money, gained over the magiſtrates; ſo that the injured guardian, finding no protectors in *Hetruria*, reſolved to make his application to the *Gauls*. The people, among all the *Celtic* nations, to whom he choſe to addreſs himſelf, were the *Senones*; and, in order to engage them in his quarrel, he acquainted them with the great plenty of *Italy*, and made them taſte of ſome *Italian* wines. Upon this the *Senones* reſolved to follow him; and a numerous army was immediately formed, which paſſing the *Alps*, under the conduct of their *Hetrurian* guide, and leaving the *Celtæ* in *Italy* unmoleſted, fell upon *Umbria*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*. They were about ſix years in ſettling themſelves in their new acquiſitions, while the *Romans* were carrying on the ſiege of *Veii*. At length *Arunx* brought the *Senones* before *Cluſium*, in order to beſiege that place, his wife and her lover having ſhut themſelves up there. The *Romans*, notwithſtanding the daily conqueſts made by the *Gauls*, ſeem to have been under no apprehenſion of any danger from them; for at this time the great *Camillus*, the only general they had capable of making

Cluſium *beſieged by the* Gauls.

head

head againſt ſuch formidable neighbours, was accuſed by *Apuleius*, one of the tribunes of the people, of having applied to his own uſe ſome ſpoils taken from the *Hetrurians*, particularly a braſs door brought from *Veii*. His friends, not finding themſelves ſtrong enough to protect him, promiſed to pay the fine which ſhould be laid upon him; but *Camillus*, having too great a ſoul to bear the affront of a public condemnation, retired from *Rome*, and went of his own accord into baniſhment. He was no ſooner gone, than envoys arrived from the *Cluſini*, imploring the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* againſt the *Senones*. The ſenate, being unwilling to engage in an open war with a nation which had never offended them, ſent an embaſſy of three young patricians, all brothers, and of the *Fabian* family, to bring about an accommodation between the two nations. Theſe embaſſadors, being arrived at the camp of the *Gauls*, and conducted into the council, offered the mediation of *Rome*, and demanded of *Brennus*, the leader of the *Gauls*, What injury the *Cluſini* had done him? or what pretenſions any people from a remote country could have upon *Hetruria*? *Brennus* anſwered proudly, that his right lay in his ſword, and that all things belonged to the brave; but that, without having recourſe to this primitive law of nature, he had a juſt complaint againſt the *Cluſini*, who, having more lands than they could cultivate, had refuſed to yield to him thoſe they left untilled: And what other motives had you yourſelves, *Romans*, ſaid he, to conquer ſo many neighbouring nations? You have deprived the *Sabines*, the *Albans*, the *Fidenates*, the *Æqui*, and the *Volſci* of the beſt part of their territories. Not that we accuſe you of injuſtice; but it is evident, that you thought this to be the prime and moſt ancient of all laws, *to make the weak give way to the ſtrong*. Forbear therefore to intereſt yourſelves for the *Cluſini*, or allow us to take the part of the people you have ſubdued. The *Fabii* were highly provoked at ſo haughty an anſwer; but, diſſembling their reſentment, deſired leave to go into the town, under pretence of conferring with the magiſtrates. But they were no ſooner there, than they began to ſtir up the inhabitants to a vigorous defence; nay, forgetting their character, they put themſelves at the head of the beſieged in a ſally, in which *Q. Fabius*, the chief of the embaſſadors, ſlew with his own hand one of the principal officers of the *Gauls*. Hereupon *Brennus*, calling the gods to witneſs the perfidiouſneſs of the *Romans*, and their violating the law of nations, immediately broke up the ſiege of *Cluſium*, and marched leiſurely to *Rome*, having ſent a herald before him to demand, that thoſe embaſſadors, who had ſo manifeſtly violated the law of nations, ſhould be delivered up to him. The

A malicious accuſation brought againſt Camillus, *who baniſhes himſelf.*

Brennus's *anſwer to the* Roman *envoys.*

The imprudent behaviour of the Roman *embaſſadors.*

Roman

Roman ſenate was greatly perplexed, between their regard for the law of nations, and their affection for the *Fabii*. The wiſeſt of the ſenate thought the demand of the *Gauls* to be but juſt and reaſonable; however, as it concerned perſons of great conſequence and credit, the conſcript fathers referred the affair to the people aſſembled by curiæ. As the *Fabian* family was very popular, the curiæ were ſo far from condemning the three brothers, that, at the next election of military tribunes, they were choſen the firſt. *Brennus*, looking upon the promotion of the *Fabii* as an high affront on his nation, haſtened his march to *Rome*. As his army was very numerous, the inhabitants of the towns and villages, through which he paſſed, left their habitations at his approach; but he ſtopped no-where, declaring that his deſign was only to be revenged on the *Romans*. The ſix military tribunes, *viz.* *Q. Fabius*, *Cæſo Fabius*, *Caius Fabius*, *Q. Sulpicius*, *Q. Servilius*, and *Sextus Cornelius*, marched out of *Rome* at the head of forty thouſand men, without either ſacrificing to the gods, or conſulting the auſpices, eſſential ceremonies among a people that drew their courage and confidence from the propitious ſigns which the augurs declared to them. As moſt of the military tribunes were young, and men of more valour than experience, they advanced boldly againſt the *Gauls*, whoſe army was ſeventy thouſand ſtrong.

The Romans *defeated by the* Gauls, *on the banks of the* Allia.

The two armies met near the river *Allia*, about ſixty furlongs from *Rome*. The *Romans*, that they might not be ſurrounded by the enemy, extended their wings ſo far as to make their center very thin. Their beſt troops, to the number of twenty four thouſand men, they poſted between the river and the adjoining hills; the reſt they placed on the hills. The *Gauls* firſt attacked the latter, who being ſoon put into confuſion, the forces in the plain were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that they fled without drawing their ſwords. In this general diſorder moſt of the ſoldiers, inſtead of returning to *Rome*, fled to *Veii*; ſome were drowned as they endeavoured to ſwim croſs the *Tiber*; many fell in the purſuit by the ſword of the conquerors, and ſome got to *Rome*, which they filled with terror and conſternation, it being believed there that all the reſt were cut off. The day after the battle, *Brennus* marched his troops into the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and incamped on the banks of the *Anio*. Thither his ſcouts brought him word, that the gates of the city lay open, and that not one *Roman* was to be ſeen on the ramparts. This made him apprehenſive of ſome ambuſcade, it being unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the *Romans* would abandon their city, to be plundered and ſacked, without making any reſiſtance. On this conſi-

deration

deration he advanced ſlowly, which gave the *Romans* an opportunity to throw into the capitol all the men who were fit to bear arms. They carried into it all the proviſions they could get; and, that they might laſt the longer, admitted none into the place, but ſuch as were capable of defending it. As for the city, they had not ſufficient forces to defend it, and therefore the old men, women, and children, ſeeing themſelves abandoned, fled to the neighbouring towns. The *Veſtals*, before they left *Rome*, took care to hide every thing appropriated to the gods, which they could not carry off. The two palladiums and the ſacred fire they took with them. When they came to the *Janiculus*, one *Albinius*, a plebeian, who was conveying his wife and children in a carriage to a place of ſafety, ſeeing the ſacred virgins bending under their load and their feet bloody, made his family alight, put the prieſteſſes and their gods into the carriage, and conducted them to *Cære*, a city of *Hetruria*, where they met with a favourable reception. The *Veſtals* remained at *Cære*, and there continued to perform the uſual rites of religion; and hence thoſe rites were called *ceremonies*. But while the reſt of the citizens at *Rome* were providing for their ſafety, about fourſcore of the moſt illuſtrious and venerable old men, rather than fly from their native city, choſe to devote themſelves to death by a vow, which *Fabius* the high pontiff pronounced in their names. The *Romans* believed, that by theſe voluntary devotements to the infernal gods, diſorder and confuſion was brought among the enemy. Of theſe brave old men ſome were pontifices, others had been conſuls, and others generals of armies who had been honoured with triumphs. To complete their ſacrifice with a ſolemnity and pomp becoming the magnanimity and conſtancy of the *Romans*, they dreſſed themſelves in their pontifical, conſular, and triumphal robes, and repairing to the forum, ſeated themſelves there in their curule chairs, expecting the enemy and death with the greateſt conſtancy [d].

The city of Rome *abandoned by its inhabitants.*

AT length *Brennus*, having ſpent three days in uſeleſs precautions, entered the city the fourth day after the battle. He found the gates open, the walls without defence, and the houſes without inhabitants. *Rome* appeared to him like a mere deſert; and this ſolitude increaſed his anxiety. He could not believe, either that all the *Romans* were lodged in the capitol, or that ſo numerous a people ſhould abandon the place of their nativity. On the other hand, he could no where ſee any armed men but on the walls of the citadel. However, having firſt ſecured all the avenues of the capitol with ſtrong

Brennus *enters* Rome.

[d] PLUT. in Camill. LIV. l. v. c. 37.

bodies

bodies of guards, he gave the reſt of his ſoldiers leave to diſperſe themſelves all over the city and plunder it. *Brennus* himſelf advanced into the forum with the troops under his command in good order; and there he was ſtruck with admiration at the unexpected ſight of the venerable old men, who had devoted themſelves to death. Their magnificent habits, the majeſty of their countenances, the ſilence they kept, their modeſty and conſtancy at the approach of his troops, made him take them for ſo many deities. For they continued as motionleſs as ſtatues, and ſaw the enemy advance without ſhewing the leaſt concern. The *Gauls* kept a great while at an awful diſtance from them, being afraid to come near them. But at length, one ſoldier, bolder than the reſt, having out of curioſity touched the beard of *M. Papirius*, the venerable old man, not being uſed to ſuch familiarity, gave him a blow on the head with his ivory ſtaff. The ſoldier in revenge immediately killed him, and the reſt of the *Gauls*, following his example, ſlaughtered all thoſe venerable old men without mercy. After this the enemy ſet no bounds to their rage and fury. They plundered all places, dragging ſuch of the *Romans* as had ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, into the ſtreets, and there putting them to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex. *Brennus* then inveſted the capitol, but being repulſed with great loſs, in order to be revenged of the *Romans* for their reſiſtance, he reſolved to lay the city in aſhes. Accordingly, by his command, the ſoldiers ſet fire to the houſes, demoliſhed the temples and public edifices, and razed the walls to the ground. Thus was the famous city of *Rome* intirely deſtroyed; nothing was to be ſeen in the place where it ſtood, but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waſte, in which the *Gauls*, who inveſted the capitol, were incamped. *Brennus*, finding he ſhould never be able to take a place, which nature had ſo well fortified, otherwiſe than by famine, turned the ſiege into a blockade. But, in the mean time, his army being diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, he ſent out parties to pillage the fields, and raiſe contributions in the neighbouring cities. One of theſe parties appeared before *Ardea*, where the great *Camillus* had now ſpent two years in a private life. Notwithſtanding the affront he had received at *Rome*, the love he bore his country was not in the leaſt diminiſhed. The ſenate of *Ardea* being met to deliberate on the meaſures to be taken with relation to the *Gauls*, *Camillus*, more afflicted at the calamities of his country, than at his own baniſhment, deſired to be admitted into the council, where with his eloquence he prevailed upon the *Ardeates* to arm their youth in their own defence, and refuſe the *Gauls* admittance into

Rome *burnt by the* Gauls. Year after the Flood 2614. Before Chriſt 385. Of *Rome* 363.

into their city. Hereupon the *Gauls* incamped before the city; and as they deſpiſed the *Ardeates*, after they had made themſelves maſters of *Rome*, they preſerved neither order nor diſcipline in their camp, but ſpent whole days in drinking. Hereupon *Camillus*, having eaſily perſuaded the youth of the city to follow him, marched out of *Ardea* in a very dark night, ſurpriſed the *Gauls* drowned in wine, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them. Thoſe who made their eſcape, under the ſhelter of the night, fell next day into the hands of the peaſants, by whom they were maſſacred without mercy. This defeat of the enemy revived the courage of the *Romans* ſcattered about the country, eſpecially of thoſe who had retired to *Veii* after the unfortunate battle of *Allia*. There was not one of them who did not condemn himſelf for the exile of *Camillus*, as if he had been the author of it; and, looking upon that great man as their laſt reſource, they reſolved to chuſe him for their leader. Accordingly they ſent without delay embaſſadors to him, beſeeching him to take into his protection the fugitive *Romans*, and the wrecks of the defeat at *Allia*. But *Camillus* would not accept of the command of the troops, till the people aſſembled by curiæ had legally conferred it upon him. He thought the public authority was lodged in the hands of thoſe who were ſhut up in the citadel, and therefore would undertake nothing at the head of the *Roman* troops, till a commiſſion was brought him from thence. To do this was very difficult, the place being inveſted on all ſides by the enemy. However, one *Pontius Cominius*, a man of mean birth, but bold, and very ambitious of glory, undertook it. He put on a light habit, and providing himſelf with cork to keep the longer above water, threw himſelf into the *Tiber* above *Rome* in the beginning of the night, and ſuffered himſelf to be carried down with the ſtream. At length he came to the foot of the capitol, and landed at a ſteep place, where the *Gauls* had not thought it neceſſary to poſt any centinels. There he mounted with great difficulty to the rampart of the citadel, and having made himſelf known to the guard, he was admitted into the place, and conducted to the magiſtrates. The ſenate being immediately aſſembled, *Pontius* gave them an account of *Camillus*'s victory, and in the name of all the *Romans* at *Veii* demanded that great captain for their general. There was not much time ſpent in debates: the curiæ being called together, the act of condemnation, which had been paſſed on *Camillus*, was abrogated, and he named dictator with one voice. *Pontius* was immediately diſpatched with the decree, and the ſame good fortune, which had attended him to the capitol, accompanied him in his return.

Camillus *at the head of the* Ardeates *makes a great ſlaughter of the* Gauls.

Camillus *nominated dictator.*

Thus was *Camillus*, from the ſtate of baniſhment, raiſed at once to be ſovereign magiſtrate of his country. He was indeed proclaimed dictator in his abſence, contrary to cuſtom. But this was a ſmall defect in point of form only, which the neceſſieties of the ſtate made very excuſable. His promotion to the command was no ſooner known, but ſoldiers flocked from all parts to his camp; inſomuch, that he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of above forty thouſand men, partly *Romans*, and partly allies, who all thought themſelves invincible under ſo great a general [c].

While he was taking proper meaſures to raiſe the blockade of the citadel, ſome *Gauls*, rambling round the place, perceived on the ſide of the hill the print of *Pontius*'s hands and feet. They obſerved likewiſe, that the moſs on the rocks was in ſeveral places torn up. From theſe marks they concluded that ſome-body had lately gone up to, and returned from, the capitol. The *Gauls* immediately made their report to *Brennus* of what they had obſerved; and that experienced commander laid a deſign, which he imparted to no-body, of ſurpriſing the place by the ſame way that the *Roman* had aſcended. With this view he choſe out of his army ſuch ſoldiers as had dwelt in mountainous countries, and been accuſtomed from their youth to climb precipices. Theſe he ordered, after he had well examined the nature of the place, to aſcend in the night the ſame way that was marked out for them, climbing two abreaſt, that one might ſupport the other in getting up the ſteep parts of the precipice. By this means they advanced, with much difficulty and more danger, from rock to rock, till they arrived at the foot of the wall. They proceeded with ſuch ſilence, that they were not diſcovered, or heard either by the centinels who were upon guard in the citadel, or even by the dogs, that are uſually awaked and alarmed at the leaſt noiſe. But, though they eluded the ſagacity of the dogs, they could not eſcape the vigilance of the geeſe. A flock of theſe birds was kept in a court of the capitol in honour of *Juno*, and near her temple. Notwithſtanding the want of proviſions in the gariſon, they had been ſpared out of religion; and as theſe creatures are naturally quick of hearing, they were alarmed at the firſt approach of the *Gauls*; ſo that running up and down, with their cackling and beating of their wings, they awaked *Manlius*, a gallant ſoldier, who ſome years before had been conſul. He ſounded an alarm, and was the firſt man who mounted the rampart,

Manlius *ſaves the capitol.*

[c] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. v. c. 46, 47.

where

where he found two *Gauls* already upon the wall. One of these offered to discharge a blow at him with his battle-ax; but *Manlius* cut off his right hand at one blow, and gave the other such a push with his buckler, that he threw him headlong from the top of the rock to the bottom. He in his fall drew many others with him; and in the mean time the *Romans*, crouding to the place, pressed upon the *Gauls*, and tumbled them one over another. As the nature of the ground would not suffer them to make a regular retreat, or even to fly, most of them, to avoid the swords of the enemy, threw themselves down the precipice, so that every few got safe back to their camp *t*.

As it was the custom of the *Romans* at that time not to suffer any commendable action to go unrewarded, the tribune *Sulpicius* assembled his troops the next morning, in order to bestow the military rewards on those who the night before had deserved them. Among these *Manlius* was first named, and, in acknowledgment of the important service he had just rendered the state, every soldier gave him part of the corn which he received sparingly from the public stock, and a little measure of wine out of his scanty allowance. An inconsiderable present indeed in itself, but very acceptable at that time to the person on whom it was bestowed. The tribune's next care was to punish the negligent; accordingly, the captain of the guard, who ought to have had an eye over the centinels, was condemned to die, and, pursuant to his sentence, thrown down from the top of the capitol. The *Romans* extended their punishments and rewards even to the animals. Geese were ever after had in honour at *Rome*, and a flock of them always kept at the expence of the public. A golden image of a goose was erected in memory of them, and a goose every year carried in triumph upon a soft litter finely adorned; whilst dogs were held in abhorrence by the *Romans*, who every year impaled one of them on a branch of elder *f*.

THE blockade of the capitol had already lasted seven months; so that the famine began to be very sensibly felt both by the besieged and the besiegers. *Camillus*, since his nomination to the dictatorship, being master of the country, had posted strong guards on all the roads; so that the *Gauls* dared not stir out for fear of being cut to pieces. Thus *Brennus*, who besieged the capitol, was besieged himself, and suffered

Both the Gauls and Romans reduced to great straits.

f LIV l. v. c. 48. PLUT. ibid. & de Fortuna Rom. *t* PLUT. & PLIN. de Fort. Rom.

the ſame inconveniences, which he made the *Romans* undergo. Beſides, a plague raged in his camp, which was placed in the midſt of the ruins of the demoliſhed city, his men lying confuſedly among the dead carcaſſes of the *Romans*, whom they had ſlain and not buried. So great a number of them died in one quarter of the city, that it was afterwards called *Buſta Gallica*, or the place where the dead bodies of the *Gauls* were burnt. But, in the mean time, the *Romans* in the capitol were more pinched with want than the *Gauls*. They were reduced to the laſt extremity, and at the ſame time ignorant, both of the lamentable condition to which the enemy's army was brought, and of the ſteps *Camillus* was taking to relieve them. That great general only waited for a favourable opportunity to fall upon the enemy; but, in the mean time, ſuffered them to pine away in their infected camp, not knowing the extreme want the *Romans* endured in the capitol, where they were ſo deſtitute of all ſorts of proviſions, that they could no longer ſubſiſt. Matters being brought to this ſad paſs on both ſides, the centinels of the capitol and thoſe of the enemy's army began to talk to one another of an accommodation. Their diſcourſes came at length to the ears of their leaders, who were not averſe to the deſign. The ſenate, not knowing what was become of *Camillus*, and finding themſelves hard pinched by hunger, reſolved to enter upon a negotiation, and impowered *Sulpicius*, one of the military tribunes, to treat with the *Gauls*, who made no great difficulty in coming to terms, they being no leſs deſirous than the *Romans* to put an end to the war. In a conference therefore between *Brennus* and *Sulpicius*, an agreement was made and ſworn to. The *Romans* were to pay to the *Gauls* a thouſand pounds weight of gold, that is, forty five thouſand pounds ſterling, and the latter were to raiſe the ſiege of the capitol, and quit all the *Roman* territories. On the day appointed *Sulpicius* brought the ſum agreed on, and *Brennus* the ſcales and weights; for there were no gold or ſilver coins at that time, metals paſſing only by weight. We are told, that the weights of the *Gauls* were falſe, and their ſcales untrue, which *Sulpicius* complaining of, *Brennus*, inſtead of redreſſing the injuſtice, threw his ſword and belt into the ſcale where the weights were; and when the tribune aſked him the meaning of ſo extraordinary a behaviour, the only anſwer he gave was, *Væ Victis*, *Wo to the conquered*. *Sulpicius* was ſo ſtung with this haughty anſwer, that he was for carrying the gold back into the capitol, and ſuſtaining the ſiege to the laſt extremity; but others thought it adviſeable to put up that affront,

affront, ſince they had ſubmitted to a far greater one, which was to pay any thing at all. During theſe diſputes of the *Roman* deputies among themſelves and with the *Gauls*, *Camillus* advanced with his army to the very gates of the city, and being there informed of what was doing, he commanded the main body to follow him ſlowly and in good order, while he, with the choiceſt of his men, haſtened to the place of the parley. The *Romans*, overjoyed at his unexpected arrival, opened to make room for him, as the ſupreme magiſtrate of the republic, gave him an account of the treaty they had made with the *Gauls*, and complained of the wrong *Brennus* did them in the execution of it. They had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when *Camillus* cried out, *Carry back this gold into the capitol, and you*, Gauls, *retire with your ſcales and weights.* Rome *muſt not be redeemed with gold, but with ſteel.* *Brennus* replied, that he contravened a treaty, which was concluded and confirmed with mutual oaths. *Be it ſo*, anſwered Camillus, *yet it is of no force, having been made by an inferior magiſtrate, without the privity or conſent of the dictator. I, who am inveſted with the ſupreme authority over the* Romans, *declare the contract void.* At theſe words *Brennus* flew into a rage, and both ſides drawing their ſwords, a confuſed ſcuffle enſued among the ruins of the houſes and in the narrow lanes. The *Gauls*, after an inconſiderable loſs, thought fit to retire within their camp, which they abandoned in the night not caring to engage *Camillus*'s whole army, and, having marched eight miles, incamped on the *Gabinian* way. *Camillus* purſued them as ſoon as it was day, and coming up with them, gave them a total overthrow. The *Gauls*, according to *Livy*, made but a faint reſiſtance, being diſheartened at the loſs they had ſuſtained the day before. It was not, ſays that author, ſo much a battle as a ſlaughter. Many of the *Gauls* were ſlain in the action, more in the purſuit; but the greater number were cut off, as they wandered up and down in the fields, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. In ſhort, there was not one ſingle *Gaul* left to carry his countrymen the news of this fatal cataſtrophe. The camp of the barbarians was plundered; and *Camillus*, loaded with ſpoils, returned in triumph to the city, the ſoldiers in their ſongs ſtiling him *Romulus*, *father of his country*, and *ſecond founder of* Rome [h].

Camillus *ſurprizes* Brennus, *and drives the* Gauls *from* Rome.

The Gauls *all to a man cut off.*

As the houſes of *Rome* were all demoliſhed, and the walls razed, the tribunes of the people renewed, with more warmth than ever, an old project, which had occaſioned great diſputes. They had formerly propoſed a law for dividing the

[h] PLUT. ibid. LIV. l. v. c. 49.

ſenate

ſenate and government between the cities of *Veii* and *Rome*. Now this law was revived, nay, moſt of the tribunes were for entirely abandoning their old ruined city, and making *Veii* the ſole ſeat of the empire. The people were inclined to favour this project, *Veii* offering them a place fortified by art and nature, good houſes ready built, a wholeſome air, and a fruitful territory. On the other hand, they had no materials for rebuilding a whole city, were quite exhauſted by misfortunes, and even their ſtrength was greatly diminiſhed. This gave them a reluctance to ſo great an undertaking, and emboldened the tribunes to utter ſeditious harangues againſt *Camillus*, as a man too ambitious of being the reſtorer of *Rome*. They even inſinuated, that the name of *Romulus*, which had been given him, threatened the republic with a new king. But the ſenate took the part of *Camillus*, and, being deſirous to ſee *Rome* rebuilt, continued him, contrary to cuſtom, a whole year in the office of dictator; during which time, he made it his whole buſineſs to ſuppreſs the ſtrong inclination of the people to remove to *Veii*. Having aſſembled the curiæ, he expoſtulated with them upon the matter, and, by arguments drawn from prudence, religion, and glory, prevailed upon them to lay aſide all thoughts of leaving *Rome*. As it was neceſſary to have the reſolution of the people confirmed by the ſenate, the dictator reported it to the conſcript fathers, leaving every one at free liberty to vote as he pleaſed. While *L. Lucretius*, who was to give his opinion the firſt, was beginning to ſpeak, it happened, that a centurion, who with his company had been upon guard, and was then marching by the ſenate-houſe, cried out aloud, *Plant your colours, enſign. This is the beſt place to ſtay in.* Theſe words were conſidered as dictated by the gods themſelves, and *Lucretius* taking occaſion from them to urge the neceſſity of ſtaying at *Rome*, *A happy omen*, cried he, *I adore the gods who gave it.* The whole ſenate applauded his words, and a decree was paſſed, without oppoſition, for rebuilding the city [1].

Camillus *continued dictator.*

Though the tribunes of the people were defeated by *Camillus* in this point, they reſolved to exerciſe their authority againſt another patrician, who had indeed deſerved puniſhment. This was *Q. Fabius*, who had violated the law of nations, and thereby provoked the *Gauls*, and occaſioned the burning of *Rome*. His crime being notorious, he was ſummoned by *C. Martius Rutilus* before the aſſembly of the people, to anſwer for his conduct in his embaſſy. The criminal

Q. Fabius *is cited before the people, but lays violent hands on himſelf.*

[1] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. v. c. 51.

had

had reaſon to fear the ſevereſt puniſhment; but his relations gave out that he died ſuddenly, which generally happened, when the accuſed perſon had courage enough to prevent his condemnation, and the ſhame of a public puniſhment. On the other hand, the republic gave a houſe ſituate on the capitol to *M. Manlius*, as a monument of his valour, and of the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. *Camillus* cloſed this year by laying down his dictatorſhip; whereupon an inter-regnum enſued, during which he governed the ſtate alternately with *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and it fell to his lot to preſide at the election of new magiſtrates, when *L. Valerius Poplicola*, *L. Virginius Tricoſtus*, *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, *A. Manlius Capitolinus*, *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, and *L. Poſthumius Albinus*, were choſen. The firſt care of theſe new magiſtrates was, to collect all the antient monuments of the religious and civil laws of *Rome*, which could be found among the ruins of the demoliſhed city. The laws of the twelve tables, and ſome of the laws of the kings, had been written on braſs, and fixed up in the forum; and the treaties made with ſeveral nations had been engraved on pillars erected in the temples. Pains was therefore taken to gather up the remains of theſe precious monuments; and what could not be found was ſupplied by memory. The pontifices on their part took care to re-eſtabliſh the religious ceremonies, and made alſo a liſt of lucky and unlucky days.

AND now the governors of the republic applied themſelves wholly to rebuild the city. *Plutarch* tells us, that as the workmen were digging among the ruins of the temple of *Mars*, they found *Romulus*'s augural ſtaff untouched by the flames; and that this was looked upon as a prodigy, from whence the *Romans* inferred, that their city would continue for ever. The expence of rebuilding private houſes was partly defrayed out of the public treaſure. The ædiles had the direction of the works, but ſo little taſte for order or beauty, that the city, when rebuilt, was even leſs regular than in the time of *Romulus*. And though in *Auguſtus*'s time, when *Rome* became the capital of the known world, the temples, palaces, and private houſes, were built in a more magnificent manner than before, yet even then theſe new decorations did not rectify the faults of the plan, upon which the city had been built after its firſt demolition.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

From the rebuilding of Rome *to the firſt* Punic *or* Carthaginian *war.*

ROME was ſcarce reſtored, when her citizens were alarmed by the news that all her neighbours were combining to her deſtruction. The *Æqui*, the *Volſci*, the *Hetrurians*, and even her old allies the *Latins* and the *Hernici*, entered into an alliance againſt her, in hopes of oppreſſing her before ſhe had recovered her ſtrength. The republic under this terror nominated *Camillus* dictator a third time. This great commander, having appointed *C. Servilius* to be his general of horſe, ſummoned the citizens to take arms, without excepting even the old men. He divided the new levies into three bodies. The firſt, under the command of *A. Manlius*, he ordered to incamp under the walls of *Rome*; the ſecond he ſent into the neighbourhood of *Veii*, and marched himſelf at the head of the third to relieve the tribunes, who were cloſely beſieged in their camp, by the united forces of the *Volſci* and *Latins*. He, finding the enemy incamped near *Lanuvium* on the declivity of the hill *Marcius*, poſted himſelf behind the hill, and, by lighting fires, gave the diſtreſſed *Romans* notice of his arrival. The *Volſci* and *Latins*, when they underſtood that *Camillus* was at the head of an army newly arrived, were ſo terrified, that they ſhut themſelves up in their camp, which they fortified with great trees cut down in haſte. The dictator obſerving, that this barrier was of green wood, and that every morning there aroſe a great wind, which blew full upon the enemy's camp, formed the deſign of taking it by fire. With this view he ordered one part of his army to go by break of day with fire-brands to the windward ſide of the camp, and the other to make a briſk attack on the oppoſite ſide. By this means the enemy was entirely defeated, and their camp taken. *Camillus* then ordered his men to extinguiſh the flames, in order to ſave the booty, with which he rewarded his army, a bounty the more agreeable, becauſe unexpected

Camillus a third time named dictator.

Defeats the Volſci *and* Latins

unexpected from the rigid dictator. He then left his ſon in the camp to guard the priſoners, and entering the country of the *Æqui*, made himſelf maſter of their capital city *Bola*. From thence he marched againſt the *Volſci*, whom he intirely reduced after they had waged war with the *Romans* for the ſpace of a hundred and ſeven years. Having ſubdued this untractable people, he penetrated into *Hetruria*, in order to relieve *Sutrium*, a town in that country in alliance with *Rome*, and beſieged by a numerous army of *Hetrurians*. But, notwithſtanding all the expedition *Camillus* could uſe, he did not reach the place before it had capitulated. The *Sutrini*, being greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and exhauſted with labour, had ſurrendered to the *Hetrurians*, who had granted them nothing but their lives, and the cloaths on their backs. In this deſtitute condition they had left their own country, and were going in ſearch of new habitations, when they met *Camillus* leading an army to their relief. The unfortunate multitude no ſooner ſaw the *Romans*, but they threw themſelves at the dictator's feet, who, moved at this melancholy ſight, deſired them to take a little reſt and refreſh themſelves, adding, that he would ſoon dry up their tears, and transfer their ſorrows from them to their enemies. He imagined, that the *Hetrurians* would be wholly taken up in plundering the city, without being upon their guard, or obſerving any diſcipline. And herein he was not miſtaken. The *Hetrurians* did not dream that the dictator could come ſo ſpeedily from ſo great a diſtance to ſurprize them; and therefore the *Roman* army paſſed through the territory of *Sutrium*, without finding any advanced guards, or meeting any ſcouts, and even entered the city, before the enemy had any notice of their approach. In a word, he ſurprized the *Hetrurians*, who were wholly employed, either in plundering the houſes and carrying off the booty, or feaſting on the proviſions they had found in them, put many of them to the ſword, made an incredible number of priſoners, and reſtored the city to its antient inhabitants, who had not waited in vain for the performance of the dictator's promiſe. And now, after theſe glorious exploits, which were finiſhed in ſo ſhort a time, the great *Camillus* entered *Rome* in triumph a third time. This honour was decreed him for having conquered the *Volſci*, made himſelf maſter of the capital city of the *Æqui*, and retaken *Sutrium* from the *Hetrurians*. The greateſt part of the captives, who graced his triumph, were ſold, and by that means money enough raiſed to pay all the *Roman* ladies for the jewels they had formerly contributed to make a preſent to *Apollo*. With the remainder were bought three vaſes of gold,

Recovers Sutrium from the Hetrurians.

which with *Camillus*'s name inſcribed on them were placed at the feet of *Juno* in the temple of *Jupiter*. Thus did the glory of *Camillus* eclipſe that of all his rivals. Envious men had hitherto aſcribed the greateſt part of his victories to chance. But, after theſe three laſt expeditions againſt three different nations, envy itſelf was ſilent [k].

Camillus having reſigned his dictatorſhip, the republic choſe ſix new military tribunes, *Q. Quinctius*, *Q. Servius*, *L. Julius*, *L. Aquilius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *Ser. Sulpitius*. During their adminiſtration, the country of the *Æqui* was laid waſte, in order to put it out of their power to revolt anew, and the two cities of *Cortuoſa* and *Contenebra*, in the leucumony of the *Tarquinienſes*, taken from the *Hetrurians* and intirely demoliſhed. At this time it was thought proper to repair the capitol, and add new works to that part of the hill, where the *Gauls* had endeavoured to ſcale the citadel. Theſe works were eſteemed very beautiful, as *Livy* informs us, even in the time of *Auguſtus*, after the city was adorned with moſt beautiful decorations [l].

The cities of Cortuoſa *and* Contenebra *taken by the* Romans, *and demoliſhed.*

And now, *Rome* being re-inſtated in her former flouriſhing condition, the tribunes of the people, who had been for ſome time quiet, began to renew their ſeditious harangues, and revive the old quarrel about the diviſion of the conquered lands. The patricians had appropriated to themſelves the *Pomptin* territory lately taken from the *Volſci*, and the tribunes laid hold of this opportunity to raiſe new diſturbances. But the citizens being ſo drained of their money, that they had not enough left to cultivate new farms and ſtock them with cattle, the declamations of the tribunes made no impreſſion upon their minds, ſo that the tribunes project vaniſhed. As for the military tribunes, they owned, that their election had been defective, and left the irregularities of the former comitia ſhould be continued in the ſucceeding ones, they voluntarily laid down their office. So that after a ſhort inter-regnum, during which *M. Manlius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and *L. Valerius Potitus* governed the republic, ſix new military tribunes, *L. Papirius*, *C. Sergius*, *L. Æmilius*, *L. Menenius*, *L. Valerius*, and *C. Cornelius* were choſen, for the enſuing year, which was ſpent in works of peace. A temple, which had been vowed to *Mars* during the war with the *Gauls*, was built, and conſecrated by *T. Quinctius*, who preſided over the affairs of religion. As there had hitherto been but few *Ro-*

[k] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. vi. c. 2, & 3. Macrob. part. 1. c. 2. Eutrop. l. ii. [l] Liv. l. vi. c. 4.

man

man tribes beyond the *Tiber*, which had a right of ſuffrage in the comitia, four new ones were added, under the name of the *Stellatina*, *Tramontina*, *Sabatina*, and *Arnienſis*, ſo that the tribes were now in all twenty five, which enjoyed the ſame rights and privileges.

THE expectation of an approaching war induced the centuries to chuſe *Camillus* one of the military tribunes for the next year. His collegues were, *Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Horatius*, and *P. Falerius*. As theſe were all men of moderation, they agreed to inveſt *Camillus* with the ſole management of affairs, in time of war, and accordingly in full ſenate transferred all their power into his hands; ſo that he became in effect dictator. It had been already determined in the ſenate to turn the arms of the republic againſt the *Hetrurians*; but upon advice that the *Antiates* had entered the *Pomptin* territory, and obliged the *Romans*, who had taken poſſeſſion of it, to retire, it was thought neceſſary to humble them before the republic engaged in any other enterprize. The new dictator, if we may ſo call him, allotted to each of the five military tribunes an employment ſuitable to his rank. He joined *P. Valerius* with himſelf in the command of the army, which he was to lead againſt the *Antiates*. *Q. Servilius* was placed at the head of a body of troops, which was to continue in *Rome*, and be in a continual readineſs to march againſt the *Hetrurians*, or *Latins* and *Hernici*, in caſe they took the field. The third army wholly conſiſted of old men, and ſuch citizens as were excuſed on account of their infirmities from taking the field. The command of theſe was given to *L. Quinctius*, who was appointed to guard the walls of the city. *L. Horatius*'s province was to ſupply the troops with arms, ammunition, and proviſions. Laſtly, the ſuperintendency of civil affairs, the comitia, the laws and religion, were committed to the care of *Ser. Cornelius*. So that none of the military tribunes, who had in ſome meaſure diveſted themſelves of their power in favour of *Camillus*, was left without an employment: they all readily accepted the provinces, which *Camillus* aſſigned them, only *Valerius* refuſed to be upon an equal foot with *Camillus*, *You ſhall be my dictator*, ſaid he, *and I will ſerve under you as your general of the horſe.* The *Antiates* had joined the *Latins* and *Hernici* near *Satricum*, ſo that the *Romans*, being terrified at their prodigious numbers, ſhewed themſelves very backward to engage; which *Camillus* perceiving, he inſtantly mounted his horſe, and riding through all the ranks of the army, fellow ſoldiers, cried he, Why don't I ſee that joy and deſire of fighting

The Antiates, Latins, and Hernici defeated by Camillus.

fighting in your looks, which you uſed to have? Have you forgot who I am, who you yourſelves, and who your enemies are? Have not the *Volſci* and the *Latins* been the occaſion of your gaining immortal fame? Have you not conquered *Veii*, defeated the *Gauls*, and delivered *Rome* under my command? Am I not *Camillus*, becauſe I have not the title of dictator? Do you but attack the enemy, and we ſhall ſucceed as uſual. You will conquer, and they will fly. Having uttered theſe words, he diſmounted, took the next ſtandard-bearer by the hand, led him towards the enemy, and cried out, *Soldiers advance.* The ſoldiery was aſhamed not to follow a general, who expoſed himſelf to the firſt attack, and therefore having made a great ſhout, they fell upon the enemy with incredible fury. *Camillus*, in order to increaſe their eagerneſs ſtill more, commanded a ſtandard to be thrown into the middle of the enemy's battalions, which made the ſoldiers, who were fighting in the firſt ranks, exert all their reſolution to recover it. The *Antiates*, not being able any longer to make head againſt the *Romans*, gave way and were entirely defeated. The *Latins* and *Hernici* ſeparated from the *Volſci* and returned home. The *Volſci*, ſeeing themſelves thus abandoned by their allies, took refuge in the neighbouring city of *Satricum*, which *Camillus* immediately inveſted and took by aſſault. The *Volſci* threw down their arms and ſurrendered at diſcretion. He then left his army under the command of *Valerius*, and returned to *Rome* to ſolicit the conſent of the ſenate, and to make the neceſſary preparations for undertaking the ſiege of *Antium*. But while he was propoſing this affair to the ſenate, deputies arrived from *Nepet* and *Sutrium*, two cities in alliance with *Rome* in the neighbourhood of *Hetruria*, demanding ſuccours againſt the *Hetrurians*, who threatened to beſiege theſe two cities, which were the keys of *Hetruria*. Hereupon the expedition againſt *Antium* was laid aſide, and *Camillus* commanded to haſten to the relief of the allied cities, with the troops which *Servilius* had kept in readineſs at *Rome*, in caſe of an emergency. *Camillus* immediately ſet out for the new war, and upon his arrival before *Sutrium* found that important place not only beſieged, but almoſt taken, the *Hetrurians* having made themſelves maſters of ſome of the gates, and taken poſſeſſion of all the avenues leading to the city. However, the inhabitants no ſooner heard that *Camillus* was coming to their relief, but they recovered their courage, and by barricadoes made in the ſtreets prevented the enemy from making themſelves maſters of the whole city. *Camillus* in the mean time having divided his army into two bodies, ordered *Valerius* to march round the walls, as if he deſigned

Camillus *relieves* Sutrium.

to

to ſcale them, while he with the other undertook to charge the *Hetrurians* in the rear, force his way into the city, and ſhut up the enemy between the beſieged and his troops. The *Romans* no ſooner appeared, but the *Hetrurians* betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight, through a gate which was not inveſted. *Camillus*'s troops made a dreadful ſlaughter of them within the city, while *Valerius* put great numbers of them to the ſword without the walls. From reconquering *Sutrium*, *Camillus* haſtened to the relief of *Nepet*. But that city, being better affected to the *Hetrurians* than to the *Romans*, had voluntarily ſubmitted to the former. Wherefore *Camillus*, having inveſted it with his whole army, took it by aſſault, put all the *Hetrurian* ſoldiers, without diſtinction, to the ſword, and condemned the authors of the revolt to die by the axes of the lictors. Thus ended *Camillus*'s military tribuneſhip, in which he acquired no leſs reputation, than he had done in the moſt glorious of his dictatorſhips [m].

And takes Nepet *by aſſault.*

BUT as well eſtabliſhed as *Camillus*'s reputation was in *Rome*, yet he was not without a rival; *M. Manlius*, who had ſaved the capitol, could not bear to ſee his glory eclipſed by that of *Camillus*. He was indeed one of the braveſt ſoldiers *Rome* had ever produced; but his ambition and vanity were yet greater than his valour. However, he did not attempt any thing till *Camillus*'s fourth military tribuneſhip was expired. But no ſooner was the goverment put into the hands of ſix new military tribunes, *A. Manlius*, *P. Cornelius*, *T. Quinctius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Papirius*, and *C. Sergius*, than he began to vent his ſpleen, and endeavour to darken the glory of a man, whom he looked upon as his rival. After all, *Camillus*'s chief glory, ſaid he, is his having recovered *Rome* out of the hands of the *Gauls*, which he could never have done, had I not firſt ſaved the capitol. So that his glory is founded upon mine. Nor did he conquer the *Gauls*, till they had been tired with a long ſiege. But I repulſed them from the capitol, when they were moſt flushed with ſucceſs. A whole army ſhared *Camillus*'s glory with him; but *Manlius* had no companion in his. By theſe and ſuch-like ſpeeches, he gave vent to his envy; but finding himſelf unable by noble actions to outſhine *Camillus* in reputation, in order to ſatisfy his ambition, he began to court the multitude, and even entered into the faction of the tribunes of the people. Though a patrician by birth, he inveighed againſt the nobility, and eſpouſed the cauſe of the people in the

Manlius *ſuſpected of aſpiring at the ſupreme power.*

[m] LIV. l. vi. c. 7, 8, 9, 10. PLUT. in Camillo.

affair

affair of the diſtribution of lands. He even oppoſed the rich whenever they ſeized their debtors, and ſet at liberty thoſe who were already in chains. So that he was always attended by a kind of guard made up of thoſe whom he had ſo aſſiſted. The ſenate, alarmed at *Manlius*'s proceeding, thought it neceſſary to create a dictator, in order to prevent the evil conſequences of his too great popularity, and to cruſh the riſing faction. The army which the *Volſci* had juſt then raiſed, furniſhed them with a ſpecious pretence for taking ſuch meaſures. The dictatorſhip was given to *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, who named *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* to be general of the horſe. The dictator came to an engagement with the *Volſci* in the *Pomptin* territory, and intirely defeated them, though much more numerous than the *Romans*. Among the priſoners, were found many *Latins* and *Hernici* of diſtinction, who being examined confeſſed, that they had acted by authority. Hereupon the dictator kept his army in the field, not doubting but he ſhould be ſoon employed againſt thoſe faithleſs allies. But the diſturbances raiſed by the factious *Manlius* called him back to the city without delay. It was neceſſary to examine into the deſigns of that ambitious man, whoſe popularity was become dangerous. A creditor had lately ſeized a centurion for debt, who was a man of great courage, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions. As the officer was leading him to priſon, according to his ſentence, *Manlius* and his ſeditious company met them. Upon which the factious patrician began to inveigh againſt the pride of the nobility, and the cruelty of the rich, who lent money upon intereſt; but, above all, expatiated on the merit of the inſolvent centurion; what ſignifies my having ſaved the capitol, ſaid he, if more cruel enemies than the *Gauls* are ſuffered to rob me of a brave and faithful companion in battle, and reduce him to ſlavery? Having uttered theſe words, in the preſence of the officer and five witneſſes, he paid the debt, admitting the priſoner, as ſoon as he was delivered out of his creditor's hands, to be one of the guard that always attended him. This gave great umbrage in a republican ſtate, where the magiſtrates were always upon their guard againſt any thing that tended to monarchy. But ſoon after *Manlius* increaſed their apprehenſions by a yet more extravagant act of popularity. He had ſome lands in the territory of *Veii*, which were his paternal eſtate. Theſe he ſold by auction, and declared to the people, that he deſigned to apply the whole to the paying of the debts of inſolvent debtors. Theſe bounties made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on the multitude, that they ſeemed ready to back him in any

Cornelius Coſſus *dictator.*

any enterprize he ſhould undertake. Beſides, all his diſcourſes in his own houſe tended only to decry the patricians and the ſenate. He gave out, that the nobility, not content to rob the people of their right to a ſhare in the conquered lands, had concealed, with an intent to appropriate it to their own uſe, the gold, which was to have been given to the *Gauls*, and had been raiſed by the voluntary contributions of all the citizens who were then in the capitol: a treaſure, which alone would be ſufficient to diſcharge all the debts of the poor plebeians. He even promiſed to ſhew them in due time the place where this treaſure was concealed; ſo that the whole care of the populace was to draw thoſe riches out of the hands of the patricians [n].

SUCH was the poſture of affairs at *Rome*, when the dictator *Coſſus* returned thither. He therefore poſtponed his triumph, till ſuch time as he had re-eſtabliſhed the public tranquillity. He made it his firſt buſineſs to aſſemble the ſenate, and finding the fathers inclined to ſuppreſs *Manlius*'s inſolence, he ordered his tribunal to be placed in that part of the forum, where the comitia were held, and ſent a lictor to cite *Manlius* to appear before him. *Manlius* obeyed the ſummons, but attended with his uſual guards, whom he exhorted to ſtand by him. The aſſembly looked like two armies drawn up in battalia againſt each other. Silence being made, the dictator challenged *Manlius* to declare, as he had promiſed, the perſons who had concealed the pretended treaſures, and the place where they were hid; otherwiſe he threatened to ſend him to priſon as an incendiary and ſlanderer. *Manlius*, inſtead of anſwering directly, extolled his own merit, and reproached the patricians with avarice and cruelty. He concluded his ſpeech with ſaying, that as to the ſecreted treaſure the ſenators, who had concealed it, were better qualified than he to diſcover the place. But this being only an evaſion, the dictator preſſed him anew, either to perform his promiſe to the people, or to confeſs that he had calumniated the ſenate. *Manlius* replied, that his thus preſſing him to declare the place where the gold was hoarded, was a convincing proof, that the ſenate had removed it beyond the reach of the moſt curious enquiry. Hereupon the dictator immediately ordered him to priſon. We have, on this occaſion, a ſurpriſing inſtance of the ready ſubmiſſion of the *Romans* to the command of a lawful magiſtrate. The people, however ſeditiouſly devoted to *Manlius*, took no one ſtep to hinder the execution of

Manlius *cited to appear before the dictator.*

And committed to priſon.

[n] PLUT. ibid. LIV l. vi. c. 11.

the

the ſentence. There was not an angry expreſſion heard, or a threatening look ſeen, in the whole aſſembly. The tribunes themſelves did not ſhew diſreſpect to the dictator. Only *Manlius*, when the lictors laid hold of him, cried out, addreſſing his complaints to the gods, *O* Jupiter, *beſt and greateſt*, *O* Juno, *queen of heaven*, Minerva, *and all ye other gods and goddeſſes, who reſide in the capitol, will you ſuffer your champion and defender to be thus treated by his enemies? Shall this right hand, with which I drove the* Gauls *from your ſanctuaries, be locked in chains?* But theſe lamentations raiſed no diſturbances among the multitude. His moſt zealous adherents expreſſed their concern only by habits of mourning, neglecting to cut their hair and beards, crouding about the doors of the priſon, and there lamenting his misfortune. In this time of affliction the dictator *Coſſus* received the honours of a triumph. But the multitude expreſſed nothing but a deep concern on that day of joy; ſome were even heard to ſay, that *Coſſus* did not ſo much triumph over the *Volſci*, as over an oppreſſed citizen. Nothing, ſaid they, remains to complete the general's triumph, but to have the unfortunate *Manlius* led before his chariot in chains. In order therefore to appeaſe the people, the ſenate thought it neceſſary to ſhew them ſome indulgence. They aſſembled, and, of their own motion, ordered a colony of *Roman* citizens to be ſent to *Sutrium*, where they allotted to every man two acres and a half of arable land. But this unexpected bounty was ſo far from ſatisfying the malecontents, that it increaſed their rage and jealouſy. For they looked upon this liberality of the ſenate as an artifice to induce the citizens to abandon *Manlius*. So that the ſedition gained ground, and the fury of the populace increaſed ſtill more, as ſoon as *Coſſus*'s dictatorſhip was expired. The multitude, being now free from the dread of an uncontroulable magiſtrate, no longer kept within any bounds. The people, ſurrounding the priſon day and night, threatened to break it open. The ſenate, fearing leaſt the incenſed populace in their fury ſhould execute what they threatened, and that *Manlius*, being ſet at liberty by ſuch violent means, ſhould carry his fury farther than ever, thought fit to put an end to the diſturbance by releaſing him themſelves. But this timorous proceeding only gave the ſeditious a leader, provoked by the ſhame of his impriſonment, and incapable of following ſober counſels.

Put is ſet at liberty.

During theſe ſeditions, embaſſadors arrived from the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, and from the cities of *Circæi* and *Velitræ*, demanding, that the priſoners, taken by the dictator in the late action with the *Volſci*, might be delivered up to them.

them. The different reception they met with ſhews the diſtinction, which the *Romans* always made between nations in alliance with them and *Roman* colonies. *Circæi* and *Velitræ* were upon the foot of colonies, but the *Latins* and *Hernici* only in alliance with *Rome*: the latter enjoyed their own laws; the former were ſubject to the laws of *Rome*. The embaſſadors therefore of the *Latins* and *Hernici* were received, though their demand was rejected, nor did the *Romans* diſpute their right of ſending an embaſſy. But the deputies of *Circæi* and *Velitræ* were ordered immediately to depart, and not appear before the people, ſince they had no right to ſend embaſſadors [o].

WHEN new magiſtrates came to be elected for the next year, the great *Camillus* was choſen military tribune a fifth time, the republic wanting a governor of his reputation to ſtem the tide of the preſent troubles. With him were joined *Ser. Cornelius*, *C. Valerius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *C. Papirius*, and *T. Quinctius*. The confidence of *Manlius* and the ſtrength of his faction were now much increaſed by the timorouſneſs of the ſenate. The mutineers met at *Manlius*'s houſe, which was crouded with them day and night. There he ſpoke his mind without reſerve, exhorting the multitude to ſhake off the yoke they groaned under, to aboliſh dictatorſhips and conſulates, to eſtabliſh an exact equality among all the members of one and the ſame republic, and to make themſelves a head, who would govern and keep in awe the patricians as well as the people. If you judge me worthy of that honour, ſaid he, the more power you give me, the ſooner you will be in poſſeſſion of what you have ſo long wiſhed for. I deſire authority with no other view, but to make you all happy. It is ſaid, that a plot was formed to ſeize the citadel and declare him king; but it is not certain, that he imbarqued in ſo difficult an undertaking, or how far he carried his ambitious views. The ſenate, alarmed at the danger which threatened the republic, aſſembled frequently to deliberate on the beſt method to avert the blow. A decree was made, injoining the military tribunes *to be watchful, that the republic received no damage*; a form of words, which was never uſed but in the greateſt dangers of the ſtate, and which inveſted thoſe magiſtrates with an authority almoſt equal to that of a dictator. After this different means were propoſed for defeating the evil deſigns of *Manlius*. All, except the tribunes of the people, were for aſſaſſinating the author of the ſeditions. But as ſuch an attempt would have occaſioned the ſhedding of much blood, two of thoſe tri-

Renews his factious intrigues.

[o] Liv. l. 6. c. 17.

bunes, *M. Mænius* and *Q. Publilius*, thought it more adviſeable to take him off by the uſual forms of law. They offered to proſecute him before the comitia, not doubting but the people, when they ſaw their tribunes become his accuſers, would immediately deſert him. This advice was approved, and *Manlius* ſummoned to his trial before the comitia by centuries. The crime laid to his charge was, his aiming at the ſovereign power; and as this was a capital crime, the accuſed appeared before his judges in deep mourning. But neither his own brothers, nor any of his relations, changed their dreſs, or ſolicited the judges in his behalf, as was uſually done by the friends of a perſon accuſed; ſo much did the love of liberty prevail in the hearts of the *Romans* over all the ties of blood and kindred. *Livy* tells us, that he could not find in any author what direct proofs the tribunes brought of *Manlius*'s aſpiring to the regal power. However, he ſuppoſes, that they had ſufficient proofs, ſince nothing but the circumſtance of the place, where he was tried, prevented his immediate condemnation. They could ſee the capitol, which *Manlius* had preſerved, from the *campus Martius*, where his ſentence was to be pronounced; and this ſight alone abated the reſentment of the centuries againſt the criminal; ſo that the people, who could neither reſolve to condemn or acquit him, put off pronouncing ſentence more than once, and every time poſtponed this affair for three market-days. In the mean time, *Manlius* omitted nothing that could move his judges to compaſſion. He produced above four hundred plebeians, whoſe debts he had paid, and whom he had delivered out of the hands of their creditors. He ſhewed the people thirty ſuits of armour, the ſpoils of thirty enemies, whom he had ſlain in ſingle combat. He had been the firſt *Roman* who had deſerved a mural crown by fighting on horſeback. He had been honoured with eight civic crowns, for having ſaved in battle the lives of ſo many citizens, and had been ſeven and thirty times rewarded by his generals for his extraordinary valour. He had ſaved in battle the life of *C. Servilius*, when general of the horſe, and had received two wounds on that occaſion. But his greateſt glory was, his having defended the capitol againſt the attack of the *Gauls*. This important piece of ſervice ſupported the criminal, notwithſtanding the evident proofs of his crime. Looking often at the capitol, he called upon *Jupiter* and the other gods for ſuccour, conjuring the people to turn their faces to that ſanctuary, and think of the gods who reſided there, when they were going to pronounce judgment. The people, having before their eyes the very place, where, by fighting ſo valiantly againſt the *Gauls*, he had ſaved *Rome*, could not reſolve

Impeached by two of the tribunes of treaſon.

folve to find him guilty. The tribunes, perceiving this, deferred the deciſion of the affair to another day, and appointed the place of the aſſembly to be in the *Peteline* wood, without the gate *Flumentana*, whence the capitol could not be ſeen. Then the object, which had ſaved *Manlius*, no longer dazzling the eyes of his judges, they forgot his glory, and remembered only his crime. The public welfare gained the aſcendant over their gratitude, and the unhappy *Manlius* was condemned to be thrown headlong from the capitol itſelf. The ſentence was no ſooner pronounced than put in execution; the houſe, where he had held his private cabals, was razed to the ground, and it was decreed, that no patrician ſhould thenceforth dwell on the capitol, left the advantageous ſituation of a fortreſs, that commanded the whole city, ſhould ſuggeſt and facilitate the deſign of enſlaving it. The *Manlian* family alſo came to a reſolution among themſelves, that no member of it ſhould ever bear the prænomen of *Marcus*. But how inconſtant is the multitude! *Manlius* was ſcarce dead, when his loſs was generally lamented, and a plague, which ſoon followed, aſcribed to the anger of *Jupiter* againſt the authors of his death [q].

Condemned and thrown headlong from the capitol.

THE puniſhment of the ſeditious *Manlius* neither brought any diſcredit upon his relations, or leſſened their intereſt. On the contrary, his brother *A. Manlius* was choſen one of the military tribunes at the very next election. His collegues were *L. Valerius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *L. Lucretius*, *L. Æmilius*, and *M. Trebonius*. During their adminiſtration, the *Volſci* threatened the republic with a new war; the cities of *Circæi* and *Velitræ* continued in their revolt; *Lanuvium* itſelf, ever before faithful to *Rome*, declared againſt her, and all the cities of *Latium* ſeemed ready to riſe in their turns. And, to add to the misfortunes of the republic, the plague ſtill raged in the city. However, the ſenate judged it neceſſary to engage the people to conſent to a war. In order to this, they promiſed to divide the *Pomptin* territory among them, and nominated five commiſſioners to regulate the diſtribution of the lands, and three others to lead a colony to *Nepet*. But this deſign was not put in execution till nine years after. However, the comitia by tribes being aſſembled, it was decreed, that a war ſhould be declared with the ſeveral enemies of *Rome*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the tribunes of the people. Accordingly, an army was raiſed, but the plague continuing to rage, the military tribunes could not lead their troops into the field. In the mean time, the inhabitants of *Præneſte*, following the example of the other colonies, re-

Wars carried on with the Prænestini and Volſci,

[q] PLUT. ibid. LIV. l. vi. c. 20.

volted, and committed great devaſtations in the territories of the *Gabini*, *Tuſculani*, and *Labicani*, who continued ſteady in their alliance with *Rome*. Though theſe faithful allies brought complaints to the ſenate of the hoſtilities committed in their diſtricts, yet the fathers pretended not to believe them, chuſing rather to diſſemble with them, than to take up arms in their preſent unhappy ſituation. But the *Romans*, who ſcarce ever ſuffered any attempt againſt their republic to eſcape unpuniſhed, only ſuſpended their reſentment. For, in the following military tribuneſhip of *Sp. Papirius*, *L. Papirius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and *L. Æmilius*, the two *Papirii* being ſent againſt the *Veliterni*, defeated them, though joined by great numbers from *Præneſte*, and obliged them to ſhelter themſelves within the walls of their city. However, the generals did not think it adviſeable, either to attempt a doubtful ſiege, or to carry hoſtilities ſo far as to exterminate a *Roman* colony. The ſenate alſo judged it more neceſſary to purſue the war with vigour againſt the *Præneſtini*, who had farther provoked the *Romans*, by aſſiſting their irreconcileable enemies the *Volſci*.

These expeditions therefore, which were to be undertaken, made the aſſembled centuries caſt their eyes on *Camillus*, and raiſe him a ſixth time to the military tribuneſhip. He was indeed very unwilling to imbarque again in public affairs, being now very infirm, and apprehenſive of the viciſſitudes of fortune. He therefore endeavoured to decline the honour which the people had conferred upon him, pleading his age and infirmities. But the people would not hearken to his repreſentations. We don't expect, ſaid they, that *Camillus* ſhould perſonally engage either on foot, or on horſeback, or that he ſhould join the bravery of the private ſoldier to the wiſdom of the general. All we now deſire of him is, to aſſiſt our armies with his counſel, and command them; this is enough to make them invincible. *Camillus* could not help complying with their requeſt; he accepted the military tribuneſhip, in which he had the following collegues, *A. Poſthumius*, *L. Poſthumius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*. The command of the army, which was to be employed againſt the *Volſci*, was decreed to *Camillus* by the ſenate; but it fell by lot to *L. Furius* to be joined with him in the command. The two generals commanded an army of four legions, conſiſting of four thouſand men each, which marched to *Sutrium*, where the *Volſci* and *Præneſtini* had formed a camp, and waited without fear for the *Romans*, being far more numerous than they, and flushed with their late ſucceſs againſt *Satricum*,

tricum, which they had taken, and put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword. *Camillus*, whether he waited to recover his health, for he was greatly indiſpoſed, or to receive a reinforcement of troops, was not in haſte to come to a battle. But, in the mean time, the *Volſci* appearing drawn up in battle, and provoking the *Romans*, the latter could hardly be reſtrained from ſallying out of their camp and falling upon them. Their ardor for fighting was increaſed by the raſh diſcourſes of young *Furius*, who imputed the prudent delays of his collegue to his age, which, he ſaid, had chilled his blood. At length the *Volſci* not only marched out their men on their own ground near their camp, but advanced into the open fields,and carried on their lines almoſt to the *Roman* camp. This was ſuch an inſult, as neither *Furius* nor the legions could bear. The young general therefore addreſſing himſelf to *Camillus*, reproached him, that he was the only perſon in the army for delaying the engagement, and urged him to comply with the deſires of the ſoldiers. *Camillus* anſwered with an air of ſuperiority, but with great temper, that hitherto *Rome* had not been diſſatisfied either with his conduct or ſucceſs. But nevertheleſs, if the impetuoſity, which hurried the ſoldiers on to an engagement, could not be reſtrained, he wiſhed them ſucceſs, but deſired to be excuſed on account of his age from engaging in the foremoſt ranks. *Furius* drew up his troops in order of battle; but *Camillus* made it his buſineſs to prepare *a corps de reſerve* to aſſiſt his collegue in caſe of diſtreſs: *Furius* charged with great vigour, and the *Volſci*, feigning to give way, drew the *Roman* legions half way up the hill, on which their camp was ſituated; then ſallying out with freſh troops, by the advantage of the ground, obliged the *Romans* to retire in great diſorder. The *Volſci* purſued them cloſe to the very gates of their camp, which thoſe brave legions, a little before ſo deſirous of fighting, ſtrove by a ſhameful flight to regain. *Camillus*, tho' greatly indiſpoſed, no ſooner heard that the *Romans* were defeated, than he quitted his tent, and haſtening to the gate of the camp with his body of reſerve, cried out to the flying legions, Is this then, *Romans*, the victory, you were ſo ſure of? What god or man can you blame, but yourſelves? You are come to ſeek for ſhelter in that camp, which you were ſo deſirous to abandon. But you ſhall not enter it till you have repulſed the enemy. Having uttered theſe words, he put himſelf at the head of the troops, which he had kept with him in the camp, and encouraging the legions that had fled to return with him to the engagement, he obliged the enemy to retire, which was all he could do that day. But the next day

The Romans *put to flight by the* Volſci.

The Volſci *defeated in a ſecond engagement by* Camillus.

day he drew up his troops in the plain, and challenged the enemy to a ſecond engagement. *Furius*, whom *Camillus* had placed at the head of the cavalry, behaved himſelf in the battle which enſued, with uncommon valour. For the infantry being hard preſſed, he prevailed upon his cavalry to diſmount, and came ſo opportunely to the relief of the foot, that the numerous army of the *Volſci* was intirely routed, their camp taken, and their chief commanders either ſlain or made priſoners. Among the captives were found ſome *Tuſculans*, who, as their city was in alliance with *Rome*, were ſeparated from the reſt, and brought before the generals. Upon examination, they declared, that they had taken arms with the conſent and by the orders of their magiſtrates. This alarmed *Camillus*, who thought it neceſſary to go in perſon to *Rome* with the priſoners, and lay the matter before the ſenate. During his abſence, he left the army under the command of *Furius*, who was now grown prudent by the ill ſucceſs of his late attempt. However, it was generally believed both in the camp and the city, that the general's chief buſineſs at *Rome* was to accuſe his collegue, whoſe raſh conduct had like to have deſtroyed the army. The ſenate therefore was ſurpriſed to hear him ſpeak of nothing but the revolt of the *Tuſculans*. He was charged to puniſh their defection in an exemplary manner, and allowed to chuſe which of his five collegues he pleaſed to command with him in this new expedition. Upon which they all made intereſt to attend him, in order to learn the art of war under ſo great a general. But the generous *Camillus*, to the great ſurprize both of the ſenate and army, preferred *Furius* to all the reſt, being more deſirous to conceal the ſhame of one who had perſonally affronted him, than to purſue the dictates of revenge. An inſtance of moderation, which gained him no leſs eſteem and veneration than all his victories. The two generals began their march; and either the artifice of thoſe faithleſs allies, or their true repentance, gave the wiſe *Camillus* a freſh opportunity of ſignalizing his moderation. For when he entered their territories, he found the huſbandmen at work in the fields, as in times of the profoundeſt peace, the magiſtrates of the city ſent him proviſions, and came out to meet him. When he entered the city, he found the citizens with their wives and children walking about the ſtreets, without betraying the leaſt fear or ſurprize. The ſchools and ſhops were open, the markets full, and not the leaſt ſign of war. The general, pleaſed to find the *Tuſculans* returned to their duty, aſſembled the chief men of their republic, and, having told them that they had found out the true ſecret of

A remarkable proof of moderation in Camillus.

diſarming

diſarming the reſentment of the *Romans*, adviſed them to ſend a deputation to *Rome*, and apply to the ſenate, who were the proper judges, whether their preſent conduct was a ſufficient atonement for their paſt defection. Deputies were accordingly diſpatched, who, habited in mourning and with their dictator at their head, addreſſed the conſcript fathers in a ſuppliant manner. The ſenate readily forgave them, and ſoon after even granted them the privileges of *Roman* citizens (Q). Thus ended the ſixth military tribuneſhip of the incomparable *Camillus* [q].

THE military tribunes choſen to ſucceed him and his colleagues were, *L. Valerius*, *P. Valerius*, *L. Menenius*, *C. Sergius*, *Sp. Papirius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*, whoſe adminiſtration was diſturbed by domeſtic ſeditions and a foreign war. *Sp. Poſthumius*, one of the cenſors, died; whereupon the other laid down his office, as the law directed, and the *Romans* proceeded to a new election. But as the patricians were afraid of a cenſus, which muſt of courſe diſcover their riches and exceſſive uſury, they pretended, that there was ſome defect in the election, and thence took occaſion to declare, that it was againſt the will of the gods that *Rome* ſhould have any cenſors that year. On the other hand, the tribunes of the

[q] PLUT. in Camillo. LIV. l. vi. c. 26.

(Q) He only was a *Roman* citizen, in the moſt extenſive ſignification of the expreſſion, who had a right of having a houſe in *Rome*, of giving his ſuffrage in the comitia, and of ſtanding candidate for any office; and conſequently, who was incorporated into one of the tribes. The freed-men did not enjoy all theſe privileges, for in the times of the republic they were excluded from dignities. The municipal towns and *Roman* colonies enjoyed the right of citizenſhip, which had ſometimes more, ſometimes fewer, privileges annexed to it. The municipal cities enjoyed this privilege by a particular grant from the ſenate and people, without being obliged to change their own form of government. But there was this difference between them, that ſome of them could, others could not, either give their votes, or ſtand candidates for offices. This account of the municipia, and the difference between them, is agreeable to *Livy*, who tells us, that the inhabitants of *Cære* were made *municipes* with the right of ſuffrage; and elſewhere ſpeaking of *Fundi* and *Formiæ*, ſays, that theſe two cities did not obtain the right of ſuffrage, without much application, though they had already the right of citizenſhip. As for the *Roman* colonies, they enjoyed more or fewer privileges and exemptions peculiar to *Roman* citizens, in proportion to their fidelity, and the ſervices they rendered the republic.

people

people uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring on a new election of cenſors as ſoon as poſſible. This occaſioned great diſturbances, during which the *Præneſtins* entered the *Roman* territory, and advanced to the very gates of the city. However, the tribunes would ſuffer no levies to be made, till the ſenate had recourſe to the uſual expedient in great extremities.

Titus Quinctius *dictator.*

Titus Quinctius was in all haſte nominated dictator, and he appointed *A. Sempronius* to be his general of horſe. The *Præneſtins* no ſooner underſtood that *Rome* had created a dictator, but they removed farther off, and troops were raiſed in the city without oppoſition. The enemy, hoping that the banks of the *Allia* would prove always unlucky for the *Romans*, encamped there. But their hopes proved vain, the dictator purſued them, and gave them a total overthrow. They fled to *Præneſte*, but the dictator coming up with them, before they reached that place, defeated them in a ſecond engagement, took all their ſtrong holds in a few days, and then appeared before *Præneſte* itſelf, which capitulated. *Quinctius*, having thus reduced the enemy, returned to *Rome*, and brought with him from *Præneſte* the ſtatue of *Jupiter Imperator*, which, as an eternal monument of his glory, was placed in the capitol between *Jupiter Capitolinus* and *Minerva*. The dictator entered *Rome* in triumph, and then laid down his office, which had laſted but twenty five days [r].

Defeats the Præneſtini, and takes Præneſte.

Three military tribunes choſen out of the people.

The complaints of the inſolvent debtors, which ſtill continued, occaſioned this year an alteration in the government. Whether the aſſembled centuries divided the military tribuneſhip between the patricians and plebeians of their own accord, or by conſtraint, is uncertain; but we are told by all the antients, that three military tribunes were choſen out of the nobility, and three out of the people. The patricians were, *P. Manlius*, *C. Manlius*, and *L. Julius*; the plebeians, *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinius*, and *L. Antiſtius*. *Diodorus Siculus* reckons up eight military tribunes for this year, as he did for the preceding; but herein he is as much miſtaken, as he is in changing *Caius Sextilius*'s name into that of *Caius Sextius*. The two *Manlii*, without drawing lots, were appointed to command the army againſt the *Volſci*; but *Rome* had ſoon occaſion to repent of the choice ſhe had made, for the two tribunes having divided their army and incamped near each other, they ſent out their cavalry to forage, without being well acquainted with the country. The enemy did not think proper to intercept, as they might, the foragers, but by a ſtratagem found means to draw the whole *Roman*

[r] Liv. l. vi. c. 29.

army

army into an ambuſcade. They ſent to the *Roman* camps a *Latin* ſoldier, diſguiſed like a *Roman*, to acquaint the generals, that their foragers were ſurrounded by the enemy, and muſt be inevitably cut off, if not relieved without delay. This was giving a general alarm; the two commanders, without ſo much as thinking of detaining the meſſenger who brought this falſe news, marched out of their camps with precipitation and in diſorder, hurrying their troops into narrow paſſes, where the *Volſci* lay in wait for them. The *Romans*, though in diſorder, fought with incredible bravery, and were by their deſperate courage alone preſerved from total deſtruction. But while they were wholly intent on defending themſelves againſt one body of the enemy's forces, the other took and plundered the two *Roman* camps without reſiſtance. The ill conduct of the *Manlii* made the ſenate deliberate, whether a dictator ſhould be nominated; but the enemy attempting nothing farther, it was reſolved to recal the army and its commanders. During theſe misfortunes abroad, a profound peace reigned at home, which, no doubt, was owing to the ſhare the plebeians had in the government.

The Roman *camp taken and plundered by the* Volſci.

THE enſuing year, the centuries choſe only patricians, viz. *Sp. Furius*, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Licinius*, *P. Clælius*, *M. Horatius*, and *L. Geganius*. The people therefore renewed their antient complaints, and, in order to free themſelves from the oppreſſions of the rich, got at length two cenſors choſen, *Servilius Priſcus* and *Clælius Siculus*, who took an exact account of the people and their effects, and concluded the cenſus with a luſtrum, which the *Faſti Capitolini* call the nineteenth from its inſtitution. So that nothing now remained for the cenſors to do, but to put an end to the diſputes between the patricians and plebeians, by relieving the poor debtors, who were oppreſſed by the exceſſive uſury of their avaricious creditors. But, in the mean time, news being brought to *Rome*, that the *Volſci* had entered the *Roman* territory, and were committing ravages there, the cenſors ſuſpended this work, under pretence, that it was of more conſequence to the ſtate to guard againſt hoſtilities abroad, than diſſenſions at home. But the tribunes of the people purſued their point, and, playing their uſual game, oppoſed the levies; ſo that the ſenate was obliged to iſſue a decree, that no perſon ſhould be diſturbed for debt, or even the payment of the uſual taxes, during the campaign. The levies were then made without oppoſition, and two armies raiſed, which marching by different ways into the country of the *Volſci*, laid it waſte, and returned to *Rome* with an immenſe booty, the

The country of the Volſci laid waſte.

enemy not daring to appear in the field. The patricians no sooner found themselves free from the terror of a foreign war, but they cited their debtors to appear before the judges as usual, the tribunes of the people not being able to lend them any assistance, so long as peace continued abroad.

THE following year, the centuries chose six patrician military tribunes, viz. *L. Æmilius, S. Sulpicius, P. Valerius, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, C. Veturius,* and *C. Quinctius.* During their administration, the *Latins* and *Volsci*, entering into a new confederacy against the republic, took the field and incamped near *Satricum.* It is surprising, that the tribunes of the people should not lay hold of the opportunity, which the discontents and complaints of the debtors gave them, to oppose the raising of troops. The patricians had in all likelihood at this time the ascendant over the plebeians; for three armies were raised without the least opposition; one to guard the walls; another to be ready to march on the first notice; and the third, which was the most numerous, to attack the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Satricum*, under the command of *P. Valerius* and *L. Æmilius.* These two generals found the *Latins* and *Volsci* advantageously posted; but nevertheless did not delay giving them battle, which lasted till it was interrupted by so violent a rain, that neither party could keep the field. It was renewed next day, and at first with pretty equal success on both sides, the *Latins*, who had been long in alliance with the *Romans*, having learnt of them the art of war. At length the *Latin* battalions were broke and put in disorder by the *Roman* cavalry, which occasioned the defeat of the whole confederate army. The fugitives retired in great disorder, first to *Satricum*, about two miles from the field of battle, and from thence to *Antium*, with a design to secure themselves in that city. But the *Antiates*, not thinking their city to be in a condition to hold out a long siege, were for surrendering to the *Romans* on honourable terms. The rest of the *Volsci*, being also weary of the war, expressed an inclination to peace. Hereupon the *Latins*, obstinately bent upon pursuing the war, separated from them in a great rage, which they vented upon *Satricum*, though belonging to the *Volsci*, and the very place which had served them for a retreat after their overthrow. They reduced the place to ashes, sparing only a temple of the goddess *Matuta*, whom the *Greeks*, as *Plutarch* informs us, worshipped under the name of *Leucothea*, or *Ino*, the daughter of *Cadmus*. From *Satricum* they marched into the country of the *Tusculans*, surprised their city, and put all the inhabitants they met with to the sword, for having renounced the *Latin* confederacy,

The Latins *and* Volsci *defeated.*

racy, and accepted the privileges of *Roman* citizens. Great numbers of the *Tuſculans* retired with their wives and children into the citadel, and from thence ſent to acquaint the *Romans* with their misfortune and ſurprize. Hereupon an army, which had been kept ready againſt any unforeſeen accident, was immediately ſent to their relief, under the command of *L. Quinctius* and *Ser. Sulpicius*, two of the military tribunes, who took the place by aſſault, and put all the *Latins* within the walls of *Tuſculum* to the ſword, not one of them eſcaping. The tribunes, having thus recovered the city, led back their army to *Rome* [r].

THE peace concluded with the *Antiates* and the defeat of the *Latins* gave the republic an interval of reſt from foreign wars. But at home the avarice of the patricians increaſed the miſery of the poorer ſort of people. As all the debtors were preſſed to pay their debts at the ſame time, one friend could not aſſiſt the other; ſo that moſt of them, becoming inſolvent, were delivered up to their creditors and reduced to ſlavery; which melancholy ſcene ſo depreſſed the ſpirits, not only of the meaner plebeians, but even of the moſt conſiderable of that order, that, far from ſtanding in competition with the nobles for the military tribuneſhip, they even neglected to ſue for the plebeian magiſtrates. Inſomuch, that the patricians ſeemed to have engroſſed to themſelves for ever the whole adminiſtration of public affairs. But at this very criſis a trifling accident gave the plebeians an opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke they groaned under, of raiſing their drooping ſpirits, and carrying their pretenſions higher than ever. *Fabius Ambuſtus*, an illuſtrious patrician but very popular, had two daughters, of whom the elder was married to *Ser. Sulpicius*, a patrician and at this time military tribune; the younger to *Licinius Stolo*, a rich plebeian. It happened, that while the younger ſiſter was paying a viſit to the elder, *Sulpicius* came home from the forum, where he had been diſcharging the duties of his office, attended by a croud of clients and by the lictors, who thundering at the door with the ſtaff of the faſces, as was uſual, gave notice that the magiſtrate was coming. This noiſe, to which the wife of *Licinius* was not accuſtomed, put her into a fright, which her ſiſter taking notice of, could not forbear laughing at her, ſeeming much to wonder at her ignorance. This laughing, how innocent ſoever, was conſtrued by the younger ſiſter as an inſult upon her, on account of the ignoble family into

The lower ſort of people oppreſſed by the rich.

The vanity of a woman ſets three citizens at work to raiſe the fortune of the plebeians.

[r] Liv. l. vi. c. 32.

which ſhe was married. This imaginary affront greatly provoked her, and her uneaſineſs was increaſed by the croud of people, that came to pay their court to her ſiſter, and receive her commands. Her father happening to ſee her, and perceiving by her countenance that ſomething troubled her, kindly asked what it was, and whether all was well at home. At firſt he could get no ſatisfactory anſwer from her, but at length prevailed upon her with ſoft words to diſcloſe the ſecret: You have married me, ſaid ſhe, into a family, which is excluded from enjoying the chief honours of the republic. What a vaſt difference is there between my ſiſter's condition and mine? Her father, who was very fond of her, did all that lay in his power to comfort her; Don't be uneaſy, ſaid he; you ſhall ſoon ſee as much ſtate at your own houſe, as you was ſurpriſed to find at your ſiſter's. From this time he entered into an aſſociation with *Licinius*, his ſon-in-law, and *L. Sextius*, a young plebeian of extraordinary parts, who wanted nothing but a nobler birth to qualify him for the higheſt offices of the republic. Their deſign was to aboliſh the military tribuneſhip, reſtore the conſulſhip, procure for the plebeians a ſhare in that ſupreme dignity, and, in ſhort, to put the patricians and plebeians upon an equal foot. To compaſs this deſign, it was thought expedient that *Licinius* and *Sextius* ſhould begin, by getting the plebeian tribuneſhip for the next year, which would enable them to pave themſelves a way to the higheſt dignities. The two candidates were accordingly admitted; and having carried that firſt point, they immediately bent all their thoughts and power to deſtroy the grandeur of the patricians, and promote the intereſt of the people. The firſt ſtep they took was, to propoſe a law for ſuppreſſing the military tribuneſhip, reſtoring the conſulate, and requiring, that of the two conſuls to be annually choſen, one ſhould always be a plebeian. In order to engage the people to paſs this law, they added two others to it relating to debts and conquered lands. The firſt was this; let the intereſt already paid be reckoned as a diſcharge of ſo much of the principal; and let the remainder of it be paid at different equal payments. The ſecond reſtrained any *Roman* citizen from poſſeſſing more than five hundred acres of land. Whatever lands any one held beyond that reſtriction were to be taken from him, and divided among the poorer citizens. The patricians, alarmed and terrified, frequently met in order to deliberate on the moſt proper means to avert the impending evil; but could fix upon no other, except that of dividing the tribunes of the people, and engaging one part of the college to oppoſe the attempts of the other. Accordingly, they gained

ed over the other eight: *Licinius* and *Sextius* aſſembled the tribes ſeveral times, in order to get their law paſſed; but were always oppoſed by their collegues, who, as ſoon as the law began to be read, never failed to cry out, *We proteſt against it.* Theſe proteſts of one part of the tribunes againſt the other were often repeated at different comitia; inſomuch, that the two popular tribunes were not able to get their laws heard by the people. Being therefore at length tired with ſuch frequent diſturbances and interruptions, they reſolved to proteſt in their turns. Very well, ſaid *Sextius* to his collegues, ſince you are ſo delighted with hearing the word *Veto, I forbid* or *proteſt*, we ſhall ſoon find occaſion to repeat it too, and to the advantage of the people. Accordingly, when the centuries aſſembled to elect military tribunes for the next year, *Sextius* and *Licinius* cried out in their turns, *We proteſt againſt it*, which put a ſtop to all proceedings. As theſe two were continued in the plebeian tribuneſhip, they renewed the ſame oppoſition for five years ſucceſſively; ſo that the republic fell into a kind of anarchy, none but plebeian officers being elected, that is, tribunes and ædiles. Thus the patricians were intirely excluded from the government; and this interminion of ſuperior magiſtrates placed *Licinius* and *Sextius*, who were at the head of the tribunes of the people, in ſome degree at the head of the republic. So that *Fabius*'s promiſe to his daughter may be ſaid to have been peformed from this time.

IN the ſixth year, *Licinius* and *Sextius* were juſt elected tribunes of the people a ſixth time, when the inhabitants of *Velitræ* declared war againſt *Rome*, over-ran the lands of the republic, and even laid ſiege to the city of *Tuſculum*. As the *Tuſculans* had been long allies, and lately admitted citizens of *Rome*, *Sextius* and *Licinius*, aſhamed to refuſe them aſſiſtance, waved their oppoſition, and ſuffered an aſſembly to be held by an inter- rex for electing military tribunes. Six patricians were choſen, *viz. L. Furius, P. Valerius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, C. Valerius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*. Theſe, having made the neceſſary levies, marched againſt the enemy, defeated them, raiſed the ſiege of *Tuſculum*, and inveſted *Velitræ*. But as the generals, who began the ſiege, could not make themſelves maſters of the place before their year expired, ſix new military tribunes were created, without the leaſt oppoſition, to purſue the war with the *Veliterni*, till their city was reduced. It happened very unfortunately for the patricians, that *Fabius Ambuſtus*, the father-in-law of *Licinius Stolo*, was choſen military tribune. His five collegues were, *Q. Servilius, M. Cornelius, C. Veturius, Q. Quinctius*, and *A. Cornelius*.

The Veliterni *defeated.*

Cornelius. The promotion of *Fabius* incouraged the tribunes to purſue their point with more vigour than ever. They found means to gain over three of their collegues; ſo that of the ten tribunes five were now for the publication of the laws, and five againſt it. *Licinius* and *Sextius* were now the eighth year in office; and as they were by long habit thoroughly practiſed in the art of managing the people, they held frequent aſſemblies, and, in the preſence of the multitude, asked the patricians the following queſtions; Whether they did not think it unreaſonable, that they ſhould poſſeſs above five hundred acres of land, whilſt a great number of the plebeians had ſcarce ground enough whereon to build themſelves a ſmall habitation to live in, or a ſepulchre for their family? How can you, patricians, ſaid they, even in point of intereſt, account for your making your miſerable debtors languiſh in chains, and abſolutely putting it out of their power to pay you, by keeping them in priſon? And yet what is more common than to ſee theſe wretched citizens delivered up into the hands of their creditors by your courts of juſtice? Are not the houſes of the patricians become ſo many priſons? When they perceived that theſe inquiries made a great impreſſion on the minds of the people, they immediately added, and what remedy can be provided againſt theſe misfortunes? Since our tribunes are not able to protect us, we muſt introduce ſome of the plebeians into the higheſt offices. Nor will it be ſufficient that plebeians be qualified by law to be conſuls. Was not the number of military tribunes increaſed, on purpoſe that the plebeians might have a ſhare in that magiſtracy; and yet how few have been raiſed to it? And how much eaſier will it be for the patricians, when there are but two places to be filled, to ſecure them both to themſelves? It is therefore neceſſary, that a law be paſſed, laying *Rome* under a neceſſity of chuſing one of her ſupreme governors out of the people. From that very day, and not till then, may the *Roman* people be deemed to have baniſhed kings from *Rome*, and eſtabliſhed liberty on a laſting baſis. When the tribunes found that the people liſtened to theſe diſcourſes with great pleaſure, they added a fourth law to the three already mentioned, importing, that decemviri ſhould be elected inſtead of duumviri, to preſerve and interpret the *Sybilline* books, and that five of them ſhould be always plebeians. However, all proceedings on this, as well as on the other regulations, were ſuſpended, till the reduction of *Velitræ*, that the ſoldiers employed in that ſiege, who made ſo great a part of the people, might not be excluded

excluded from giving their votes, when ſuch important innovations were on foot.

THE year expiring before the return of the army, for the ſiege went on but ſlowly, the republic choſe ſix new military tribunes, *viz. L. Quinctius, Sp. Servilius, Serv. Cornelius, L. Papirius, Serv. Sulpicius* and *L. Veturius.* As for the tribunes of the people, *Licinius* and *Sextius* were ſtill continued in their employment, the people being eager to have theſe two oppoſers of the patrician party carry on their deſigns and complete them. The *Roman* army was no ſooner returned from the ſiege of *Velitræ*, than *Licinius* and *Sextius* ſummoned the people once more, declaring, that they would proceed to the publication of the laws, without any regard to the oppoſition of their collegues. The patricians, ſeeing their caſe deſperate, had recourſe to the laſt refuge, which was to nominate a dictator. The man, who ſeemed moſt proper to ſit at the helm of affairs in ſo tempeſtuous a ſeaſon, was *Camillus*, and accordingly the fathers with unanimous conſent raiſed him to that dignity the fourth time. *Camillus* was not very forward to accept the charge, being unwilling to quarrel with thoſe very men, whoſe valour he had ſo often employed in war. As affairs then ſtood, he could expect nothing, but either to diſoblige the commons, if he ſucceeded, or to contribute to the ruin of his party, if he did not. However, that zealous patriot did not refuſe to aſſiſt his country, when it ſo much ſtood in need of his authority. From the day he was nominated dictator, the power of the tribunes of the people ought to have been ſuſpended. But *Licinius* and *Sextius*, without paying any regard to the dictator, continued ſtill to aſſemble the people, who being met in the forum on the day appointed, the four laws were read to them. The tribes had already begun to give their ſuffrages in order, and the firſt tribe had actually voted in favour of the laws, when the dictator, full of anger and indignation, and attended by a great body of patricians, repaired to the aſſembly, and there ſeated himſelf in his tribunal. As the tribunes were divided among themſelves, ſome declaring for the laws, and others proteſting againſt them, the dictator riſing up declared, that he was come to ſupport the privileges of the people, and that he would never ſuffer one part of the tribunes to deprive the other of their right of oppoſition. The two heads of the tribunes laughed at this artful ſpeech, and, purſuing their meaſures with great ſteadineſs, continued to take the ſuffrages of the people, which ſo provoked *Camillus*, that he ordered his lictors to drive away the tribes from their reſpective places, threatening at the ſame time,

Camillus *dictator.*

time, that if they did not diſperſe immediately, he would aſſemble them in the *campus Martius*, inliſt them, and make them march into the field without delay. On the other hand, the tribunes, to encourage the people, had the boldneſs to threaten the dictator, that, as ſoon as his dictatorſhip was expired, they would get him condemned in a fine of fifty thouſand drachmæ, if he prevented the people from giving their ſuffrages. However, the tribes, terrified at the menaces of a magiſtrate, who had power of life and death, retired, and the comitia were poſtponed to another day. But *Camillus*, ſeeing the people too much inraged to be brought to any terms, either by authority or perſuaſion, withdrew to his own houſe, and ſoon after laid down his office. Some authors are of opinion, that, remembering his exile, he was intimidated by the threatenings of the tribunes, and did not care to venture himſelf again in an affair of ſo much heat. But *Livy* tells us, that he was informed there had been ſome defect in the ceremony of taking the auſpices, when he was created dictator, and that on this account he would not, as he was very ſcrupulous in theſe matters, retain a dignity conferred upon him contrary to the laws of his religion. The ſenate, after a ſhort inter-regnum, named *P. Manlius* to ſucceed *Camillus*. *Manlius* preſently diſcovered himſelf to be a great favourer of the people; for the firſt thing he did was, to name a plebeian, *C. Licinius*, not *Licinius* the ſon-in-law of *Fabius*, for his general of the horſe. *Sextius* and *Licinius* no longer doubted, but they ſhould be able to bring their deſigns to a happy concluſion, under the adminiſtration of a dictator who favoured them, and the protection of his general of horſe, provided they could get themſelves continued in the tribuneſhip. In order to this, they pretended, that they would no longer ſerve, repreſenting to the people, that they were grown old in the tribuneſhip to no purpoſe, and that, after ſtruggling nine years with the ſenate for the good of the people, the only recompence they had met with was neglect and ingratitude. Shall our laws, ſaid they, wholly tend to your benefit, and we receive no manner of advantage from them ourſelves? Is it conſiſtent with modeſty, for you to aſk great advantages by our means, while you reſolve to leave us without honour, or even the hopes of honour? To be plain then, the laws we have propoſed are inſeparable. If you are reſolved to paſs them conjointly, then continue us in the tribuneſhip. We ſhall in that caſe make uſe of the authority you ſhall inveſt us with, to finiſh the work we have begun. But if you are determined to paſs thoſe laws, which concern uſury and the conquered lands, without any regard to our intereſt, we will accept of the tribuneſhip

Lays down his office.

tribuneſhip no longer; and be aſſured, that you ſhall not obtain your deſires. The people were very earneſt to paſs the laws concerning the debts and conquered lands; but as to the other two laws, relating to the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſulate, on condition that one of the conſuls ſhould always be a plebeian, and the changing of the duumviri into decemviri, the people did not give themſelves much concern about them, being well appriſed, that the endeavours of the tribunes, to open a way for the plebeians to arrive at the conſulate, were chiefly intended for their own private intereſt. The tribunes therefore would not by any means ſuffer the laws to be propoſed ſeparately. *Appius Claudius*, grandſon to the famous decemvir, made a long ſpeech, full of invectives againſt the two tribunes, expatiating on the inſolence of the declaration they had made, *viz.* that the people ſhould not be allowed to paſs ſuch laws as they approved, unleſs they would at the ſame time paſs others which they did not approve. But, notwithſtanding his harangue, the two tribunes were choſen the tenth time, the multitude being afraid of loſing ſuch able and zealous defenders. Not long after their re-election, they obtained the paſſing of that law, which related to the care of the *Sibylline* books. This advantage contented the people for the preſent; and ſix military tribunes, all patricians, were created for the next year without the leaſt diſturbance, viz. *A. Cornelius*, *L. Veturius*, *M. Cornelius*, *P. Valerius*, *M. Geganius*, and *P. Manlius*. In the very beginning of their adminiſtration, the tribunes uſed their utmoſt efforts to get the other laws paſſed, and the debates were carried to ſuch a height on both ſides, that the citizens were upon the point of taking up arms againſt each other, when news was brought to *Rome*, that a numerous army of *Gauls* was in full march from the coaſts of the *Adriatic*, with a deſign to revenge the defeat of their countrymen. The approach of ſo dreadful an enemy ſuſpended the diviſions of the commonwealth. The common danger united both patricians and plebeians, and prompted them to name a dictator. The great *Camillus* was raiſed to this dignity the fifth time. He was indeed now fourſcore years old, and had very lately laid down the dictatorſhip before the uſual time. But nevertheleſs, his zeal for the welfare of his country induced him to ſacrifice the remaining part of his life to the public good. He did not now plead infirmity, as he formerly had done, to decline the charge, but readily undertook it; and, having made the neceſſary levies, marched out of *Rome* with all the vivacity of a young man, after he had named *T. Quinctius* to be his general of the horſe. As ſoon as he came near

Camillus *dictator for the fifth time.*

the camp of the *Gauls*, which was on the banks of the *Anio*, he posted the smallest part of his army upon a hill of easy ascent, and concealed the rest in the vallies, and behind the rocks. The poor appearance of the *Roman* troops made the *Gauls* so confident, that they pillaged the country quite up to his very trenches, which *Camillus*, in order to increase their confidence, suffered them to do for several days together, keeping himself quiet within his camp, which was well fortified on all sides. At length, perceiving that a great part of the enemy were scattered in the country to pillage, and being informed, that those who remained in the camp, did nothing night and day but drink and revel, he ordered his light-armed men to march in the night-time into the plain, and to prevent the enemy from drawing up in order of battle, when they should first sally out of their camp. Early in the morning he marched down the hill with his main body, and drew them up in battalia. The *Gauls* hastened out of their trenches, but the light-armed *Romans*, falling upon them before they could range themselves in their usual order, obliged them to begin the fight in confusion. In the mean time, *Camillus* charged them with his heavy-armed legions, and made such a slaughter in the foremost ranks, that the rest fled and dispersed themselves over the champain country, the *Romans* being possessed of the hills. Those who escaped the pursuit of the conquerors, fled into *Apulia*. Some writers are of opinion, that from this time the *Gauls* began to spread themselves into *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, and *Asia Minor*. After this victory the dictator led his victorious army against *Velitræ*, the siege of which city had been interrupted. But the *Veliterni* submitted to him without making the least resistance; he returned therefore to *Rome*, where the honours of a triumph were decreed him both by the senate and people [t].

Defeats the Gauls on the banks of the Anio.

But the republic was in too great a ferment for the senate to consent to his abdicating the dictatorship. The patricians thought, that, under the shelter of his great name and absolute authority, they should be better able to contend with their adversaries. For the people, proud of their late victory, were more obstinately bent than ever on passing the laws so long disputed. *Sextius* and *Licinius*, seeing themselves backed and supported by the multitude, grew more audacious than ever, and took a most extraordinary step to effect their purpose. As the dictator was one day sitting on his tribunal in the forum, an officer, sent by those tribunes, commanded him to rise and

The tribunes send an officer to seize Camillus, *though dictator.*

[t] Plut. in Camillo. Liv. l. vi. c 40. 41.

follow

follow him, laying his hand upon him at the same time, as if he designed to seize him and carry him away by force. Hereupon such a noise and tumult arose in the forum, as never had been heard before, the patricians, who attended *Camillus*, driving back the officer, and the multitude at the foot of the tribunal crying out, *Pull him down*; *pull him down*. The tribunes design was by this violence to frighten *Camillus* into an abdication; but he, though at a loss what to do in this exigence, would not lay down the authority, which had been legally conferred upon him. In the midst of this uproar, he took refuge in the senate-house, whither the patricians followed him; and there the pretensions of the people and their tribunes were taken into consideration. On this occasion *Camillus* made a vow to build a temple to *Concord*, in case he succeeded in quieting these commotions. As the populace could not be prevailed upon by any means to abate of their pretensions, it was resolved, after many long and warm debates, to comply with their request, and to accept the three laws in question, as the only means to extinguish their obstinate fury. Thus the government was changed, the consulate revived, and the military tribuneship laid aside for ever [u].

THE people having thus carried their point, the comitia were held for the election of consuls, when *L. Æmilius Mamercinus* and *L. Sextius*, the plebeian tribune, were raised to that dignity. However, when the election of *Sextius* came to be confirmed by the senate, the conscript fathers absolutely refused to consent to it. The new disputes between the two parties on this occasion were carried to so great a length, that the people were ready to leave *Rome*, and separate themselves from the patricians, as they had formerly done. All the wisdom of a dictator universally esteemed was therefore necessary to bring about an accommodation; and *Camillus* found out an expedient to which both parties agreed. The consuls, and military tribunes, who long supplied their places, were generals of the *Roman* armies, and at the same time judges of civil affairs; but as they could not always attend to the latter branch of their office, being commonly during the summer in the field, *Camillus*'s expedient was to separate this function from the consulate, and to create a judge, with the title of *Prætor*, to whom it should be appropriated. He advised the senate to suffer one consul to be chosen annually out of the plebeians, on condition that the prætors should be always patricians. This motion was agreed to by both parties, the

The first plebeian consul. Year of the Flood, 2637. Before Christ 362. *Of* Rome 386.

[u] PLUT. ibid. LIV. l. vi. c. 41.

election of *Sextius* was confirmed, and all feuds and diſſenſions in the republic laid aſide (R).

The great games.

TRANQUILLITY being thus re-eſtabliſhed, the ſenate, in gratitude to the gods, ordered the great games to be celebrated. Theſe ſhews formerly laſted only three days; but now a fourth was added to them; and on that account their name was changed from *ludi magni*, or *great games*, into that of *ludi maximi*, or *the greateſt games.* The preſent ædiles refuſed, for what reaſon we know not, to make the neceſſary preparations for the great games, tho' that was a branch of their office. Hereupon the young patricians cried out, That, ſince the affair in queſtion was to take care of the worſhip of the gods, they ſhould think it no diſhonour to be choſen ædiles. The dictator accepted the offer, and propoſed to the people the eſtabliſhing of two patrician ædileſhips, which they agreed to. Theſe patrician ædiles, from the ivory chair, called *ſella curulis*, had the name of *ædiles curules*, and were of greater

The curule ædiles.

(R) The prætorſhip was then looked upon as the ſecond dignity in the republic, the prætor being elected in the comitia by centuries, and under the ſame auſpices as the conſuls; ſo that they were in a manner collegues. The conſul had the management of political and military affairs. The prætor was the chief magiſtrate concerned in the adminiſtration of juſtice. Before the eſtabliſhment of the prætorſhip, the conſuls were called *prætors*; nay, the dictator himſelf aſſumed the title of *prætor maximus*, the word *prætor* being derived from the *Latin* verb *præire*, ſignifying *to go before*: Hence the old *Latins* called their commanders *prætores*. At firſt one prætor only was appointed. Afterwards, that is, about the year of *Rome* 501, another was added; and then one of them applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of juſtice among the citizens, with the name of *prætor urbanus*, while the other decided the differences which aroſe among foreigners, with the title of *prætor peregrinus*. Upon the taking of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, two more prætors were created to aſſiſt the conſuls in the government, and as many more upon the intire conqueſt of *Spain*. *Sylla* increaſed their number to eight; *Julius Cæſar*, firſt to ten, and afterwards to ſixteen; and the ſecond triumvirate to ſixty four. From this time we meet ſometimes with twelve prætors, and ſometimes with eighteen; but, in the declenſion of the empire, they were reduced to three. When the number of the prætors was thus increaſed, the *prætor urbanus* undertook the cognizance of private cauſes, and the others that of crimes, whence they were alſo ſtyled *Quæſtores*. Beſides theſe, there were alſo *provincial prætors*, whoſe buſineſs it was to adminiſter juſtice in the *Roman* provinces, and command the troops there in time of war, till their office, which was annual, expired.

account,

account, being curule magiſtrates, than the plebeian ædiles. Their buſineſs was to take care of the temples, theatres, games, markets, tribunals of juſtice, and the repairing of the city walls, and alſo to ſee that no novelty was introduced into religion. In after-ages they examined the fables or pieces written for the ſtage, and ſeem to have been the judges of other writings. To them the generals of armies, upon their return, delivered the corn and proviſions taken from the enemy, as they did the priſoners to the prætor, and the money to the quæſtor. Nothing now remained, but to mark out a place for the temple of *Concord*, which *Camillus* had vowed. It was built, at the expence of the public, upon an eminence at the foot of the capitol; ſo that it was ſeen from the forum, and the places where the aſſemblies were held, and juſtice was adminiſtered. Thus ended a year ſo glorious for *Camillus*. He had overcome the moſt formidable enemies of *Rome*, reſtored peace to the republic, and calmed the people, without exaſperating the nobility. Full therefore of glory and of years, he laid down the dictatorſhip, wholly bent on ſpending the ſmall remainder of his days in the repoſe and tranquillity of a private life.

The temple of Concord.

THE enſuing year all continued quiet, both at home and abroad, except that the tribunes of the people complained, and could not bear, that for one plebeian conſul granted to the people, the patricians had got three curule magiſtrates *viz.* a prætor and two ædiles. Their complaints, backed with the murmurs of the people, made an impreſſion on the ſenate; and the patricians conſented, that the curule ædiles ſhould be choſen out of the plebeians every ſecond year. Afterwards they left the people at full liberty to chuſe them every year out of either body. Theſe eſtabliſhments being once made, *Rome* enjoyed a profound peace, under the adminiſtration of the new conſuls, *L. Genucius*, a plebeian, and *Servilius Ahala*, a patrician. This year a dreadful plague broke out, which ſwept away great numbers; among the reſt one cenſor, three tribunes of the people, and one curule ædile; but the moſt fatal ſtroke of all was the death of the great *Camillus*, who was much regretted by all ranks of people. He was deſervedly ſtyled a ſecond *Romulus*, the firſt having founded, and he reſtored, the city. He is ſaid never to have fought a battle without gaining a complete victory, never to have beſieged a city without taking it, and never to have led an army into the field, which he did not bring back loaded both with glory and booty. He was a zealous patriot, and, though perſecuted by his ungrateful country, would

Death of Camillus.

would never hearken to his juſt reſentments. The neceſſities of the public no ſooner obliged the people to have recourſe to him, than, forgetting the affronts he had received, he took upon him the conduct of the moſt difficult and laborious undertakings. He was a patrician by deſcent; but not actuated by party-zeal, his love for the public being the only rule of his conduct. He favoured the plebeians, when the intereſt of the public required him to do ſo, but without flattery or ſelf-intereſt. He had nothing in view but to do every one juſtice, and put an end to the diſſenſions which weakened the republic; ſo that he left his country in the enjoyment of perfect tranquillity at his death, by means of the equality he had wiſely introduced, and the juſt balance he had ſettled between all orders of men in the republic. In ſhort, *Rome* may be ſaid to have furniſhed the world with many noble patterns of probity; but none perhaps more perfect than that of the incomparable *Camillus*.

The *Roman* republic, at the time of *Camillus's* death, had ſcarce gained any increaſe of territory, except on the other ſide of the *Tiber*, in the country of the *Hetrurians*; nor did her juriſdiction even there reach far beyond *Veii* and *Cære*; ſo that it was confined within ſix or ſeven leagues of the capital. Ever ſince the taking and ſacking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, her allies had been continually wavering in their fidelity. The eternal jealouſies between the nobility and people retarded their conqueſts, and revived the hopes of the nations they had conquered. The tribunes of the people were ever oppoſing the enterprizes of the conſuls or military tribunes. The ſenate had often recourſe to a dictator, and then the experience and valour of the *Roman* troops madethem victorious; but the return of domeſtic ſeditions gave the people, whom they had conquered, an opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke. Thus were the *Romans*, without interruption, running in the ſame round of wars againſt the ſame enemies, without reaping any advantage from their conqueſts. Such was the ſtate of *Rome*, when *C. Sulpicius* and *C. Licinius Stolo* were raiſed to the conſulate. The firſt was a patrician, and the latter the famous plebeian tribune, ſon-in-law to *Fabius*, who, jointly with his collegue *Sextius*, had firſt contrived the four laws, then maintained them, and at length, in the ten years he had been tribune, obtained the publication of them. And now the promiſe which *Fabius* had made to his younger daughter, that ſhe ſhould ſee the ſame honours paid to her huſband, which ſhe had beheld with envy paid to the huſband of her elder ſiſter, was fulfilled. She had the plea-

ſure

ſure to ſee for a whole year the lictors with their faſces march before her huſband, and to have her houſe adorned with thoſe enſigns of the ſupreme power and authority.

As the plague ſtill continued to rage, the *Romans* had recourſe to an old ſuperſtition called *lectiſternium*. This was a religious entertainment made for the gods in their own temples, where tables were ſpread, and beds placed round them, on which the gods, according to the *Roman* faſhion, were to lie, and eat. The beds were placed near the altars, and ſtrewed with leaves and odoriferous herbs, as well as the temples; whence this ceremony had the name of *lectiſternium*, that is, *a ſtrewing of a bed*. The ſtatues of *Jupiter* and the other gods were laid upon theſe beds, as if they had been to partake of the feaſt. The goddeſſes were placed on chairs, after the manner of the *Roman* women, this being thought the more decent poſture for their ſex; but, as the ceremony of the *lectiſternium* did not remove the plague, the ſuperſtitious *Romans* endeavoured to appeaſe the anger of the gods, by inſtituting new ſports, which were called *ſcenici*, from their being repreſented on *a ſcene*, that is, a ſtage built in the *ſhade*. The performers were brought out of *Hetruria*, in the language of which country *hiſter* ſignified *a player*; whence came the *Latin* word *hiſtrio*. Theſe *hiſtriones* or *actors* danced to the flute, and kept time with their motions and geſtures; but their dances, in theſe early times, were not accompanied by any verſes or diſcourſes. Afterwards the *Roman* youth imitated theſe foreign dances, and mixed ſuch jokes and raillery with them, as were ſuitable to the geſtures and poſtures they mimicked. This mixture of dances and merry verſes was very agreeable to the people, which prompted ſome to undertake the compoſing of verſes for the ſtage; but the firſt ſpeakers fell into the corrupt taſte of the *Feſcennini*, a people of *Hetruria*, who threw rude and unpremeditated jokes at one another, without any order or regularity. Theſe were ſoon ſucceeded by ſatires, written in verſe, and ſet to the flute; which ſatires were repeated with ſuitable geſtures. Some years after, *Livius Andronicus* turned the ſatires into regular plays; and then the farces, which had made people laugh, were deſpiſed (S).

The lectiſternium.

The ſcenic ſhews.

THE

(S) However, the *Roman* youth revived theſe farces, and acted them at the end of their ſerious pieces. When the profeſſed actors had finiſhed their parts, ſome young *Romans* came upon the ſtage maſqued, and began to repeat merry verſes as formerly, but ſuch

THE ſcenic plays, which were introduced at this time, were performed in a part of the *circus*, near the banks of the *Tiber*, which happening to overflow, the people concluded, that the new remedy was not efficacious to appeaſe the wrath of heaven. They therefore revived an old religious ceremo-

ſuch as were free from obſcenity. Theſe pieces were firſt brought from *Atella*, a city of *Campania*, and called *exodia*, that is, *verſes not belonging to the play*. The *Roman* youth never ſuffered the profeſſed actors to bear any part in their *exodia*, for fear of diſhonouring them; ſo that the perſons who acted theſe pieces, were not liable to the penalties inflicted on the *hiſtriones*. Their names were not blotted out of the tribes, in which they were incorporated; nor were they excluded as infamous perſons from ſerving in war. In ſhort, they were not upon the foot of actors hired to entertain the public. The profeſſion of an actor was indeed honourable among the *Greeks*. *Æſchines* acted on the ſtage of *Athens* in his youth, and yet became one of the greateſt orators of his time, and equalled *Demoſthenes* himſelf (9). *Ariſtodemus*, tho' an actor, was ſent on an embaſſy to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, in the name of the republic of *Athens* (10). But this was not the caſe with the *Romans*. *Cornelius Nepos* ſhews us the difference in his preface, where he ſays, that in *Greece* it was no diſhonour to a man to appear upon the ſtage in the habit of an actor; whereas among the *Romans* it was infamous, and unworthy of an honeſt man. Hence *Tully* ſays of *Roſcius* the comedian, that he ſeemed to be the only man of his profeſſion who deſerved to be encouraged, and have a numerous audience, adding, that ſo mean an employment was unworthy of ſo honeſt a man, and that he deſerved a more honourable ſtation, and more ſuitable to his probity (11). The profeſſed actors could not be incorporated in any tribe, and conſequently had no right of ſuffrage. None who acted on the ſtage were capable of ſerving in the legions, or bearing any civil or military employment. A ſenator, if he acted but once on the ſtage, was immediately degraded; and a knight forfeited all his privileges. An actreſs was infamous, and ſubject to the ſame laws as common proſtitutes. Theſe puniſhments were decreed and inflicted by an edict of the prætor; *Ait prætor*, ſays *Ulpian*, *Qui in ſcenam prodierit, infamis eſt* (12). But the actors of the *Atellanæ* were not compriſed under this law, the *Roman* nobility confining the acting of theſe performances to themſelves. If any actor in theſe pieces did not perform his part well, the people did not oblige him to unmaſk, which they had a right to do with reſpect to the profeſſed actors.

(9) *Vide Demoſth. in orat. de corona apud Quinctil. l.* ii c 17. & *Plut. in vitis decem rhetor.* (10) *Cic. l* iv *de repub apud S. Auguſt. l* ii. *de civit. Dei.* (11) *Cic orat pro Quinctio.* (12) *Ulpian l.* ii *par.* 5. *ff. de iis qui infamia notantur.*

ny,

ny, which was ſaid to have proved effectual in the like calamity. This was, the driving of a nail by a dictator into that part of the wall of *Jupiter Capitolinus*'s temple, which divided it from the chapel of *Minerva* under the ſame roof. This odd ceremony was borrowed from the *Valſinienſes* in *Hetruria*, who reckoned their years by nails, which they drove into a temple of the goddeſs *Nortia* or *Fortune*. When *Brutus* and *Horatius Pulvillus* were conſuls, immediately after the expulſion of the *Tarquins*, the *Romans* built the famous temple of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, and reſolved to mark down in it, and thereby tranſmit to poſterity, the number of years, which had paſſed ſince the foundation of *Rome*; but as they were then unacquainted with the numeral letters, they drove as many nails into the wall of the temple, as there had paſſed years ſince their city was founded. Every year afterwards, on the ides of *September*, the chief prætor, or conſul for the time being, drove a nail into this wall, which ſhewed the year of his conſulſhip. *Livy* tells us, that the law which injoined this ceremony was written in antique characters and obſolete words, and fixed up in the chapel of *Minerva*, whom the *Romans* looked upon as the inventreſs of numbers. This ceremony of driving the nail was afterwards transferred from the conſuls to dictators, as magiſtrates of greater dignity and power; and, as it had been long diſcontinued, it was thought neceſſary to revive it at this time, ſome of the old people reporting, that it had formerly put a ſtop to a violent plague. A dictator was accordingly named for the performing of this ceremony, and the perſon raiſed to that dignity was *T. Manlius*, who, from his haughty ſpirit and imperious air, was ſurnamed *Imperioſus*. He choſe *L. Pinarius Natta* for his general of the horſe, and, with great pomp and ſolemnity, drove the nail into the wall of the temple; but the proud dictator, unwilling to have the whole buſineſs of his office confined to one religious ceremony, ordered troops to be raiſed, and even forced the citizens, though worn out with long ſickneſs, to inliſt themſelves, under pretence that the *Hernici* were preparing to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke; but, as he had been nominated dictator to perform a religious ceremony, and not to command an army, the tribunes of the people repelled force with force, and at length obliged him to lay down his office; which he had no ſooner done, than he was cited by *M. Pomponius*, one of the tribunes, to anſwer before the people for the violence and cruelty which he had exerciſed over the citizens; for he had impriſoned ſome, and cauſed others to be barbarouſly whipped. He was alſo accuſed of treating inhumanly one of his own ſons, by name *Titus*,

Manlius Imperioſus *dictator*.

whom he had confined to the country, obliging him to work among his ſlaves, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was of ſlow parts, and had an impediment in his ſpeech. This ſhews, that the abſolute power which fathers, by the laws of *Rome*, had over their children, was kept within bounds by the ſuperior authority of the magiſtrates. *Manlius* had, according to cuſtom, a copy of the heads of his accuſation given him, and the uſual time of three market-days, or twenty ſeven days, allowed him to prepare for his defence. All were highly exaſperated againſt ſo ſevere a dictator, and ſo barbarous a father, except the ſon himſelf, who, moved with filial piety, and under the greateſt concern, that he ſhould furniſh matter of accuſation againſt his father, reſolved upon a moſt extraordinary method to deliver him. Early in the morning he left the country-houſe, to which he had been baniſhed by his unnatural father, came to the city, and ſtopped no-where till he got to the houſe of *Pomponius*, who was yet in bed. However, *Manlius* was immediately admitted by the tribune, who did not doubt but he was come to diſcover to him ſome new inſtances of his father's ſeverity. After they had ſaluted each other, *Manlius* deſired a private conference; whereupon every body was ordered to withdraw. Then the young man, drawing out a poniard, and holding it cloſe to the tribune's throat, threatened to ſtab him that moment, if he did not ſwear to deſiſt from the proſecution he was carrying on againſt his father. *Pomponius* was ſo terrified, that he readily ſwore whatever the other was pleaſed to dictate, and, thinking himſelf obliged even to comply with an involuntary obligation, dropped the proſecution. The people was not diſpleaſed at the bold enterprize of a ſon in favour of a father, by whom he had been uſed in the baſeſt manner. They all extolled his piety, and not only, for his ſake, pardoned the father, but the ſame year raiſed him to one of the moſt important poſts in the *Roman* army, that of legionary tribune [w].

A remarkable inſtance of filial piety.

THIS year the *Hernici* revolted; but, while the *Romans* were preparing to bring them back to their duty, an unforeſeen accident threw the city into the utmoſt conſternation. The earth opened all on a ſudden in the midſt of the forum, probably by the violence of an earthquake. The citizens, having laboured in vain to fill up the chaſm by throwing abundance of earth into it, had at laſt recourſe to the auguis, who declared, that they would never be able to compaſs their deſign, till that thing, in which the ſtrength and power of

The earth opens in the forum.

[w] Liv. l. vii. c. 4. Cic. offic. l. iii. Val. Max. l. v. c 4.

the

the *Roman* people conſiſted, was thrown into the place; and that ſuch a victim would ſecure the eternal duration of the *Roman* ſtate. While they were all conſulting about the meaning of this oracle, *M. Curtius*, a brave young patrician, having firſt aſked them, Whether *Rome* had any thing more valuable than arms and valour? armed himſelf completely, and, mounting a horſe richly capariſoned, came to the forum, and, in the ſight of the people who were aſſembled in crouds, devoted himſelf to death for his country, and rode full ſpeed into the gulph; an action, which ſome hiſtorians would willingly magnify with a miracle; for they tell us, that the ground immediately cloſed; but the moſt judicious writers own, that the opening was afterwards filled up with earth and rubbiſh [x]. After *M. Curtius* had thus devoted himſelf, the *Romans* did not doubt but they ſhould ſoon humble the *Hernici*: but they were diſappointed; for *Genucius*, the firſt plebeian conſul who had ever been intruſted with the command of an army, fell into an ambuſcade, and was killed, after the legions, ſeized with a ſudden fright, had abandoned him. Some hiſtorians ſeem to doubt, whether he did not fall by the hand of a *Roman*; at leaſt it is certain, the melancholy news of his defeat did not ſo much grieve the patricians as raiſe their pride. They exclaimed in all places, that the misfortunes of *Rome* were owing to the violation of human and divine rights in the conſecration of a plebeian conſul. To wipe off the diſgrace which *Rome* had received, it was reſolved to create a dictator. *Servilius*, the ſurviving conſul, named to that office *Appius Claudius*, the moſt inveterate enemy of the plebeian party, that he might repair the loſſes, which the republic had ſuſtained by the miſmanagement of a plebeian conſul. While the dictator was raiſing a ſecond army, the *Hernici*, elated with their late ſucceſs, advanced with great boldneſs to beſiege the vanquiſhed in their camp; but *C. Sulpicius*, who had been lieutenant to *Genucius*, and had, after the defeat and death of his general, collected the ſcattered troops, ſallying out upon them, obliged them to return to their own intrenchments. *Appius* ſoon after arrived with a new army, which he had juſt raiſed in the city, and, having exhorted his men to imitate the bravery of *Sulpicius* and the ſoldiers under his command, prepared for a general engagement. The *Hernici*, hearing that a dictator was created to carry on the war againſt them, exhauſted their country of men to reinforce their army, none who were able

Curtius leaps into the gulph.

The Romans *defeated, and the conſul killed by the* Hernici.

[x] LIV. l. vii. c. 6. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 6. OROS. l. iii. c. 5. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, l. v. c. 18.

to bear arms being excuſed from taking the field. Out of this multitude they choſe three thouſand two hundred men, whom they divided into eight cohorts, of four hundred men each. This was the flower of the enemy's troops; and their generals, to diſtinguiſh them from the reſt, and by that means engage them to exert themſelves in battle, not only allowed them double pay, but exempted them from all the laborious offices of the army. The dictator no ſooner began to draw up his men, but the *Hernici* did the ſame, in a plain, which lay between the two camps, and was about three miles over. This was the field of battle; and never were forces more equal, or the victory more doubtful. The *Roman* knights engaged the eight cohorts; but, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, the enemy kept both their ground and ranks. The bad ſucceſs of this firſt onſet made the *Roman* cavalry change their way of fighting. They all diſmounted, and, with permiſſion of their general, poſted themſelves in the firſt line, at the head of the infantry. The eight cohorts ſtill made head againſt them with incredible bravery, the reſt of the ſoldiers in both armies being idle ſpectators of a battle fought by the flower of the two nations. The victory was a long time doubtful, many falling on both ſides; but at length the better fortune of the *Romans*, as *Livy* expreſſes it, prevailed; the cohorts firſt retreated in good order, and then, being warmly preſſed, gave way and fled in confuſion. The conquerors purſued the enemy to their camp; but night coming on hindered them from attempting to force it. The next morning the *Romans* found it abandoned; the *Hernici* having retired under the walls of their cities. This victory coſt the *Romans* dear; for they are ſaid to have loſt a fourth part of their army, and a great number of knights. The dictator returned to the city; but did not obtain a triumph, the people being in all likelihood unwilling to beſtow that honour on the moſt declared enemy of the plebeian party [y].

The Hernici *defeated by* Appius Claudius *dictator.*

Notwithstanding the misfortune of *Genucius*, the centuries choſe another plebeian conſul, *viz. C. Licinius Stolo*, a ſecond time, and with him *C. Sulpicius*, ſurnamed *Peticus*. As the moſt violent enemy of the plebeians had been nominated dictator the laſt year by the patricians, ſo the moſt enterprizing adverſary of the nobility was now raiſed to the higheſt office by the ſuffrages of the people. The two conſuls entered the enemy's country together; but, finding no enemy in the field, they beſieged and took *Ferentinum*, formerly a city of the *Volſci*, which had been given up to the

Ferentinum taken from the Hernici.

[y] Liv. ibid.

Hernici

Hernici by the *Romans*. After the ſurrender of this place, they took the road to *Rome*; but, when they came to *Tybur*, they were ſurprized to find the gates of that city ſhut againſt them. Upon inquiry they found, that the *Tyburtes* were in ſecret intelligence with the *Gauls*, who were again in motion. The apprehenſion of a war with ſo formidable an enemy made them determine to create a dictator. *T. Quinctius Pennus* was the perſon nominated to that dignity, and he appointed *Serv. Cornelius* to be his general of the horſe. While the *Romans* were preparing for the war, the *Gauls* advanced as far as the banks of the *Anio*, within three miles of *Rome*. The *Roman* army, under the command of the dictator, immediately advanced to meet them, and encamped on the oppoſite banks of the river. Both armies lay near one of the bridges of the *Anio*, which neither of them offered to break down, leſt it ſhould ſeem to argue fear; ſo that this bridge became the ſcene of ſeveral combats between the champions of both parties. One day a *Gaul* of gigantic ſtature, advancing upon the bridge, cried out with a loud voice, *Let the braveſt man in the* Roman *army enter the liſts with me; the ſucceſs of our combat ſhall determine which is the more valiant nation.* His extraordinary ſize and fierce looks ſtruck the *Romans* with ſuch terror, that for a long time not one in the whole army offered to accept the challenge. At length young *Manlius*, who had ſo remarkably ſignalized his piety to his father, touched with a juſt ſenſe of the affront offered to the *Roman* name, quitted his poſt, and, flying to the dictator, aſked leave to encounter the *Gaul*. Tho' I were ſure of victory, ſaid he, I would not fight this proud *Gaul* without your orders; but if you will give me leave, I will make this huge beaſt know, that I am of the blood of that *Manlius*, whoſe valour proved ſo fatal to the *Gauls* on the capitol. The dictator, who had been very uneaſy that no *Roman* had accepted the challenge before, readily complied with the requeſt of the brave youth. *Go*, Manlius, ſaid he, *and humble the pride of this inſulting enemy. Revenge the cauſe of the city where you firſt drew your breath, as ſucceſsfully as you relieved him to whom you owe it.* Upon this the young *Roman*, having changed his round buckler, which he wore as a *Roman* knight, for a ſquare one, and armed himſelf with a ſhort ſword, fit both for cutting and ſtabbing, advanced againſt the *Gaul*, who was ſtrutting about in his armour, and making an oſtentatious ſhew of his ſtrength. Both *Romans* and *Gauls* retired to their reſpective poſts, leaving the bridge free for the two champions. The *Gaul*, ſays *Livy*, began the combat, by diſcharging a great blow with his long ſword at *Manlius*, which made much noiſe, but did

no

Young Manlius *kills in ſingle combat a mighty champion of the* Gauls, *who thereupon retire.*

no execution. Hereupon the young *Roman*, dexterouſly ſlipping under his enemy's ſhield before he recovered his heavy ſword, ſtabbed him in two places; ſo that he ſoon fell, and covered, to uſe *Livy*'s expreſſion, a vaſt piece of ground with his huge body. The conqueror cut off his head, and, without troubling himſelf about the reſt of his ſpoils, only ſeized a golden collar, which he tore from his neck, and, bloody as it was, put it about his own, in token of victory; and hence he got the ſurname of *Torquatus*, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. The event of this combat ſo diſcouraged the *Gauls*, that they abandoned their camp in the night, and retired into *Campania* [z].

As ſoon as the conſuls for the new year entered upon their office, the one, *viz. C. Pætelius Libo*, was ſent with an army to puniſh the *Tyburtes*; and the other, *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, was ordered to march againſt the *Hernici*, who perſiſted in their revolt. The two conſuls had no ſooner left *Rome*, than the *Gauls* appeared again, and, venturing to advance into the neighbourhood of *Rome*, blocked up the gate *Collina*. However the ſenate did not think proper to recal either of the conſuls. A dictator was created to make head againſt thoſe dangerous enemies, and the conſuls pitched upon *Servilius Ahala*, who, having named *T. Quinctius* to be his general of horſe, and armed all the youth that were left in *Rome*, came to an engagement with the *Gauls* under the very walls of *Rome*. As the *Romans* fought in ſight of their parents, wives, and children, who were on the ramparts, they behaved with extraordinary valour. The battle was very bloody, and the field all covered with dead bodies; but at length the *Gauls* gave way and fled towards *Tybur*, where the conſul *Pætelius* fell upon them, with a deſign to prevent them from taking refuge in that city: but the *Tyburtes* ſallying out covered their retreat; ſo that they eſcaped, but not without great loſs, the purſuit of the conquerors. On the other hand, *Fabius* fought the *Hernici* with ſucceſs, and overcame them in a general action. Thus was the republic this year victorious on all ſides. The honours of a triumph were chiefly due to the dictator; but he, either deſpiſing them out of pride, or declining them out of modeſty, on his return to *Rome*, highly commended the two conſuls both to the ſenate and people, and then, without mentioning his own exploits, abdicated the dictatorſhip. *Pætelius* ſolicited for a triumph and obtained it; but his collegue *Fabius*, who had conquered the *Hernici*, was contented with an ovation [a].

The Gauls *and* Hernici *defeated.*

[z] Liv. l. vii. c. 9. Oros. l. v. c. 6. [a] Liv. l. vii. c. 11, & 12.

The

THE next year *Cn. Manlius Imperioſus* and *M. Popilius Lænas* being conſuls, the *Tyburtes* came in the dead of the night to the very gates of *Rome*, and alarmed the city, the people believing that the *Gauls* were come again; but the return of light diſcovering only a ſmall number of *Tyburtes*, who were come rather out of a bravado, than with any concerted deſign to ſurprize the city, the conſuls marched out at two different gates, and eaſily repulſed the bold aggreſſors. The conſuls for the next year were *C. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *C. Plautius Proculus*. The latter marched againſt the *Hernici*, and totally ſubdued them; but the former, being ſent againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, who had entered the *Roman* territory in arms, was defeated by them. The *Tarquinienſes* took three hundred and ſeven *Roman* priſoners, and, to ſhew their contempt of the republic, firſt treated them in a barbarous manner, and then cut their throats. The diſadvantage *Fabius* had ſuffered was followed by a new alarm from the *Boii*, who appeared all on a ſudden in the plain of *Præneſte*, and from thence advanced as far as *Pedum*, a city of *Latium*, between *Tybur* and *Tuſculum*, and not above ten miles from *Rome*; but the *Latins*, perhaps tired with ſeeing their country almoſt every year plundered by the *Gauls*, renewed very ſeaſonably their alliance with *Rome*, and furniſhed her armies with the ſame quota of men they had formerly ſtipulated to grant. With this reinforcement the republic was in a condition to make head againſt all her enemies. As the conſuls were both employed elſewhere, *Sulpicius*, ſurnamed *Peticus*, was created dictator to conduct the war againſt the *Gauls*. The dictator named *M. Valerius* for his general of the horſe; and having choſen out the beſt legions in the two conſular armies, he took the field and marched againſt the enemy. Both armies were very impatient to come to a battle; but the dictator reſtrained the impetuoſity of his men, being well appriſed, that the *Gauls* muſt neceſſarily be ſoon diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, ſince they had brought none with them, nor prepared any magazines; but the ſoldiers began to complain of their general's conduct, and even threatened openly to attack the enemy without his leave, or to quit the camp and march back to *Rome*. They came in crouds to the dictator's quarters, and demanded acceſs to him, having named *Sextius Tullius* to be their ſpeaker. *Sextius* was an officer of diſtinguiſhed courage, and had been for ſeven years laſt paſt the firſt captain of the firſt corps of the army. The dictator was therefore ſurprized to ſee a company of ſeditious men headed by an officer of his rank and reputation. *Sextius*, in the

The Hernici *ſubdued.*

Sulpicius Peticus *dictator marches againſt the* Gauls.

name

name of the army, reproached the dictator with the diſadvantageous opinion he ſeemed to entertain of his troops, and preſſed him to lead them againſt the enemy. His diſcourſe was followed by the acclamations of the multitude, who all cried out for leave to arm and march to battle. The dictator could not help complying with their requeſt, and therefore promiſed to lead them out againſt the enemy the next day. Then taking *Sextius* aſide, he asked him, What could have put him at the head of a faction? The brave centurion replied, That it was not want of reſpect to his general, or ignorance of the martial laws; but to divert the unruly multitude from chuſing a leader, who might have done ſomething injurious to the dignity of the dictator. He then exhorted *Sulpicius* to yield to the deſires of thoſe impetuous men, who were ſtrongly inclined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of fighting without his leave. The dictator followed his advice; and having acquainted his men that he deſigned to engage the enemy the next day, he ordered all the muleteers of the army to put upon their mules the furniture of war-horſes, to mount them, and, marching up the hills in the night-time, to conceal themſelves in the woods, till they received further orders. This, as *Frontinus* informs us, was then a new ſtratagem; but often practiſed afterwards both by the *Romans* and other nations. As ſoon as it was day, *Sulpicius* led his troops out of their entrenchments, and marched up againſt the *Gauls*, who did not expect to ſee the *Romans* appear ſo ſoon in the field. He drew up his army ſo, that all the legionaries, who uſed to attack the enemy at the head of their legions with a ſort of darts called *pila*, ſucceeded one another in files. As ſoon as one company of them was within reach of the enemy, they diſcharged their darts and inſtantly retired, leaving a ſpace of ground between them and the *Gauls*. Then a ſecond company took the place of the other, and did the ſame. Thus four companies ſucceeded one another, diſcharging their darts, and falling back, without ſuffering the *Gauls*, who depended chiefly on their long ſwords, to come near them. This repeated diſcharge of darts, which put the enemy into ſome confuſion, was no ſooner over, than the reſt of the legions cloſed in with them ſword in hand. The *Gauls*, tho' in ſome diſorder, ſuſtained the attack with great bravery, and even obliged the right wing of the *Romans* to give ground. Then the dictator, who was there in perſon, flying to the foremoſt ranks, Is this, ſaid he, the effect of your promiſes? Will all your boldneſs in the camp end in a ſhameful flight in the field? Follow your general, if you are true *Romans*. Having thus ſpoke, the brave dictator advanced ſword in hand

Attacks them.

at

at the head of his legions, which, confounded with ſhame, threw themſelves upon the enemy's battalions, and fought like men in deſpair. There was indeed more of a ſavage fierceneſs than true courage in this attack; but it ſucceeded. The *Gauls* were put to flight, and the *Romans* purſued them; but the enemy rallied near their right wing, which kept its ground, tho' attacked with great vigour by the dictator, at the head of his victorious troops. Then *Sulpicius* ſent orders to his muleteers to leave their ambuſcade, appear in the plain, and march towards the camp of the *Gauls*, who no ſooner ſaw them, than they quitted their ranks, and haſtened in confuſion to the defence of their camp; but *M. Valerius*, general of the horſe, who had poſted himſelf near the enemy's camp, after the defeat of their left wing, intercepted their flight; ſo that they had no retreat left but to the mountains and woods. *Valerius* purſued them cloſe with his cavalry, and put moſt of them to the ſword, the whole plain being for ſome miles covered with dead bodies. This victory left the republic no enemies in *Latium*. The *Hernici* were ſubdued; the *Gauls* vanquiſhed and cut in pieces; and the *Latins* quieted. In ſhort, *Rome* was now in as flouriſhing a condition as it had been before it was taken by the *Senones*. *Sulpicius*, when he had been honoured with a triumph, which he well deſerved, reſigned the dictatorſhip, and the government returned into the hands of the two conſuls for the year [b]. During their adminiſtration, a law was paſſed, at the motion of *Pætelius* the tribune, againſt openly canvaſſing for votes; for the *novi homines*, or *upſtarts*, more ambitious of offices than the patricians themſelves, not only ſolicited the ſuffrages of the people in the forum, but even went to the country fairs, and other public meetings to buy voices.

And gains a complete victory.

UNDER the ſucceeding conſuls, *C. Marcius Rutilus* and *Cn. Manlius Imperioſus*, the intereſt of money, which before was arbitrary, was, at the motion of *Duilius* and *Mænius*, two tribunes of the people, ſettled at one *per cent*. The patricians, diſpleaſed with a law which ſet bounds to their avarice, in order to revenge themſelves on the plebeians, cited the famous *Licinius Stolo* to anſwer for a breach of one of the four laws, which he himſelf had ſo zealouſly promoted, forbidding any citizen to poſſeſs more than five hundred acres of land. *Licinius* actually poſſeſſed a thouſand; but, to cover his breach of the law, had emancipated his ſon, or

[b] LIV. l. vii. c 15. FAST. CAPIT.

given up his authority over him, and made him the nominal poſſeſſor of one half of them; but, as this emancipation was made purely to evade the law, he was convicted of fraud before the prætor, and fined ten thouſand aſſes of braſs, that is, about thirty-two pounds ſterling[c]. This ſame year the conſul *Marcius* defeated the *Privernates*, who had declared againſt *Rome* the year before, and took their city. His colleague *Manlius* marched againſt the *Faliſci*, a people of *Hetruria*; but gained no conſiderable advantage over them. Nothing was talked of at *Rome*, but his attempt upon the conſtitution. He had ventured to aſſemble the tribes near *Sutrium*, and made a law in his camp, whereby it was enacted, that, for the future, the twentieth part of the price of every ſlave ſhould be paid into the public treaſury. The law paſſed by the favour of the conſcript fathers, notwithſtanding its irregularity; but the tribunes of the people thought this ſtep might be of dangerous conſequence to the public liberty: The tribes, ſaid they, when aſſembled in a camp and by an armed conſul, are not free to vote as they pleaſe; beſides, the ſoldiers, who were ſworn to obey their generals, will of courſe give their ſuffrages as their commanders direct them. To prevent therefore theſe inconveniences, the tribunes got a law paſſed, forbidding any magiſtrate to aſſemble the comitia any where but in *Rome*, under pain of death. However, the law for paying the twentieth part of the price of every ſlave was not repealed. The two conſuls for the following year, *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *M. Popilius Lænas*, were employed, the firſt againſt the *Faliſci* and *Tarquinienſes*, and the latter againſt the *Tyburtes*. *Popilius*, not finding the enemy in the field, ravaged their country, and carried off a great booty; but *Fabius*, after having gained ſome advantage over the united forces of the *Faliſci* and *Tarquinienſes*, was obliged to retire, all *Hetruria* taking up arms againſt him. Upon his retreat, a numerous army of *Hetrurians* advanced as far as the ſalt-pits on the banks of the *Tiber*. Their approach obliged the *Romans* to have recourſe to a dictator.

Privernum *taken by the* Romans.

C. Marcius Rutilus *a plebeian dictator.*

The conſul *Popilius* named him in the abſence of his colleague, and, as he was a plebeian himſelf, he pitched upon *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the plebeian conſul for the laſt year. The dictator likewiſe choſe a plebeian, *C. Plautius Proculus*, for his general of horſe. The patricians, highly provoked at theſe promotions, did all that lay in their power to prevent the dictator from having ſuch things decreed him as

[c] Liv. l. vii. c. 16. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 6. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

were

were neceſſary for the war. But the people, on the other hand, haſtened the preparations for the campaign; ſo that, every thing being got ready ſooner than uſual, the dictator took the field without delay, marched ſtreight to the enemy's camp, ſurprized and forced it, nothing being able to withſtand the *Roman* ſoldiery under the conduct of a plebeian dictator, the firſt who had ever been raiſed to that high office. Hiſtorians do not tell us what number of *Hetrurians* periſhed in the battle; but leave us to gueſs at the multitude of the ſlain by the number of priſoners; for we are told, that eight thouſand were taken in this famous action. This victory well deſerved the honours of a triumph, which the patricians, jealous of the glory of a plebeian dictator, oppoſed to the utmoſt of their power: but the people, in ſpite of their oppoſition, did him juſtice; ſo that he entered *Rome* in triumph the day before the nones of *May* [d].

Triumphs over the Hetrurians.

THE time drawing near for electing new conſuls, and there being none but plebeian magiſtrates in *Rome* to preſide in the comitia, the nobility raiſed difficulties againſt holding them. They pretended, that it was not lawful for any plebeian, tho' a dictator, to preſide in them. The pontifical laws, ſaid they, require, that the election of chief magiſtrates ſhould be conſecrated by auguries, which belong of right only to the patricians. And for this time they prevailed: the dictator and the conſul *Popilius* were excluded on account of their birth. As it was neceſſary to have ſome magiſtrate of the firſt rank to preſide at the election, the republic had recourſe to an interregnum, during which it was governed by ſix patricians, *viz.* *Q. Servilius Ahala*, *M. Fabius*, *Cn. Manlius*, *C. Fabius*, *Sulpicius*, and *L. Æmilius*. Theſe governed by turns, and managed their affairs ſo well, that the plebeians, in the very year in which they triumphed moſt, were excluded from a ſhare in the government; for *C. Sulpicius Peticus* and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, both patricians, were raiſed to the conſulate, tho' for the laſt eleven years one of the conſuls had been a plebeian. The tribunes exclaimed againſt the election, as contrary to the laws; but *Fabius*, who preſided in the comitia, ſilenced them, by quoting a law of the twelve tables, whereby it was enacted, *that only the laſt edict of the people ſhould be of force, and render all preceding ones null.* From thence he inferred, that the *Roman* people, by giving their votes to two patricians, had repealed the law, which divided the conſulate

[d] LIV. l. vii. c. 17 OROS. l. iii. c. 6. EUTROP. l. ii. FAST. CAPIT.

between the patricians and plebeians. The conſuls of this year took *Empulum* from the *Tyburtes*; but did nothing elſe worth mentioning. When the time came for new elections, they declared, that they would not reſign their dignity into any hands, but thoſe from which they had received it. We hold the conſulate, ſaid they, of the ſenate and patricians, and therefore think ourſelves bound, both in honour and gratitude, not to reſign it into any hands but theirs. This extraordinary proceeding occaſioned ſuch commotions in the *Campus Martius*, that the greater number of the people cried out, that they ought not only to diſſolve the aſſembly, but leave *Rome*, as they had done formerly. Many actually retired, leaving only the leaſt paſſionate behind them, who gave their ſuffrages for two patricians, *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *T. Quinctius Pennus*, who took the field without delay againſt the *Tyburtes* and *Tarquinienſes*. The former were totally ſubdued by *Fabius*, and the latter defeated in a bloody battle by *Quinctius*, who, to revenge the cruelty they had formerly committed on three hundred and ſeven *Roman* ſoldiers, put all the priſoners to the ſword, except three hundred and fifty eight, whom he ſent to *Rome*, where, by order of the ſenate, they were firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. Theſe victories gained the *Romans* ſuch reputation among the *Italian* nations, that the *Samnites* ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, to propoſe an alliance with the republic. The embaſſadors were kindly received by the ſenate, and the alliance concluded, the *Samnites* engaging to furniſh the republic with troops, when required, and the *Romans* promiſing to protect them againſt their enemies both at home and abroad. Thus *Rome* advanced by degrees to that immenſe grandeur to which at laſt ſhe attained.

Empulum *taken from the* Tyburtes, *who are totally ſubdued.*

The Samnites *enter into an alliance with* Rome.

The patricians had gained ſuch an aſcendant over the people, that they kept the conſulate in their own hands, and promoted to that dignity *C. Sulpicius Peticus* and *M. Valerius Poplicola*. The former marched againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, and the latter againſt the *Volſci*, who were anew in motion. The conſuls had ſcarce taken the field, when *Valerius* was recalled to nominate a dictator, the ſenate being informed by *Sulpicius*, that the *Cærites* were diſpoſed to take part with the *Tarquinienſes*, and that the *Faliſci* had already joined them. *Valerius* named *T. Manlius Torquatus* to the dictatorſhip, tho' he had never been conſul, a neceſſary ſtep to that ſupreme dignity; but *Valerius* regarded nothing but the merit of *Manlius* in the choice; and his nomination was not oppoſed, tho' contrary to law. The new dictator, having named *Cornelius Coſſus* to be his general of horſe, was preparing to march againſt the *Cærites*; but they, being ſenſible they could not make head

Manlius Torquatus *dictator.*

head againſt the brave *Torquatus*, ſent deputies from all their towns to implore the clemency of the *Romans*. The ſenate referred the deputies to the people, who being reminded by them, that *Cære* had been the aſylum of the veſtals when *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*, received them into favour, and granted them a truce for an hundred years. Then the dictator led his army againſt the *Faliſci*; and, finding no enemy in the field to contend with, laid waſte their country, and returned to *Rome*, where all things continued quiet, till the time came for the new elections. The dictator, who was to preſide in the comitia, had formed a deſign of excluding the plebeians; which, the tribunes being aware of, oppoſed the aſſembling of the centuries, till the expiration of the dictatorſhip, which ended with the conſuls year. Whereupon the republic fell into an inter-regnum; and thoſe who then governed found both parties irreconcileable. The diſputes grew to ſuch a height, as threatened an open revolt; which ſo terrified the fathers, that they ſuffered at length the *Licinian* law to take place, and one of the conſuls to be choſen, agreeable to that law, out of the plebeians. The perſons elected were *P. Valerius Poplicola*, a patrician, and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, a plebeian, who was now raiſed to this office a ſecond time [c].

THE firſt care of the new conſuls was to regulate the payment of debts, the only obſtruction to a thorough union of the patricians and plebeians. They no longer conſidered the relief of debtors as a private affair, but as a general concern of the public; and therefore choſe out five men, of known probity and great experience, to take an account of all the debts of the plebeians. Theſe five were called *bankers*, and had the command of the public treaſury to enable them to diſcharge their commiſſion; which they did to the ſatisfaction of both parties. Thoſe who, out of ſloth and idleneſs, had plunged themſelves in debt, either borrowed money of theſe bankers, giving the treaſury ſecurity for it, or depoſited the value of their debts in their creditors hands in effects, which were valued by the bankers. By this means the greateſt part of the debtors were relieved, without doing injury to any perſon, and with little loſs to the public.

The payment of debts regulated.

TRANQUILLITY being thus eſtabliſhed at home, the city was ſuddenly alarmed with a report, that the twelve leucumonies of *Hetruria* were entered into an alliance againſt the republic and ready to enter her territories. Hereupon *Julius Julus* was named dictator, and he appointed *L. Æmilius*, ſurnamed *Mamercinus*, to be his general of the horſe; but the report

Julius Julus *dictator.*

[c] Liv. l. vii. c. 20, 21.

proved

proved groundleſs, and was in all likelihood artfully ſpread by the patricians, that they might have an opportunity of placing a man at the head of the republic, who was able to prevent the execution of the *Licinian* law. And indeed *Julius* made uſe of all his credit and authority to get two patricians choſen conſuls; but he was ſo warmly oppoſed by the tribunes, that both he and the conſuls went out of their office, before the comitia could be aſſembled for a new election. In the inter-regnum which enſued, *C. Sulpicius Peticus* and *M. Fabius* governed ſucceſſively, and found means to bring the people to a compliance with the patricians. Two patricians were choſen; *Sulpicius* himſelf and *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus*. During their adminiſtration, the *Tarquinienſes* and *Faliſci*, being quite tired out with the calamities of war, ſubmitted to the republic, and obtained a truce for forty years. And now the peace the *Romans* enjoyed giving them a favourable opportunity to elect new cenſors, the day was fixed for the comitia to proceed to this new election. None but the moſt illuſtrious patricians had ever enjoyed this dignity; but nevertheleſs *C. Marcius Rutilus*, thinking himſelf, tho' a plebeian, qualified for any poſt in the republic, after he had been twice conſul and once dictator, ſtood candidate for this office, and, in ſpight of all oppoſition of the nobles, was elected, with *Cn. Manlius* a patrician. The commons being willing to give a new luſtre to an office, to which a plebeian had been juſt promoted, *Ovinus*, one of their tribunes, propoſed a law, depriving the conſuls of the prerogative of filling up the ſenate, and lodging this power in the cenſors. The law paſſed; and what is very extraordinary, this important change was made in the republic without the leaſt diſturbance. And now the cenſorſhip being open to the plebeians, the patricians in order to ſecure the conſulate to themſelves, and prevent the *Licinian* law from being put in execution, prevailed upon the conſuls to name a dictator to preſide at the next election, imagining, that he would be more reſpected in the comitia, and have a far greater influence over the centuries than the conſuls. The perſon raiſed to this dignity was *Fabius Ambuſtus*, a man diſtinguiſhed by his birth, his employments, and his perſonal merit. He had been thrice conſul, and honoured with a triumph but three years before. He choſe for his general of the horſe the famous *Servilius Ahala*, a man no-ways inferior to himſelf; but, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, *M. Popilius Lænas*, a plebeian, who had been conſul twice already, was promoted to this dignity. His collegue, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, falling ſick ſoon after his election, the plebeian conſul, to the great mortification of the nobility, became the ſole general of the

The cenſorſhip opened to the plebeians.

Roman

Roman troops. The *Gauls*, at this time having entered *Latium* anew, and laid waſte the country, were advancing towards *Rome*. *Popilius* therefore ordered levies to be made; and ſo great a number of ſoldiers inliſted themſelves on this occaſion, that two armies were immediately raiſed, one to guard the city, under the command of *M. Valerius Poplicola*, who was then prætor, and the firſt in that employment who was ſeen at the head of an army. *Popilius* marched with the reſt of the troops to ſtop the progreſs of the *Gauls*, who, upon his firſt appearance, offered him battle; but *Popilius*, who was well acquainted with their temper, and therefore willing to let their firſt heat abate, kept within his camp. The *Gauls*, thinking the *Romans* afraid, attacked them while they were raiſing their works; but were repulſed with great loſs. The *Gauls*, however, returned the ſame day to the charge; and, in the beginning of the ſecond attack, *Popilius*, expoſing himſelf too much, was wounded with a javelin, and carried out of the field to have his wound dreſſed. This accident ſuſpended the ardor of the *Romans*; but as ſoon as their general appeared again, they renewed their courage, drove the *Gauls* into the plain, and there, drawing up into the form of a wedge, penetrated into the main body of the enemy, and obliged them to retire with precipitation. The general did not think proper to purſue the fugitives; but, having taken and plundered their camp, led back to *Rome* his victorious army, inriched with the ſpoils of the conquered enemy. He was decreed a triumph at his return, which was put off till he was recovered of his wound. As his collegue *Scipio* continued likewiſe indiſpoſed, the ſenate deſired the two conſuls to name a dictator to preſide at the approaching election. In compliance with the requeſt of the conſcript fathers, they named *L. Furius Camillus*, ſon of the great *Camillus*, to that dignity, who appointed *P. Cornelius Scipio* to be his general of the horſe. Theſe two patricians uſed all their intereſt to make the election fall only on men of their order, and carried their point; for *Camillus* himſelf was choſen one of the conſuls, and *Appius Claudius*, ſurnamed *Craſſus*, another patrician, was appointed his collegue [f].

The Gauls *defeated by* Popilius.

IN the beginning of their conſulate, the *Gauls*, who had fled for refuge to the hills of *Alba*, appeared again in great numbers on the ſea-coaſt of *Latium*; and at the ſame time ſome *Greeks*, from what part *Livy* does not determine, made a deſcent on the coaſt which the *Gauls* were plundering. The latter, jealous of their booty, oppoſed the *Greeks* at their

[f] LIV. l. vii. c. 23. APPIAN. Celtic.

anding,

landing, and obliged them to retire to their ships; however, they continued hovering about the coaſt, while the *Gauls* laid waſte and plundered it, from the mouth of the *Tiber* to *Antium*. The republic made the neceſſary preparations to drive ſuch dangerous enemies farther off; but in the mean time, *Appius*, one of the conſuls, dying, the whole management of the war was committed to *Camillus*, whoſe very name was looked upon as a good omen in a war with the *Gauls*. His firſt care was to raiſe a numerous army, conſiſting of ten legions, and amounting to forty five thouſand men. Of theſe legions he gave four to *L. Pinarius* the prætor, ordering him to guard the ſea-coaſt againſt the *Greeks*; two he left to defend the city, and with the other four marched himſelf againſt the *Gauls*; but as he had no deſign to come to a pitched battle with them, he encamped in the *Pomptin* territory, a country full of marſhes and rivers. While both armies continued inactive, a fierce *Gaul*, remarkable both for his ſtature, and the richneſs of his armour, challenged the braveſt man in the *Roman* legions to a ſingle combat. *M. Valerius*, a legionary tribune, great-grandſon to the famous *Valerius Voluſus*, accepted the challenge, and is ſaid to have obtained the victory by means of a raven, which, perching upon his helmet, and flying in the face of the giant during the fight, ſo blinded him with his wings, that it was eaſy for his rival to ſtab him. But the *Gauls*, deſpiſing the advantage *Valerius* had gained by the help of a bird, crouded round the body of their dead champion, to hinder the *Roman* from ſtripping him of his armour. Upon this the *Romans* haſtened to the aſſiſtance of *Valerius*, which naturally led both armies to a battle, in which the *Gauls* were intirely defeated. Thoſe who eſcaped took their way through the country of the *Volſci*, and, entering *Campania*, croſſed the plains of *Falernum*, penetrated as far as *Apulia*, and retired to the coaſts of the *Adriatic* ſea. As for the brave *Valerius*, the general rewarded him with a crown of gold and two oxen, a conſiderable preſent at that time. He ever after bore the name of *Corvus*, which ſignifies *a raven*, and his poſterity that of *Corvinus*; which diſtinguiſhed this branch of the *Valerian* family from all the reſt[g].

M. Valerius *ſurnamed* Corvus.

The Gauls *defeated anew.*

THE conſul, having thus freed *Latium* from the *Gauls*, joined his army to that of the prætor *Pinarius*, in order to drive away the *Greek* pirates, who infeſted the coaſt; but the obſtinacy of thoſe adventurers, who, though they durſt not

[g] LIV. l. vii. c. 25. AUL. GEL. l. ix. c. 11. ZONAR. l. vii. c. 25.

land,

land, continued ſtill at ſea, obliged him to keep the field longer than he expected; ſo that, in the mean while the time for electing new conſuls drawing near, he was obliged to nominate a dictator to preſide in the comitia. The perſon he promoted to that dignity was the famous *Manlius Torquatus*, who choſe *Cornelius Coſſus* to be his general of the horſe. As the dictator was charmed with the exploit of *Valerius*, ſo much reſembling his own, and had a great influence in the election, he prevailed with the people to chuſe him one of the conſuls, though he was but twenty three years of age, and too young even to have a place in the ſenate. His collegue was *Popilius Lænas*, who now entered upon this office the fourth time. As for *Camillus*, he continued with his army on the coaſt, till the *Greeks*, wanting freſh water, and other neceſſary proviſions, and not daring to come aſhore, put out to ſea.

Manlius Torquatus *dictator.*

WHILE the *Romans* enjoyed a profound peace both at home and abroad, under the adminiſtration of the two conſuls mentioned above, embaſſadors came from *Carthage* to *Rome*. The *Carthaginians* were the firſt nation the *Romans* were acquainted with out of *Italy*, and with whom they entered into an alliance. As early as the firſt year after the expulſion of the *Tarquins*, when *Brutus* and *Valerius* were conſuls, theſe two nations entered into a treaty, chiefly in relation to navigation and commerce. This treaty was yet to be ſeen in *Polybius*'s time, on the baſe of a column in the antient *Roman* language, which, as that writer tells us, was ſo different from what was ſpoke in his time, that thoſe who were moſt converſant in the *Latin* tongue could not, without much ſtudy and labour, underſtand it. The *Greek* hiſtorian has tranſlated the words of this treaty with all poſſible fidelity, and tranſmitted it to us. It was conceived in theſe terms:

A treaty of navigation and commerce made with Carthage.

THERE ſhall be peace and friendſhip between the *Romans* and the allies of the *Romans*, and between the *Carthaginians* and the allies of the *Carthaginians*, on the following terms: The *Romans*, and the allies of the *Romans*, ſhall not ſail beyond *the Fair Promontory*, unleſs conſtrained by tempeſt, or by an enemy. If, at any time, they ſhall chance to be forced aſhore, they ſhall not be permitted to buy any thing, nor take any thing, but what they want for repairing their veſſels, or for their ſacrifices. None ſhall make longer ſtay aſhore than five days. Thoſe who ſhall come as merchants, ſhall pay no other duty than what is allowed to the common crier and regiſter. Theſe two officers ſhall make oath of what ſhall be bought and ſold in their preſence, as well in *Africa* as

Sardinia. If the *Romans* ſhall chance at any time to viſit ſuch places in *Sicily* as are ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, they ſhall not ſuffer any moleſtation whatſoever, but ſhall have juſtice done them in all things. The *Carthaginians* ſhall attempt nothing againſt the *Ardeates*, the *Antiates*, the *Aretini*, thoſe of *Laurentum*, *Circeii*, and *Terracina*, or, in a word, any of the *Latins* whomſoever, who ſhall be in ſubjection to the *Romans*; nor ſhall they attempt any of their towns that are under the *Roman* protection. And in caſe they ſhould at any time make ſeizure of ſuch towns, they ſhall reſtore the ſame to the *Romans* without any damage. They ſhall not build either fort or citadel in the country of the *Latins*; and in caſe they ſhould at any time invade their lands in an hoſtile manner, they ſhall not remain there one night.

The promontory here called *the Fair Promontory*, lay, according to *Polybius*, north of *Carthage*, and near it. The *Carthaginians*, as the ſame author obſerves, did not allow the *Romans* to ſail beyond it, that is, to the ſouthward of it, not caring that their coaſts ſhould lie open to all comers, leſt the fruitfulneſs of the land, and the happy ſituation of the cities ſhould tempt them to ſettle there. Such was the firſt treaty *Rome* made with *Carthage* at the birth of the republic; and now, when *Valerius Corvus* and *Popilius Lænas* were conſuls, the *Carthaginians* croſſed the ſea, came to *Rome*, and concluded a ſecond treaty, differing from the former in ſome particulars. It was couched in the following terms: The *Romans* and their allies ſhall have friendſhip and confederacy with the people of *Carthage*, the *Tyrians*, the inhabitants of *Utica*, and their allies, on condition that they exerciſe no hoſtilities, carry on no traffic, build no towns beyond *the Fair Promontory*, *Maſtia*, and *Tarſeium*. If the *Carthaginians* ſhall take any town in the territory of the *Latins*, which is not under the protection of the *Romans*, they ſhall enjoy the pillage thereof; but the town ſhall be reſtored, and put into the hands of the *Romans*. If the *Carthaginians* ſhall make any captives among thoſe *Latins*, who, tho' not ſubject to the *Romans*, are in league or amity with them, and ſhall bring ſuch captives into any *Roman* port, and theſe captives ſhall be diſcovered and challenged by any *Roman*, they ſhall be ſet at liberty. The *Romans* ſhall be treated in the ſame manner in the ports belonging to the *Carthaginians*. If the *Romans* ſhall put in at any port belonging to the *Carthaginians*, to take in water or other neceſſaries, not any of thoſe, who are compriſed in this treaty of friendſhip, ſhall offer them any injury or moleſtation;

leſtation; if otherwiſe, it ſhall be deemed a public breach of the treaty. As to *Sardinia* and *Africa*, the *Romans* ſhall have no commerce there; they ſhall neither traffic, build towns, nor ſo much as attempt to land on thoſe coaſts, unleſs to buy neceſſaries, and refit their ſhips. If they ſhall be compelled by tempeſt, or otherwiſe, to take refuge in ſuch ports, they ſhall depart in five days. The *Romans* ſhall be allowed to traffic in any of the towns of *Sicily*, under the dominion of the *Carthaginians*, and in the city of *Carthage* itſelf, where they ſhall enjoy the ſame rights and privileges as the *Carthaginians* themſelves; and the *Carthaginians* ſhall have the like treatment in *Rome* [b].

THE whole employment of the preſent conſuls was to negociate this treaty with the *Carthaginians*. They were ſucceeded by *C. Plautius Hypſæus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who had been twice dictator, but now for the firſt time conſul. During their conſulate the republic enjoyed a profound peace, which left them no room to gain themſelves any glory by feats of arms. They therefore endeavoured to promote the public welfare by wiſe regulations: they reduced the intereſt of money from one *per cent.* to half *per cent.* and allowed the debtors, by paying down one fourth of their debts, three years to diſcharge the remainder, by annual and equal payments. *The intereſt of money reduced.* A new war with the *Volſci* broke out during the adminiſtration of the ſucceeding conſuls, *Valerius Corvus*, now a ſecond time conſul, and *C. Pætelius Libo*. *Valerius* defeated the enemy, took from them *Satricum* and burnt it, ſparing only the the temple of the goddeſs *Matuta*. He was honoured with a triumph, in which four thouſand captives marched before his chariot. *Satricum taken from the Volſci.* In this conſulate the ſecular games, which had been inſtituted in the year of *Rome* 297, were celebrated for the ſecond time. The next year's conſuls, *M. Fabius Dorſo* and *S. Sulpicius Camerinus*, named *L. Furius Camillus* to be dictator a ſecond time, on occaſion of a war with a new enemy, the *Aurunci*, a petty nation near the confines of *Latium*, on the coaſt of the *Tyrrhenian* ſea. *Furius* overthrew them in battle, and at his return built a temple, which he had vowed during the action, to *Juno Moneta*. This name had been given to the queen of the gods a little before the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. It was pretended, that from the temple of *Juno* had come a voice, accompanied with an earthquake, and that the voice had warned the *Romans* to avert the evils that threatened them, by ſacrificing a

[b] POLYB. l. iii. c. 22, 23, 24.

sow with pig. Hence she was called *Moneta*, from the verb *moners*, *to warn*. This temple was built on the capitol, in the place where the house of the rebellious *Manlius* formerly stood, and afterwards became a public mint. Hence the medals, which were stamped for current coin in trade, were called *moneta*, or *money*. The year following, the *Romans* imagining, that the goddess, agreeable to her name, admonished them by prodigies of the impending wrath of the gods, *C. Marcius Rutilus*, now consul a third time, and *T. Manlius Imperiosus*, a second time, appointed *P. Valerius* to be dictator, for the solemnization of the festival called *feriæ Latinæ*.

The temple of Juno Moneta.

The dictator having brought the republic to an interregnum, for some reason not mentioned by the historians, the centuries chose two patricians, as they had done the year before, *viz. M. Valerius Corvus*, a third time, and *Cornelius Cossus*, surnamed *Arvina*. During their administration, the enmity between the *Romans* and *Samnites* broke out. A city at that time scarce known to the *Romans* sowed the seeds of discord, and changed the alliance between the two nations into lasting hatred. The *Sidicini*, a people of *Ausonia*, on the other side the *Liris*, being attacked by the *Samnites*, and not able to defend themselves with their own strength, had recourse to the people of *Campania*, who took up arms in favour of their oppressed neighbours, it being their interest to stop the progress of so powerful an enemy. Hereupon the *Samnites*, having a prospect of greater advantages in the conquest of the *Campanians* than of the *Sidicini*, turned their arms against the former; and, as they were an effeminate people, defeated them in two pitched battles, and threatened to besiege the city of *Capua*, their metropolis. In this distress the magistrates had recourse to *Rome*, whither they sent an embassy to implore the assistance of the republic; but the senate returned to their humble address the following answer: The senate of *Rome* think you worthy of their protection; but we must have regard to our antient friendship with the *Samnites*. We cannot therefore take arms in your favour; but we will intreat the *Samnites*, our friends, to put an end to their hostilities. The *Capuan* deputies had hitherto spoken only of an alliance and confederacy with the *Romans*; but now, not being satisfied with the answer they had received, pursuant to the powers with which they had been invested, they made this further declaration: Since the *Romans* scruple to attack openly the *Samnites*, contrary to the faith of their treaties, let them at least not be afraid to defend

Occasion of the war between the Samnites *and* Romans.

Year of the Flood, 2661. Before Christ, 338. *Of* Rome 410.

defend their own property againſt the unjuſt uſurpations of their enemies; the people of *Campania*, the city of *Capua*, our lands, our temples, every thing we have divine and human, we abſolutely give and ſurrender to you. From this time therefore all our loſſes will be yours. This donation in due form, by embaſſadors authorized to make it, was of great weight with the conſcript fathers. They did not think their alliance with the *Samnites* obliged them to refuſe it; and therefore without delay diſpatched embaſſadors to intreat the *Samnites* as friends to ſpare a province which belonged to *Rome*. In caſe the *Samnites* were not prevailed upon by theſe gentle methods, the embaſſadors were directed to give them notice, in the name of the people and ſenate of *Rome*, to quit the country immediately. But the *Samnites*, a proud and warlike people, were ſo far from being intimidated by the majeſty of the *Roman* name, that their magiſtrates ſent for the commanders of their troops, and ordered them, in the preſence of the *Roman* embaſſadors, to go inſtantly and ravage *Campania*. This inſult filled both the ſenate and people with indignation. All other buſineſs was laid aſide, that they might apply themſelves wholly to the making preparations for a war, which was declared with all the ceremonies inſtituted by *Numa* on ſuch occaſions. Two armies being ſoon raiſed, it fell to the lot of *Valerius* to march with one into *Campania*, while *Cornelius* with the other carried the war into *Samnium*. The ſtreſs of the war lay at firſt on the brave *Valerius*, who poſted his troops on mount *Gaurus* in *Campania*, and continued in that advantageous ſituation, till his men, by frequently ſkirmiſhing with the *Samnites*, had learnt their way of managing their arms. At length he aſſembled his troops, and having encouraged them in a long ſpeech not to be afraid of a new enemy, to remember their antient valour, and to gain the honours of a triumph for one deſcended from the great *Poplicola*, marched out of his camp, and drew up his men in battalia. As the two armies were pretty equal in numbers, the victory was long diſputed, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. The *Roman* cavalry attempted in vain to break the enemy's battalions. Upon which *Valerius*, putting himſelf at the head of the infantry, and encouraging the legions to tread in his ſteps, threw himſelf into the midſt of the *Samnite* cohorts, and, being followed by his legionaries, made a dreadful havock. The dead lay in heaps round the enemy's ſtandards; yet their cohorts kept their ground, being reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt. At length *Valerius* ordered the *Roman* cavalry to attack

attack the enemy in flank; but they ſtood the ſhock, till night put an end to the conflict. After the battle was over, the *Romans* owned, that they had never engaged a more ſtubborn or more intrepid enemy; and would not have known that they had gained the victory, had not the *Samnites* deſerted their camp in the night, and abandoned it to the conquerors.

The Samnites *overcome by the* Romans.

WHILE the brave *Valerius* was thus ſignalizing his valour in *Campania*, his collegue *Cornelius*, having imprudently left his camp, which was advantageouſly poſted near *Saticula* on the confines of *Samnium*, marched his troops through a mountainous country into a foreſt, out of which there was but one paſſage, and that through a deep valley, which, as well as the wood, was lined with the enemy's forces; ſo that he found himſelf, when it was not in his power to alter his march, ſurrounded by the *Samnites*. This threw the conſul into the utmoſt conſternation; but it fortunately happened, that he had a brave officer among his troops, who drew him out of the danger. This was the famous *P. Decius Mus*, who was yet only a legionary tribune, and who afterwards ſignalized his love for his country in an eminent manner. The prudent tribune, obſerving an eminence at a diſtance, which commanded the camp of the *Samnites*, and had been neglected by them, propoſed to the conſul, that he might be detached with a ſmall body to take poſſeſſion of it. He added, when you ſee me poſted there, be no longer under any apprehenſions of the enemy; but continue your march. The *Samnites* will not dare to attack you, or diſpute your paſſage, when expoſed to our darts. As for us, we ſhall, by the aſſiſtance of the *Roman* valour, and the gods our protectors, find means to diſengage ourſelves from the enemy, and rejoin you. The general approved of the deſign, and detached a ſmall body of troops, under the command of *Decius*, who, taking his way through the wood, concealed his march ſo well, that the enemy did not diſcover him, till he was near the poſt which he was going to ſeize; and then the ſight of the *Romans* climbing up the rock was ſuch a ſurprize to them, that they could come to no determination, being in ſuſpenſe, whether they ſhould attack the conſul or *Decius*. In the mean time, the *Roman* general, taking advantage of this irreſolution, marched out of the valley without moleſtation. *Decius* did not doubt, but the enemy would either attack him on his hill, or at leaſt ſhut up all the avenues to it; but when he perceived that they neither came to fall upon him, nor attempted to ſurround him and cut off his retreat, he took a view of all the

The conſul Cornelius *delivered out of great difficulties by* Decius Mus.

avenues

avenues to the hill, and placed centinels at them, with orders to return ſilently to the main body at the ſecond watch of the night. When at that hour all his men were re-aſſembled, he laid before them the neceſſity of leaving the place where they were, and put it to the vote, whether to ſtay for day-light, or march off immediately, and force a way through the enemy while they were aſleep. The latter being univerſally approved, *Decius* put himſelf at the head of his troop, and marched down the rock in great ſilence. They had got half way through the enemy's camp, when a *Roman* ſoldier, ſtriking his foot againſt the buckler of a *Samnite*, awaked a centinel, who gave the alarm in that quarter. The *Samnites* immediately ran to arms, not knowing whether it was *Decius* and his troop, the conſul and his army, or ſome *Samnite* of the camp, who had diſturbed their reſt. In the midſt of this univerſal confuſion, *Decius* ordered his men to give a great ſhout, which doubled the conſternation of the *Samnites*, while the *Romans* gained the plain and made their eſcape, none of the *Samnites* daring to follow or attack them. When *Decius* came near the conſul's camp, as it was not yet day, he ordered his men to halt, telling them that they deſerved to enter the camp in a more glorious manner, than in ſilence and darkneſs. The next morning the whole army marched out to meet that brave troop, which had ſaved their lives at the peril of their own, and conducted thoſe valiant men in triumph to the general's tent, who, having ſummoned all his ſoldiers to hear his harangue, was beginning to make the panegyric of *Decius*; but the brave tribune, liking better to give his general good advice, than to hear his own praiſes, adviſed him to march away immediately, without loſing time in harangues, and ſurprize the camp of the enemy, who, in all probability, had ſent out detachments in queſt of him. This advice was followed; the *Romans* ſurprized the *Samnites* rambling about the fields, and purſued them to their camp, which the conſul took and plundered, after having cut in pieces above thirty thouſand of them. As ſoon as *Decius* returned to the camp, the conſul reſumed his panegyric; but, as words were not a ſufficient acknowledgment of his merit, he honoured him with all the military rewards that were ever given to a ſubaltern. Beſides a crown of gold, he had a preſent of a hundred oxen, and a white bull with gilt horns. As for the ſoldiers of his detachment, the conſul aſſigned them a double quantity of corn during their life, and gave each of them two *ſaga* or military habits. The legions likewiſe ſignalized their gratitude to their deliverer, by putting on his head an *obſidional* crown, which it was cuſtomary among the *Romans*

Cornelius *gains a complete victory over the* Samnites.

mans to beſtow on a general who relieved them when beſieged. This crown was made of the graſs growing in the place, and called *corona obſidionalis*. And now the detachment itſelf, which *Decius* had brought ſafe out of the danger into which he had led them, thinking themſelves obliged in gratitude to beſtow ſome mark of diſtinction on their leader, crowned him with a crown of oak-leaves, which was called the *civic* crown, and thought the moſt honourable of all military rewards. Thus, loaded with three crowns at once, he offered up the white bull in ſacrifice to *Mars*, by way of thankſgiving, and diſtributed the hundred oxen among the companions of his danger, and ſharers of his glory. The reſt of the legions made likewiſe a preſent to the company which had followed *Decius*, conſiſting of ſome pounds of meal, and meaſures of wine [1].

The Samnites *defeated again by* Valerius.

The campaign did not end with this victory. The *Samnites*, who had been routed by *Valerius*, having raiſed new forces, appeared before *Sueſſula*, a town ſituated between *Nola* and *Capua*. *Valerius* haſtened to the relief of the *Sueſſulani*; and, in order to deceive the enemy, encamped his troops within as narrow a compaſs as he could, hoping they would attack him in his intrenchments; but the *Samnites*, judging that the *Romans* muſt ſoon want proviſions, kept quiet in their camp. Thus both armies continued ſome time inactive; but at length the *Samnites* themſelves being diſtreſſed the firſt for want of proviſions, *Valerius* attacked their camp, while the greater part of their forces were diſperſed about the country in queſt of neceſſaries, forced it, and made a great ſlaughter there, while his cavalry chaſed the ſeveral detachments which were abroad foraging. We are told, that the *Roman* ſoldiers brought to their general above forty thouſand of the enemy's bucklers, the *Samnites* having thrown them away, that they might not incumber them in their flight. One hundred and twenty ſtandards were likewiſe taken from the enemy in this action. Thus both conſuls returned to *Rome*, where they were honoured with a triumph. The ſucceſſes of this glorious campaign gave a new luſtre to the republic, both among the neighbouring and diſtant nations. The *Faliſci* changed the truce, which they had made with the *Romans*, into a treaty of alliance. The *Latins*, who had taken up arms, with a deſign to employ them againſt the republic, if ſhe had been worſted in this war, turned their hoſtilities againſt the *Peligni*, a *Samnite* nation, as it were to aſſiſt the *Romans*, whom they had really intended to betray. And laſtly, the *Carthaginians* ſent to compliment the republic on

[1] Liv. l. vii. c. 35. Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 6.

her

her ſucceſs, and made a preſent of a crown of gold of twenty pounds weight to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by way of thankſgiving for her victories. This year ended with a cenſus, by which it appeared, that the number of *Romans* able to bear arms, amounted to one hundred and ſixty thouſand. The ceremony cloſed with a luſtrum, which was the twenty ſecond ſince its firſt inſtitution by king *Servius*.

THE following year, *C. Marcius Rutilus* was elected the fourth time to the conſulate, and with him *Q. Servilius Ahala*. The latter encamped in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, while the former marched into *Campania*, where he found a general depravation of manners in ſome cohorts of *Roman* ſoldiers, who had been left in *Capua* all winter. He even diſcovered, that they had entered into a plot among themſelves to drive the natives out of *Campania*, and to ſeize that delicious country for themſelves. To diſappoint this ſcheme, he artfully contrived to ſend away the moſt mutinous and enterpriſing, without treating them diſgracefully, or letting his deſign appear. At length the ſoldiers ſuſpecting it, and being alarmed with the apprehenſion of puniſhment, one whole cohort deſerted, and, poſting themſelves advantageouſly near *Anxur*, in a narrow paſs between the ſea on one ſide, and high mountains on the other, were ſoon joined by great numbers of malecontents from the city and the camp. As they were ſtill at a loſs for a leader, they ſurprized by night in his bed one *T. Quinctius*, an excellent commander, who had retired ſome time ſince from public life to his farm, and forced him to go along with them as their general to *Rome*. Their approach ſo terrified the city, that a dictator was named to march an army againſt the mutineers. The perſon pitched upon was *Valerius Corvus*, who met them eight miles from *Rome*, came to a parley with them, and, being extremely beloved by the ſoldiery, prevailed with them to ſubmit. However, the rebels, beſides a general pardon, which was granted by the ſenate, and confirmed by the people in comitia, obtained ſome conceſſions from the republic. They inſiſted, that the pay of the cavalry, which was then three times as much as the foot received, ſhould be reduced; and this merely out of revenge, becauſe not one ſingle man of that corps had joined them in their revolt. Some writers tell us, that ſeveral laws were paſſed at the requeſt of the mutineers, *viz.* 1. That no man, who was a legionary tribune one year, ſhould be a centurion the next. The rebellious ſoldiers preſſed the paſſing of this law, purely to revenge themſelves on one *P. Salonius*, a ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline, who had been a legionary tribune and a centurion alternately for ſeveral years together, and had ever oppoſed

Some Roman *ſoldiers enter into a plot to ſeize* Campania *for themſelves.*

Valerius Corvus *is appointed dictator, and marches againſt them.*

They ſubmit, but obtain ſome conceſſions from the republic.

oppoſed the ſeditious councils of the revolters. The ſenate therefore refuſed at firſt to conſent to a law, which was wholly dictated by revenge againſt an officer, who had ſtrictly adhered to his duty. But *Salonius* himſelf earneſtly intreating the conſcript fathers to have more regard to the welfare of the public, than to his honour, at his requeſt the law paſſed. 2. That all uſury ſhould be aboliſhed in *Rome*, and every *Roman* forbidden to lend money upon intereſt. 3. That both the conſuls might be choſen out of the plebeians. 4. That no man ſhould bear the ſame office twice within ten years, or hold two different employments the ſame year. If the plebeian faction gained theſe articles at this time, it is evident, that the rebel army muſt have been exceeding numerous and formidable.

The *Romans*, by theſe condeſcenſions to the rebels, loſt credit among their neighbours. *Privernum* revolted, but was quickly reduced by *C. Plautius Hypſæus*, now the ſecond time conſul. His collegue *L. Æmilius* laid waſte the country of the *Samnites*, who were ſo weakened by the two late overthrows, that they dared not appear in the field; but ſued for peace and an alliance with *Rome*. Theſe being obtained, they turned their arms once more againſt the *Sidicini*, who, being refuſed ſuccour even upon the terms of being ſubject to the republic, gave themſelves up to the *Latins*, already in arms to recover their independence. The *Campanians*, forgetting the benefits they had received from the *Romans*, and their engagements with the republic, followed the example of the *Sidicini* and joined the *Latins*. An army formed of theſe three united nations entered *Samnium*, laying waſte all before them; but not being able to bring the *Samnites* to a battle, ſoon retired for want of proviſions. Their retreat gave the *Samnites* an opportunity of ſending embaſſadors to *Rome*, to complain of her ſuffering the *Latins* and *Campanians*, her allies and ſubjects, to commit hoſtilities in *Samnium*. The ſenate did not indeed approve of the hoſtilities the *Latins* had committed, but were aſhamed to own, that they had no longer power over them. The conſul *Plautius* therefore in the name of the ſenate returned the following anſwer: The *Campanians* are our ſubjects, and we will therefore force them not to moleſt you. But as for the *Latins*, our treaty of alliance with them does not oblige them not to enter into any war without our conſent; and therefore we can promiſe nothing in relation to them. This anſwer left the *Samnites* in a melancholy uncertainty, offended the *Campanians*, and, as it ſeemed to betray a ſenſe of weakneſs in the *Romans*, raiſed the ſpirits of the *Latins* to ſuch a degree, that they imagined they

The Latins *revolt, and join the* Campanians.

they could now demand nothing, which the *Romans* would dare to refuſe them. They ſecretly combined with the *Campanians* to fall upon the *Romans*, though in appearance their preparations were only againſt the *Samnites*. But the ſenate, being informed of their intentions by ſome friends to *Rome* among them, reſolved to prevent the enemy, and in order thereto to bring on the election of new conſuls before the uſual time. Accordingly, they obliged the preſent conſuls to abdicate; but ſome religious ſcruples being raiſed concerning the holding of the comitia, by conſuls depoſed before the expiration of their year, the government was reduced to an inter-regnum, and two preſidents, *Valerius Corvus* and *M. Fabius*, were named to govern in the mean time ſucceſſively, each five days in his turn. While the latter was in office, the people were aſſembled in the *campus Martius*; and it being of the utmoſt importance to chuſe two able men to ſit at the helm in ſo tempeſtuous a ſeaſon, the centuries pitched upon the famous *Manlius Torquatus* and *Decius Mus*, the former a patrician, and the latter a plebeian. The republic promiſed herſelf a continued ſeries of proſperity under the adminiſtration of theſe two illuſtrious magiſtrates. *Torquatus* was a man of an inflexible ſeverity in keeping up the military diſcipline; *Decius* had a more humane temper; and both collegues were equally famous for great piety towards the gods, and a tender love for their country. In the beginning of their conſulate, *Alexander*, king of *Epirus*, and brother to *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander the Great*, came into *Italy* on the invitation of the *Tarentines*, to aſſiſt them againſt the *Brutians*. This prince hoped to have ſubdued all *Italy*, with the ſame eaſe as his nephew had reduced *Perſia*; but was not ſo ſucceſsful in his ſcheme, having to do with more warlike nations. He gained indeed ſome ſmall advantages over the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* at his firſt coming; but ſoon found it neceſſary to court the friendſhip of the more powerful nations of *Italy*, and particularly of the *Romans*, with whom he concluded an alliance of friendſhip [k].

Ten of the Latin chiefs ſummoned to Rome.

AFTER this the two conſuls made it their whole buſineſs to prevent the revolt of the *Latins*; and the firſt ſtep they took, in order thereto, was, to ſummon ten of the *Latin* chiefs to appear at *Rome*, and give an account of their preparations for war. The *Latin* council ſent one *L. Annius*, a man of great credit among them, with ten more to *Rome*, to demand, as a condition of renewing the alliance between

[k] LIV. l. viii. c. 4. JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 2.

the two nations, that *one of the conſuls and half of the ſenate be for the future choſen out of the Latins.* This demand was rejected with indignation, and war immediately declared. The conſuls ordered levies to be made, and having formed two armies, conſiſting intirely of *Romans*, they marched through the territories of the *Marſi*, entered the country of the *Peligni* that way, and incamped in *Campania* at the foot of mount *Veſuvius*, at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy's camp.

The two conſuls march againſt the Latins.

The night before the battle, which ſoon enſued, both conſuls are ſaid to have dreamt the ſame dream. A man of a gigantic ſtature and majeſtic mien appeared to them, and told them, that the victory was decreed to that army of the two, whoſe general ſhould devote himſelf to the *Dii Manes.* When it was day the two conſuls communicated their dreams to each other. Perhaps they had courage enough to feign an apparition, which muſt coſt one or the other of them his life, purely to raiſe the courage of their ſoldiers; for the love of the *Romans* for their country, and their deſire of glory, were apt to ſuggeſt to them ſuch ſchemes. But be that as it will, it is pretended, that the aruſpices made ſuch diſcoveries in the entrails of the victims, as confirmed the dreams. Hereupon it was agreed in a council of war, that *Manlius* ſhould command the right wing, and *Decius* the left, in the enſuing battle; and that he, whoſe troops ſhould firſt give way, ſhould devote himſelf to ſave his country, and ruſh into the midſt of the enemy's battalions. In the ſame council of war, conſiſting of the two conſuls, all the lieutenant generals, and legionary tribunes, it was likewiſe determined, that the antient diſcipline ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved in the preſent war, and that no officer or ſoldier ſhould dare to fight the enemy without expreſs orders, or out of his rank, upon pain of death. This was done, becauſe the enemy they were now to engage with ſpoke the ſame language, were armed after the ſame manner, obſerved the ſame way of fighting (T), and were

(T) The order of battle, in which the *Romans* drew up their army before an engagement, in *Manlius*'s time, was as follows: They formed the whole body of their troops into three lines, diſtinguiſhed by the names of *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*. The *Haſtati*, who compoſed the firſt line, were ſo ſtyled from the javelins called *Haſtæ*, which they bore. The *Principes*, who made the ſecond line, were ſo called, according to *Varro* (13), becauſe in more antient times they were placed in the front of the battle, and

(13) *Varro de Ling. Latin. l.* iv.

began

were perſonally acquainted with moſt of the *Roman* officers, having ſerved under them in former wars. { It happened ſoon after

began the attack. They were in thoſe times the richeſt of the *Roman* youth. The *Triarii* were ſo named, becauſe they made the third line. They were commonly *Veterans*, and the main ſtrength of the army. The *Principes* were armed with ſwords, and the *Triarii* with javelins, called *Pila*, whence they borrowed the name of *Pilani Milites*, and the ſoldiers of the two lines before them that of *Milites Antepilani*. In after-ages, the *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, ſeem to have bore much the ſame arms, ſince *Polybius* has not divided them in his deſcription, but ſpeaks of them all together. Each of theſe three lines was antiently intire, without any intervals between the manipuli or companies that compoſed it. Neither were there any void ſpaces left between the lines; ſo that the whole body of infantry was cloſe and compact, like the *Macedonian* phalanx. But at the time of this war with the *Latins*, there was a ſpace of fifty foot between the firſt and ſecond lines, and of an hundred foot between the ſecond and the third. And as ſpaces were left between the lines, ſo likewiſe between the different manipuli, or companies of each line, theſe companies being divided from each other by ſpaces thirty foot wide; ſo that in a line of ten manipuli, there were nine of theſe ſpaces. But theſe openings were not ſo diſpoſed as to yield a direct paſſage to the enemy from the front of the army to the rear. The manipuli of the ſecond line ſtood behind the openings of the firſt, and the manipuli of the third behind thoſe of the ſecond; ſo that the order of the whole reſembled that of trees called by gardeners *Quincunx*, which is elegantly compared to it by *Virgil* (14). When the *Haſtati* happened to be overpowered, they retired in good order, ſtill facing the enemy, toward the *Principes*, fell into the intervals of their ranks, and, together with them, renewed the fight If the *Haſtati* and *Principes* thus joined were too weak to ſuſtain the fury of the onſet, they fell back into the wider intervals of the *Triarii*, and then all together, being united into one cloſe body, made another effort much more vigorous than any before. If this aſſault proved ineffectual, the day was intirely loſt as to the foot, there being no farther reſerves. The whole ſecret of the *Roman* art of war lay in diſpoſing their armies after this manner, and leaving theſe ſpaces open in the firſt and ſecond lines. It was almoſt impoſſible, that this method ſhould prove unſucceſsful, if duly obſerved; for fortune in each engagement muſt have failed them three different times, before they could be routed As for the *Roman* cavalry, they were always poſted at the wings of the army, and fought ſometimes on foot, ſometimes on horſeback, as occaſion required, like our dragoons. At this time they were not numerous among

(14) *Virg. Georg. l.* ii. *v.* 297.

the

Manlius the conſul's ſon, challenged by a Latin *champion, kills him.*

after theſe orders were proclaimed through the camp, that young *Manlius*, the conſul's ſon, being ſent out at the head of a detachment of horſe to obſerve the enemy's motions, met an advanced ſquadron of the enemy, commanded by one *Geminius Metius*, who, knowing the conſul's ſon, challenged him to a ſingle combat. *Manlius*, piqued in point of honour, and forgetting the late orders of the generals, accepted the challenge. Whereupon both parties drew back, aud left the field open for the two champions. They rode full ſpeed againſt each other, and *Manlius*'s lance only glanced upon his adverſary's helmet. Then the two combatants wheeling about returned to the charge, when *Manlius* wounded *Metius*'s horſe on the head with his lance. The violence of the blow made the horſe rear, and the ſuddenneſs of the ſhock threw *Metius* to the ground. He endeavoured to raiſe himſelf with his buckler and lance, but *Manlius* gave him ſo violent a thruſt in the throat, that he drove the point of his lance out at his ſide; and having ſtripped him of his fine armour, returned to the camp full of glory for his victory, but uncertain of the reception he ſhould meet with from the conſuls. He paſſed triumphantly through the midſt of the army, and going ſtrait to his father's tent, accoſted him thus: Father, I have followed your example; I was challenged like you by an inſulting enemy; and here I lay his ſpoils at your feet. But the conſul at theſe words turning his back upon his ſon, ordered the troops to be immediately aſſembled, and in their preſence made him this reply; Since you, *Titus Manlius*, have been

the *Romans*, there being but twelve hundred horſe in an army of twenty thouſand men. As to the ſtations of the commanders, the conſuls and lieutenant generals took their poſts in the middle of the ſpace between the *Principes* and the *Triarii*, where the *Roman* eagles ſtood. The legati and tribunes were uſually poſted by them, unleſs the former were ordered to command the wings, or the others ſome particular part of the army. The centurions ſtood every man at the head of his century or company. The common ſoldiers were placed in ſeveral ranks, at the diſcretion of the centurions, according to their age, ſtrength, and experience, every man having three foot ſquare allowed him to manage his arms in. The *Latin* troops being drawn up in the ſame manner as the *Roman*, it was probable, that the centurions of the two armies would encounter each other. But the *Romans* not being men of ſo much bodily ſtrength as the *Latins*, *Livy* tells us, that the centurions of the *Roman* legions obtained leave of the conſuls to have each of them a ſubcenturion to defend and aſſiſt him (15).

(15) *Liv. l.* viii. *c.* 8.

ſo

ſo raſh, as to fight the enemy without my orders, you muſt expiate your crime yourſelf. You have indeed conquered, and therefore deſerve to be rewarded. But your diſobedience muſt be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. How could you deſpiſe the authority both of a father and a conſul? How could you break through that diſcipline, to the ſtrict obſervance of which *Rome* has hitherto owed her preſervation? Hard is the neceſſity you reduce me to, when you force me, either to forget that I am a father, or that I am a judge. But neither your grief nor mine ſhall prevail over the fidelity I owe my country. We ſhall be a melancholy example to poſterity, but a wholeſome precedent to the *Roman* youth. In you I loſe a ſon, indeared to me by the tender affection of a father, and by your late victory. But alas! ſince I muſt either eſtabliſh the conſular authority by a rigorous act of juſtice, or weaken it by your impunity, die as bravely as you have conquered. If you have but one drop of the *Manlian* blood in your veins, you will not refuſe to repair the breach you have made in the military diſcipline, by undergoing the puniſhment due to your offence. This ſaid, he firſt crowned his ſon as victor, and then ordered the lictors to tie him to a ſtake. All preſent were ſtunned at the cruel ſentence, as if it had been pronounced againſt themſelves; and when the lictor lifted up his ax to ſtrike off the young conqueror's head, a great out cry was raiſed by the whole army, as if the ſtroke had been to fall upon each officer and ſoldier then preſent. However, they offered no violence either to the conſul or the lictor; but, ſeeing the young man's head ſtruck off and his blood guſh out, vented their rage againſt the general in imprecations and invectives. They covered the dead body with the ſpoils of his conquered enemy, and expreſſed their affliction by the moſt pompous obſequies they could perform for him in the field. It is ſcarce to be imagined, how tractable this ſeverity of *Manlius* made his army for the future: his orders were obſerved and put in execution with all poſſible exactneſs, which greatly contributed to the victory he gained a few days after [1].

But is put to death by his father.

WHEN the day of battle came, both armies drew up in the plains at the foot of mount *Veſuvius*, in the road leading to the town of *Veſeris*. As they were pretty equal in numbers, and quite uniform in their way of fighting, the onſet was furious on both ſides, neither party for ſome time gaining any advantage over the other. At length the left wing of the *Romans*, commanded by *Decius*, being vigorouſly preſſed by

[1] LIV. l. viii. c. 7. FLOR. l. i. c. 14. ZONAR. l. vi. c. 16.

the

Decius Mus *devotes himself.*

the *Latins*, gave ground; ſo that the firſt line was forced to retire, without turning their backs to the enemy, into the intervals of the ſecond line. This diſadvantage put *Decius* in mind of his agreement with his collegue, *viz.* that the conſul, whoſe wing firſt gave way, ſhould devote himſelf to the *Dii Manes*. He therefore called out to *Valerius*, the pontifex maximus, to perform on him the ceremony of conſecration, that he might devote himſelf in due form. *Valerius* ordered him to quit his military habit, and put on the robe he wore in the ſenate. Then he covered his head with a veil, ordered him to put forth his hand under his robe to his chin, and, ſtanding with both his feet upon his javelin, to repeat after him the following words: O *Janus*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Romulus*, *Bellona*, and ye *Lares*, and *Novenſiles* (U)! O all ye heroes, who dwell in heaven, and all ye gods, who rule over us and our enemies, eſpecially ye gods of hell, I honour you, invoke you, and humbly intreat you to proſper the arms of the *Romans*, and to tranſfer all fear and terror from them to their enemies; and I do, for the ſafety of the *Roman* people and their legions, devote myſelf, and with myſelf the army and auxiliaries of the enemy, to the infernal gods, and the goddeſs of the earth. *Decius*, having finiſhed his prayer, ordered his lictors to go and acquaint his collegue, that he had devoted himſelf for the ſafety of the army. Then, tucking up his robe and girding it round him, he mounted his horſe, and rode full ſpeed into the thickeſt of the enemy's battalions. Both the *Romans* and *Latins* were ſurprized at this ſight. The conſul broke through the firſt line of the enemy's army, and penetrated to the centre, the *Latins* being terrified at this new ſight, and ſeeming as if they were thunderſtruck. At length, recovering from their ſurprize, they diſcharged a ſhower of darts at the devoted conſul, who fell to the ground with numberleſs wounds. The death of the conſul gave new courage to the *Romans*. Thoſe who had retired returned to the charge with more vigour than ever. However, the *Latins* ſtill kept their ground, and in ſome places had the advantage. When the news was brought to

(U) This word *Novenſiles* is variouſly interpreted; Some are of opinion, that it ſignifies *the new created gods*, or thoſe whoſe worſhip had been lately introduced in *Rome*. Others pretend it ſignified *the nine muſes*. *Varro* by the word *Novenſiles* underſtands the nine deities brought to *Rome* by the *Sabines*, viz. *Lara*, *Veſta*, *Minerva*, *Feronia*, *Concord*, *Good Faith*, *Fortune*, *Chance*, and *Health*. Some read *Novenſides* inſtead of *Novenſiles*, and underſtand thereby another kind of gods who preſided over novelties.

Manlius

Manlius of his collegue's death, he ſhed ſome tears, giving him the praiſes he deſerved; and then, as he was now left to command alone, he ordered a body of voluntiers to advance into the firſt line, reſerving the *triarii*, or thoſe of the third line, who were the main ſtrength of the army, to the laſt extremity. The *Latins* being hard preſſed by theſe freſh troops, and taking them for the *Roman triarii*, ordered their own *triarii* to advance; and this miſtake determined the victory, hitherto doubtful, in favour of the *Romans*. For the *Latins* being quite tired out, and having for the moſt part broken or blunted their weapons, in repulſing the *Romans* once more, when they thought themſelves ſure of the victory, the *Roman triarii*, by order of *Manlius*, appeared on a ſudden, and having given a ſhout, which diſmayed the enemy, fell upon them, while fatigued, with ſuch fury, and made ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that ſcarce a fourth part of their army remained alive. The *Samnites*, for whoſe ſake this battle was fought, had no ſhare in it; but continued drawn up in battalia at ſome diſtance from the *Roman* army at the foot of mount *Veſuvius*, and only ſerved to keep the enemy a little in fear. The chief honour of the victory undoubtedly belonged to *Manlius*, both *Latins* and *Romans* agreeing afterwards in this, that the former would have conquered, had *Manlius* been their general[m].

The Latin *army routed by the conſul* Manlius *in two engagements.*

THE *Latins*, who eſcaped the ſlaughter, fled to *Minturnæ*, a little above the mouth of the *Liris*. There *Numicius* their general by cauſing letters to be ſpread about in *Latium*, and the country of the *Volſci*, repreſenting the flight of the *Latins* only as an honourable retreat, drew many to his camp, who had not been preſent at the late action. Having thus formed a new army, he took the road to *Capua*, being determined to try the fortune of arms once more with the *Romans*, and hoping to ſurprize them with his ſudden return. But *Manlius*, being informed of his motions, met him on his march, at a village called *Triſana* in the neighbourhood of *Sinueſſa*, gave him a ſecond overthrow, and then entering *Latium*, laid it waſte without oppoſition. All the *Latin* cities ſurrendered at diſcretion, as did *Privernum* in the territory of the *Volſci*. All *Campania*, with *Capua* its capital, was brought into ſubjection to its former maſters. The conſul diſpoſſeſſed the *Campanians*, *Latins*, and *Privernates* of their lands, and diſtributed them among the people of *Rome*. However, the *Laurentini* in *Latium*, and the *Campanian*

[m] LIV. l. viii. c. 9.

knights, who were the flower of the nobility of the country, and had not been concerned in the revolt, were continued in their poſſeſſions and privileges; nay, theſe faithful knights, to the number of ſixteen hundred, were made citizens of *Rome*, but without right of ſuffrage. And that this grant might be the more authentic, it was engraved on braſs, and fixed up in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. An annual penſion of forty five *denarii*, that is, 1 *l.* 9 *s.* was alſo aſſigned to each of them out of the public revenues of *Campania*. It is not to be doubted, but *Manlius*, after ſo many ſignal conqueſts, obtained the honours of a triumph, notwithſtanding *Livy*'s ſilence on this head. He ſoon after fell ſick, and, as a *Roman* general was wanted in the field, to oppoſe ſome freſh incurſions of the *Antiates*, he nominated *L. Papirius Craſſus*, then prætor, to the dictatorſhip; who, having appointed *L. Papirius Curſor* for his maſter of the horſe, kept his troops ſome months in the enemy's country upon free quarter, and then returned to *Rome* to preſide at the election of new conſuls for the next year, when *Q. Publilius*, a plebeian, and *Tib. Æmilius*, a patrician, were choſen. During their adminiſtration, the *Latins* revolted, and formed two armies. *Publilius*, ſucceeding in an expedition againſt one of them, was honoured with a triumph. But *Æmilius*, having only gained ſome ſlight advantages over the other, was refuſed that honour, which ſo incenſed him, that no tribune of the people ever inveighed more bitterly againſt the nobility, than the patrician conſul did on this occaſion. Hereupon the ſenate, to prevent diſturbances, ordered him to name a dictator. *Æmilius* obeyed, but in revenge named to that dignity his plebeian collegue, who appointed *Brutus Scæva*, another plebeian, to be his general of the horſe. The dictator, who was intirely devoted to the people, employed all his power and influence to eſtabliſh their rights on a ſolid foundation. This he effected by three laws, which he either made or revived. The firſt was, that the decrees made by the people, at the requeſt of their tribunes, ſhould bind all the ſubjects of the republic in general. The ſecond, that for the future the laws, which were to be paſſed by the centuries, ſhould be firſt approved by the ſenate, and that the people ſhould put the laſt hand to them. Hitherto the comitia uſed to paſs the laws firſt, and the ſenate had a power of accepting or rejecting them. The third law was, that one of the cenſors ſhould always for the future be a plebeian. The ſenate, to pique *Æmilius*, tender of his honour, order'd the next year's conſuls, *L. Furius Camillus*, grandſon to the great *Camillus*, and *C. Mænius*, a plebeian, to put an end to the war which he had left unfiniſhed. And

The Latins *revolt.*

that

that the new conſuls might not fail of ſucceſs, they plentifully furniſhed them with men, ammunition, arms, &c. by which means the united forces of the *Latins* were defeated, the town of *Pedum* taken by aſſault, and all *Latium* brought under ſubjection. The conſuls, having finiſhed the war with great glory, returned to *Rome*, where they were honoured, not only with a triumph, but alſo with two equeſtrian ſtatues erected in the forum [n].

But are defeated anew, and brought under ſubjection.

THE conſuls having yet ſome time to continue in their office, employed it in determining the fate of the conquered. *Camillus* was inclined to clemency, and adviſed the fathers rather to increaſe the ſubjects of the republic, by admitting the *Latins* to the privileges of *Romans* citizens, than to exterminate them, and reduce their country to a deſert. The chief men in the ſenate were for following the conſul's advice. But as ſome cities had been more criminal than others, it was thought proper to make a diſtinction in the treatment of them. *Lanuvium*, *Aricia*, *Nomentum*, and *Pedum*, were made *Roman Municipia*, their ſoldiers had the privilege of being incorporated in the legions, ſhared all the advantages of the *Roman* ſoldiery, and were no longer upon the foot of auxiliaries. The *Tuſculans* were reſtored to the enjoyment of their ancient privileges, the ſenate being unwilling to condemn a whole country for the faults of a few, who had joined the enemies of their republic. *Velitræ* was razed, and its ſenate and inhabitants removed into another city beyond the *Tiber*. The *Antiates* were granted the freedom of *Roman* citizens; but their fleet, conſiſting of ſix gallies, was partly burnt, and partly carried into the *Roman* ports. With the braſs beaks of their veſſels, called in *Latin Roſtra*, the conſul *Mænius* adorned the pulpit, from whence the *Roman* magiſtrates harangued the people; and hence it was ever after called the *Roſtra*. The inhabitants of *Tybur* and *Præneſte* were deprived of all their lands, not ſo much on account of their late revolt, as for having formerly aſſiſted the *Gauls*. And laſtly, all the *Latins* in general were forbidden to aſſemble their diets as uſual, to marry out of their reſpective tribes, or to have common markets or fairs for trade. As for the cities of *Campania*, their lands were taken from them, and divided among the *Romans*. Thus were the two moſt fruitful provinces of *Italy* ſubdued by the republic, and the *Latins*, from allies of *Rome*, made her ſubjects [o].

Year of the Flood, 2666. Before Chriſt, 333. *Of* Rome 415.

[n] LIV. l. viii. c. 13. EUTROP. l. ii. FASTI CAPIT.
[o] LIV. ibid. FLOR. l. i. c 11.

A plebeian prætor.

In the following conſulate of *C. Sulpicius Longus* and *P. Ælius Pætus*, *Publilius*, tho' a plebeian, obtained the prætorſhip; the only great dignity which the plebeians had not before ſhared with the nobility. And thus the people being arrived at the height of their deſires, all pretences for faction were intirely taken away. The conſuls of the new year, *L. Papirius* and *Cæſo Duilius*, led an army againſt the *Sidicini* and *Auſones*, who had invaded the country of the *Aurunci*, at this time in alliance with *Rome*; defeated them in the field, and, having obliged them to take ſhelter behind the walls of their cities, returned to *Rome*. In the following conſulate of *M. Valerius Corvus*, now raiſed to that dignity a fourth time, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, the former laid ſiege to *Cale*, the metropolis of the *Auſones*, which he took by means of *covered galleries* and *moveable towers*, which he invented on this occaſion for the ſcreening of his men, and the carrying on of the attacks without moleſtation. After this both conſuls marched againſt the *Sidicini*; but their year being expired before they had finiſhed their conqueſt, their ſucceſſors, *T. Veturius Calvinus* and *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus*, putting themſelves at the head of the troops which *Valerius* had commanded, entered the enemy's country, and laid it waſte, without oppoſition. Upon the return of the conſuls to *Rome*, a report being ſpread, that the *Sidicini* had aſſembled a formidable army, and were joined by the *Samnites*, a dictator, viz. *P. Cornelius Ruſinus*, was appointed to march out againſt them. But his authority did not laſt long; the augurs found his nomination defective in ſome circumſtances, and obliged him to abdicate. Nay, as a plague raged at this time in *Rome*, the aruſpices, carrying their ſuperſtition ſtill farther, declared, that all the auſpices of the year had been infected by the contagious air, and that the inauguration of the conſuls themſelves had been faulty. On this ſuperſtitious prejudice, the chief magiſtrates of *Rome* were diſplaced, and the republic reduced to an interregnum. The next year the faſces were transferred, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*, to *L. Papirius Curſor* and *C. Pætelius Libo Viſolus*, who, in all likelihood, reduced the *Sidicini*, for we find no other epoch of their reduction. *Livy* neither mentions theſe conſuls, nor gives any account of this year; which is a great omiſſion, and would confound the whole chronology of the republic, were it not for the *Faſti Capitolini*, which name the above-mentioned conſuls. They were ſucceeded by *A. Cornelius*, a ſecond time conſul, and *Cn. Domitius*, who were obliged to name a dictator, upon a groundleſs report, that the *Gauls* were preparing for a war with the republic. *Papirius Craſſus* was the man they pitched upon,

The Sidicini and Auſones conquered.

and

and he choſe *Valerius Poplicola* for his maſter of the horſe. While the dictator was raiſing an army, more certain news came, that all was quiet on that ſide. However, as the *Samnites* had raiſed a formidable army to oppoſe *Alexander* king of *Epirus*; the dictator kept his army in the field, till the *Samnites*, upon the retreat of that prince, diſbanded their troops. In this ſame year, the number of *Roman* citizens being greatly increaſed after the reduction of the *Latins*; two new tribes, the *Mœtian* and *Scaptian*, were added to the twenty ſeven already in being. *The addition of two new tribes.*

DURING the tranquillity, which *Rome* enjoyed after the reduction of the *Latins*; there ſprung up in her boſom a new kind of monſters, more to be dreaded than any foreign enemy. Some women of diſtinction, according to ſome three hundred and ſixty, according to others a hundred and ſeventy, plotted together, upon what provocation we know not, to take off their huſbands by poiſon, and took the opportunity of an epidemical diſtemper to put their wicked deſign in execution. People were ſurpriſed in *Rome* to ſee ſo many men of note die, and all with the ſame ſymptoms; but had no ſuſpicion of this kind of aſſaſſination, as we may call it, ſo contraay to their manners, that there was then no law againſt it. At length the wickedneſs of theſe furies was diſcovered by a woman, who was in the ſervice of one of theſe criminals, and aſſiſted her in preparing her poiſon. This ſlave applied herſelf to *Q. Fabius*, who was at that time curule ædile; and having upon promiſe of impunity diſcovered to him the whole myſtery of iniquity, the ædile imparted the ſecret to the conſuls, and the conſuls to the ſenate; by whoſe order the ſlave, attended by ſome officers, went to the houſes of above twenty *Roman* ladies, who were all found buſy in preparing poiſons. Among theſe were two patrician women, *Sergia* and *Cornelia*, who being brought before the aſſembly of the people and there examined, maintained, that they had prepared only medicines for the ſick, in which there were no poiſonous ingredients. Hereupon the ſlave, finding herſelf ſuſpected of calumny, propoſed, that the two ladies ſhould take their own potions. The experiment being, at her requeſt, ordered to be made, *Cornelia* and *Sergia* deſired to confer with their accomplices; which being granted, they all by agreement drank their own poiſon, and ſo delivered themſelves from a more cruel death. Nothing could be more ſurpriſing to the *Romans*, than ſuch an exceſs of wickedneſs in a ſex, which had hitherto preſerved its reputation unſullied. The republic aſcribed this unheard-of prodigy to a ſpirit of madneſs, ſent as a puniſhment by the angry *A plot formed by ſome* Roman *women to poiſon their huſbands.*

angry gods; and therefore, to appeaſe their wrath, had recourſe to the ceremony which ſhe had formerly practiſed, in the time of plagues and general calamities. The ſenate ordered the conſuls to nominate a dictator, to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Accordingly, *Cn. Quintilius* was raiſed to that dignity, and *L. Valerius Potitus* made his general of the horſe, only to renew this ſuperſtitious ceremony; which was no ſooner performed, than he reſigned his tranſient dignity, and gave way to the conſulate of *L. Papirius Craſſus*, a ſecond time conſul, and *L. Plautius Venno*. In the beginning of their year, the *Privernates*, in conjunction with ſome of the inhabitants of *Fundi*, revolted at the inſtigation of *Vitruvius Vaccus*, a native of that city, but who enjoyed all the rights of a *Roman* citizen, and had even made himſelf an inhabitant of *Rome*. The *Privernates*, on the approach of the two conſuls, retired into their city. Hereupon *Plautius*, with one part of the army, entered the territory of *Fundi*, where he was met by the ſenate of that city, who proteſted that they had no ſhare in the revolt. The conſul wrote to *Rome* in their favour, and then marched to join his collegue, who had already blocked up *Privernum*. But while that ſiege was carrying on, one of the conſuls was called back to *Rome* to preſide in the comitia for electing new conſuls, the city being alarmed at the news of the *Gauls* being in motion. The new conſuls, *L. Æmilius* a ſecond time, and *C. Plautius*, entered upon their office the very day they were choſen, tho' before the uſual time, and drew lots for their commands. It fell to *Æmilius* to act againſt the *Gauls*; and to his collegue to carry on the ſiege of *Privernum*. *Æmilius* made the levies with the utmoſt vigour, admitted of no excuſe, but put all, without diſtinction, who were able to bear arms, upon the military roll. Such was the terror the very name of the *Gauls* ſtruck into the *Romans*. But the great army, raiſed on this occaſion, marched no farther than *Veii*, where the conſul received certain advice, that all was quiet among the *Gauls*. He then joined his collegue before *Privernum*, which, being already fatigued with a long ſiege, ſurrendered, and delivered up *Vitruvius*, the author of the revolt, who was, by an order from the ſenate, firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. The two conſuls on their return to *Rome*, were honoured with a triumph, and *Æmilius* moreover with the ſurname of *Privernas*. What now remained was to puniſh the *Privernates*. Such of the ſenators, as had continued in the place after the revolt, were removed beyond the *Tiber*, and forbid to paſs the river under the penalty of a great fine. As for the inno-

Privernum *taken.*

cent

cent multitude, and the priſoners taken in the war, the conſul *Plautius* uſed all his intereſt in their behalf. He led the captives to the door of the ſenate-houſe, and made a moving harangue in their favour. But the ſenators were divided in opinion, ſome inclining to clemency, others to ſeverity. The only reſource of thoſe unhappy men was humble ſupplications. But they were *Volſci*, that is, a nation as proud, and capable of as generous ſentiments, as the *Romans* themſelves. For one of them being asked by a ſenator, who was for putting them all to death, what puniſhment he and his fellow-captives deſerved? anſwered with great intrepidity, We deſerve that puniſhment, which is due to men who are jealous of their liberty, and think themſelves worthy of it. *Plautius* perceiving that his anſwer exaſperated ſome of the ſenators, endeavoured to prevent the ill effects of it, by putting a milder queſtion to the priſoner. How would you behave, ſaid he, if *Rome* ſhould pardon you? Our conduct, replied the generous captive, depends upon yours. If the peace you grant us be an honourable one, you may depend on a conſtant fidelity on our parts: if the terms of it be hard or diſhonourable, lay no ſtreſs on our adherence to you. Some of the judges conſtrued theſe words as menaces, but the wiſer part, finding in them a great deal of magnanimity, cried out, that a nation, whoſe only deſire was liberty, and only fear that of loſing it, was worthy to become *Roman*. Accordingly, a decree paſſed in favour of the priſoners, and *Privernum* was declared a municipium. Thus the bold ſincerity of one man ſaved his country, and gained it the privilege of being incorporated into the *Roman* ſtate †.

A noble anſwer given by one of the inhabitants of that city.

THE next year, in the conſulate of *C. Plautius Proculus* and *P. Cornelius Scapula*, the *Romans* gave umbrage to the *Samnites*, by planting a colony in *Fregellæ*, which ſtood in their neighbourhood, and proved the occaſion of that bloody war, which ſoon after broke out between the two nations. In the mean time, the *Palæpolitans*, taking advantage of this new diſcontent of the *Samnites*, committed hoſtilities in the *Roman* territories. Theſe people were originally *Eubæans*, who, coming into *Italy*, built *Cumæ*, and thence ſpreading themſelves farther, founded the city of *Naples* or *Neapolis*, that is, *The New City*. In the neighbourhood of *Naples* they found a town ready built, which they poſſeſſed themſelves of, calling it *Palæpolis* or *Palaiopolis*, that is, *The Old City*. Theſe *Palæpolitans* were the firſt of all the *Greeks*, who ventured to attack the *Romans*. Their confidence was found-

The Palæpolitans *make an irruption into the* Roman *territories.*

† LIV. ibid.

ed

ed upon a report ſpread abroad, that the *Samnites* would ſoon be at war with the *Romans*. The news of this unexpected invaſion was brought to *Rome*, juſt before the comitia by centuries were aſſembled to appoint new conſuls, and the comitia by tribes to chuſe new tribunes of the people. The latter choſe one *Q. Flavius*, a man of a moſt infamous character, who had been accuſed not long before of offering violence to a woman of diſtinction, and debauching her. *C. Valerius*, one of the curule ædiles, was his chief proſecutor; and the evidence being clear, fourteen of the twenty nine tribes had already voted him guilty, when the accuſed cried out with great proteſtations, that he was innocent. Upon this *Valerius*, who bore him an irreconcileable hatred, cried out with a louder voice, What is that to me, whether thou art guilty or innocent, provided thou be deſtroyed? The tribes were ſo offended at theſe words, that they immediately acquitted *Flavius*, though evidently guilty, by a great majority of ſuffrages. A few months after he loſt his mother, and as it was then cuſtomary to offer ſacrifices in honour of the dead, he offered a greater number of victims than uſual, and diſtributed the fleſh among the people, who had favoured him at his trial. This gratitude proved more beneficial to him than he expected. The people remembered him in the comitia, and choſe him, though abſent, for one of their tribunes [P].

The conſul Publius *marches againſt them.*

The comitia by centuries raiſed to the conſulate *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Q. Publius Philo*, a ſecond time. The latter marched againſt the *Palæpolitans*, and, in order to cut off their communication with *Neapolis*, from whence they were ſupplied with men and proviſions, encamped on a narrow tract of ground between thoſe two cities. His collegue poſted himſelf with another army near *Capua*, to keep the *Campanians* in awe. In this camp he received undoubted intelligence, that the *Samnites*, jealous of the progreſs of the *Roman* arms, had ſollicited the inhabitants of *Privernum*, *Fundi*, and *Formia* to revolt. Upon this the ſenate ſent an embaſſy into *Samnium*, complaining of a conduct ſo contrary to the faith of treaties. The embaſſadors met with a haughty reception; but, without loſing their temper, after having heard the complaints of the *Samnites*, which chiefly related to the rebuilding and fortifying of *Fregellæ*, returned the following anſwer: The injuries you complain of require a great deal of time to be examined. As therefore we have common friends and allies, let us refer our differences to their arbitra-

A new rupture between the Samnites *and* Romans.

[P] Liv. l. viii. c. 22. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 1.

tion.

tion. Arbitrators, cried the *Samnites*, we will have none but the gods and our ſwords. Battles will determine our pretenſions better than words. *Mars* ſhall put an end to our diſputes in the plains of *Campania*. Go, *Romans*, tell your conſuls, that we wait for them between *Capua* and *Sueſſula*. Our ſwords will there determine, which of the two nations ought to give law to the reſt of *Italy*. The embaſſadors replied, We ſhall not take our orders from you; our generals will lead us whither they think fit, and we ſhall follow them. In the mean while, the time for the new elections drawing near, the ſenate, without recalling the conſuls, ordered a dictator to be named to preſide in the comitia. The conſul *Cornelius* nominated *M. Claudius Marcellus*, a plebeian, who choſe *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus* for his maſter of the horſe. But, the augurs pretending that the nomination was invalid, *Marcellus* was obliged to abdicate the dictatorſhip, and *Poſthumius* the command of the horſe. The people, imagining that the view of the augurs was only to wound the plebeian intereſt, made loud complaints, and murmured at that ambitious college; but in the end ſuperſtition prevailed, and the government falling into an inter-regnum, *C. Pætelius Libo* and *L. Papirius Mugellanus* were choſen conſuls for the enſuing year. Theſe, putting themſelves at the head of the army, which *Cornelius* had commanded, entered *Samnium*, and being joined by the *Lucanians* and *Apulians*, two nations to which the *Romans* had been hitherto utter ſtrangers, penetrated farther into the enemy's country, ravaged their lands, and ſeized three of their cities, viz. *Allifæ*, *Callifæ*, and *Rufrium*. On the other hand, *Publilius*, being continued by the people, at the motion of their tribunes, at the head of the ſame army he had commanded the year before, with the title of proconſul, took at length *Palæpolis*, by a ſtratagem laid and executed by two of the citizens. Four thouſand *Samnites* and two thouſand of the inhabitants of *Nola*, a city of *Campania*, having got into the town before it was inveſted, under pretence of ſtrengthening the gariſon, kept the inhabitants in a cruel ſtate of ſlavery, and committed all ſorts of debaucheries, which they extended even to the wives of that unhappy people, and their children of both ſexes. In this diſtreſs the *Palæpolitans*, having long waited in vain for relief from the *Tarentines*, reſolved at length to have recourſe to their enemies, in order to deliver themſelves from the oppreſſion of their defenders. *Nymphius* and *Charilaus*, the two chief magiſtrates of the city, took upon them, with the conſent of the principal inhabitants, the execution of the enterpriſe. *Charilaus* eſcaped as a deſerter

Palæpolis *taken by a ſtratagem.*

to the *Roman* camp, where he imparted to the proconſul the reſolution his countrymen had taken. *Publilius* received him kindly, and put him at the head of three thouſand *Romans*, who, at a proper time, were to attack the town in that part, where the *Samnites* defended it. In the mean time, *Nymphius*, who had ſtaid in *Palæpolis*, and all along kept a private correſpondence with his collegue, contrived another ſtratagem, and with his *Grecian* artifice ſo blinded the *Samnite* commanders, that they fell without any ſuſpicion into the ſnare he had prepared for them. He adviſed them to equip the fleet, which lay in the port, and make a deſcent in the *Roman* territories, in order to oblige the *Romans* to quit *Samnium*, and the neighbourhood of *Palæpolis*. This motion being approved, *Nymphius* contrived to employ the *Samnite* troops in the laborious work of ſetting the ſhips afloat, which lay dry on the ſhore. By this means, that part of the wall, which the *Romans* were to attack, being but weakly guarded, *Charilaus*, being acquainted therewith by his collegue, advanced at the head of three thouſand *Romans*, and being favoured by his friends, made himſelf maſter of the place. The *Samnites*, who were employed on the ſhore, finding themſelves ſhamefully over-reached, fled with precipitation, for fear of falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and arrived in their own country, without either arms or baggage, where they were expoſed to the ridicule of all their neighbours, who continually reproached them with the equipment of the *Palæpolitan* fleet [q]. Some writers tell us, that the *Samnites*, and not the *Greeks*, delivered the place up to the *Romans*. But the authors of beſt note relate this adventure as we have done. Beſides, *Neapolis*, one of the chief cities of *Great Greece*, entered at this time into an alliance with *Rome*, a manifeſt proof that the *Greeks* ſurrendered voluntarily, and not compelled by any foreign force. For this ſucceſs, *Publilius*, in ſpite of the nobility, obtained a triumph, tho' he was neither conſul nor dictator. He was the firſt, as *Livy* obſerves, who was decreed a triumph for exploits performed in an inferior ſtation. But he was a plebeian, and the idol of the people, and therefore triumphed in ſight of the conſuls of the year, who were refuſed that honour, though they had made conſiderable conqueſts in *Samnium*. Thus the plebeians revenged the affront they had received the laſt year, when a plebeian dictator was by the augurs obliged to lay down his office.

[q] Liv. l. viii. c. 23.

The

THE taking of *Palæpolis* ſtirred up new enemies againſt the *Romans* in *Great Greece.* The *Tarentines*, having loſt their protector, *Alexander* king of *Epirus*, and being jealous of the growing power of *Rome*, by an artful ſtratagem ſeduced the *Lucanians*, who had gone over to the *Romans*, into a league with the *Samnites.* They bribed a company of young *Lucanians* of good families to tear their backs with whips, and then ſhew themſelves to the people, pretending, that they had been treated in that cruel manner by order of the *Roman* conſuls, to whoſe camp curioſity had led them. The *Lucani*, who were but a ſtupid people, ſuffering themſelves to be impoſed upon by ſo groſs a cheat, immediately convened a national aſſembly, and, without examining into the truth of ſo improbable a fact, decreed, that war ſhould be declared with the *Romans*, and their ancient alliance with the *Samnites* renewed. Purſuant to this reſolution, an embaſſy was ſent to the latter, who could ſcarce believe the deputation real; and therefore would not hearken to their propoſals till hoſtages were delivered, and *Samnite* gariſons put into all their towns. The *Lucanians* complied with all their demands, without diſcovering the impoſture, till it was too late to repent.

The Lucanians *ſeduced by the* Tarentines *into a league with the* Samnites.

WHILE the affairs of the republic were proſperous abroad the poor debtors had the good fortune to ſhake off the only yoke, which now lay heavy upon them. By one of the laws of the twelve tables, creditors were empowered to ſeize their inſolvent debtors, and keep them in their houſes, till by their ſervices or labour they had diſcharged the ſum they owed. Theſe poor citizens were in all reſpects ſlaves, except in name. They were called *Nexi*, that is, *bound*, their liberty being, as it were, bound and ſuſpended for a time; whereas the ſlaves were called *Servi.* A young plebeian of extraordinary beauty and of a good family, by name *Publilius*, had voluntarily made himſelf a ſlave to one *L. Papirius*, in order to pay his father's debts. *Papirius*, conceiving a deteſtable paſſion for the young man, and not being able to get the better of his virtue by promiſes and careſſes, cauſed him to be whipped moſt unmercifully. After this cruel treatment, *Publilius*, having found means to make his eſcape, complained publicly of the inhuman uſage he had met with, and told the occaſion of it. The people, filled with compaſſion for the young plebeian, and with reſentment againſt his maſter, forced the conſuls to aſſemble the ſenate, and, preſenting *Publilius* before them with his back all bloody and torn, demanded juſtice on their knees. The ſenate had regard to their cries, and, without decreeing any thing againſt *Papirius*,

Creditors diſabled from ſeizing the perſons of their debtors.

pirius, whoſe crime was not ſufficiently proved, paſſed a decree, which was readily accepted, and confirmed in the comitia. It enacted, *That for the future no perſon whatſoever ſhould be held in fetters, or other bonds, but for ſome crime that deſerved it, and only till the criminal had ſuffered the puniſhment due by law; and that creditors ſhould only have a right to attach the goods, and not ſeize the perſons, of their debtors.*

The Veſtini *defeated by the conſul* Brutus.

In the following conſulate of *L. Furius Camillus* and *D. Junius Brutus*, the *Veſtini*, a people on the coaſt of the *Adriatic* ſea, took arms againſt *Rome*, but were defeated by *Brutus*, who took from them the two cities of *Cutina* and *Cinglia*. *Camillus*, who was to act againſt the *Samnites*, falling ſick, named to the dictatorſhip *L. Papirius Curſor*, who appointed *Q. Fabius Rullianus* to be his general of the horſe. The dictator took the field againſt the *Samnites*, but ſoon after returned to *Rome*, on account of ſome religious ſcruples relating to the auſpices conſulted before his departure. Before he left the army, he forbad *Fabius*, whom he intruſted with the command of it, to venture a battle in his abſence.

Q. Fabius *engages the* Samnites, *contrary to the orders of* Papirius *the dictator, and gains a complete victory.*

But *Fabius*, diſdaining to have his hands ſo tied up, notwithſtanding the dictator's prohibition, attacked the *Samnites*, and gained a complete victory, having killed above twenty thouſand of them on the ſpot. The young conqueror, elated with this ſucceſs, inſtead of lodging the ſpoils of the enemy in the quæſtor's hands, cauſed them all to be burnt, that they might not increaſe the pomp of the dictator's triumph. Beſides, he did not ſend any account of his victory to the dictator, under whoſe auſpices he had fought, but only to the ſenate. Hereupon the dictator ſet out in all haſte from *Rome* to puniſh his diſobedient general of the horſe. But *Fabius*, having timely notice of his coming, and of his deſign, called together the troops, and in a ſeditious harangue committed to them the defence of his life and fortune. His ſpeech was applauded by the legions; they all promiſed him their aſſiſtance, and proteſted, that nothing but death ſhould ſeparate them from a commander, under whoſe conduct they had gained ſo ſignal a victory. In the mean time, the dictator arrived, and, having aſſembled the troops, ordered the crier to call the general of the horſe to appear before him. *Fabius* obeyed the ſummons, and being queſtioned by the dictator concerning his diſobedience, returned only dark and confuſed anſwers. As he could offer nothing in defence of ſo bad a cauſe, *Papirius* ordered the lictors to ſtrip him, and prepare their rods and axes. But while the executioners were tearing off his cloaths, he found means to eſcape out

of

of their hands, and to retire among the *Triarii*. A loud ſhout was immediately heard from the place whither *Fabius* had fled, which was anſwered by the whole army. The ſoldiers all to a man declared in his favour; but expreſſed their ſentiments very differently. Some threatened the dictator; others begged pardon for the offender. Thoſe who ſtood next to the tribunal deſired, in a ſuppliant manner, *Papirius* to ſpare the life of his general of the horſe, and not condemn all the troops in him. The lieutenant-generals of the army, who ſurrounded the dictator, intreated him to put off the execution till the next day, to give the ſoldiers time to cool, and to take ſome time himſelf to calm his mind. But the dictator continued inflexible; nay, he commanded, with an angry tone, the lieutenant-generals to leave the tribunal. Hereupon the ſedition increaſed, and the ſoldiers grew more furious. The dictator commanded ſilence, but neither he nor his criers could be heard. The legionaries were ready to offer violence to their general, but night coming on put an end to the tumult. *Fabius*, not thinking it prudent to ſtand another trial, eſcaped to *Rome*, where his father immediately got the ſenators aſſembled, in order to obtain a favourable decree for him. But *Papirius*, arriving on a ſudden, took his place in the ſenate, and ordered the lictors to ſeize young *Fabius*. In vain did the ſenators intercede for the criminal; *Papirius* was inexorable. Hereupon the father, having no other reſource, appealed to the people in comitia. There had never yet been any inſtance of an appeal from the ſentence of the dictator. But nevertheleſs *Papirius* did not think fit to diſallow the ſuperior authority of the people, ſo that the cauſe was brought before the comitia aſſembled in the forum. Thither repaired the dictator with few attendants; but the *Fabii* were guarded by all the people of diſtinction in *Rome*. Both the *Fabii* aſcended the *roſtra* with the dictator. The ſon had a right to harangue the people from thence, as general of the horſe; but the father had no right, it being the privilege of magiſtrates only to appear there. *Papirius* therefore ſternly ordered him to be pull'd down, as not being in office; and alſo the ſon, as a criminal, who had forfeited the privileges annexed to his office. The father, placing himſelf then at the foot of the *roſtra*, broke out into bitter invectives againſt the haughtineſs and cruelty of *Papirius*, cited the caſes of *Minucius* and *L. Furius*, who had not been ſo ſeverely puniſhed, though they had fought contrary to the advice of *Cincinnatus* and the great *Camillus*, dictators, and omitted nothing that could be ſaid in ſo bad a cauſe. He clamoured, he complained, he called upon the gods and men for help, and, embracing

Is condemned by the dictator, but reſcued by the ſoldiers.

The father of Fabius *appeals from the dictator to the people.*

bracing his ſon, wept a flood of tears. The whole aſſembly, ſays *Livy*, was on the ſide of the *Fabii*; but *Papirius* had on his ſide the military laws, the rules of diſcipline, which were deemed inviolable, the dignity of his office, the dictatorial edicts, *&c.* He reproached the *Romans* with a degeneracy from that heroic love of their country, which uſed to prevail over all paternal affection and private views; he urged the examples of *Manlius* and *Brutus*, who had courage enough to ſacrifice their own children for the ſake of the public good, expatiated on the evil conſequences to the republic of admitting appeals from the dictator to the people, and eſpecially in caſes of diſobedience in war, and concluded with aſking the tribunes, whether they were willing to anſwer thoſe conſequences with their heads. Theſe words threw both the tribunes and the people into great perplexity. They pitied the *Fabii*; but could not condemn the ſeverity of *Papirius*. The receiving of appeals from the ſentence of the dictator would indeed increaſe the power of the plebeians; but they were afraid of the conſequences of ſo dangerous an incroachment on a ſovereign authority. Inſtead therefore of taking upon them to judge in the affair, they became interceſſors for the criminal, humbly beſeeching the dictator to pardon his general of the horſe. The *Fabii* themſelves fell proſtrate at the dictator's feet, and implored his clemency. Upon this the dictator, cauſing ſilence to be made, ſpoke thus from the *Roſtra*:

The dictator at the requeſt of the people pardons the offender.

Both military diſcipline and the authority of generals are preſerved inviolate. The temerity of *Fabius* expoſed both to great dangers; but he has not been judged innocent; only pardon is aſked for him. This I readily grant in deference to the *Roman* people, and to the interceſſion of their tribunes. They have not pronounced him innocent as judges, but intercede for him as friends. Live then, *Quintus Fabius*, more fortunate in this unanimous conſent of all orders in the republic to ſave you, than in the victory you lately gained. Live, *Fabius*, though you have dared to commit a crime, which your father himſelf, had he been in my place, would have expiated with your blood. You ſhall be received again into my favour at your pleaſure. But as to the *Roman* people, to whom you owe your life, you can never expreſs your gratitude to them better, than by punctually and implicitly obeying, whether in peace or in war, your lawful commanders. Go; you are at liberty. Theſe words were followed by univerſal acclamations, ſome congratulating *Fabius*, others expreſſing their gratitude to *Papirius*. Both the dictator and his general of the horſe were conducted back to their houſes

by

by crouds of people of all ranks [r]. The many triumphs, with which we ſhall ſee him hereafter honoured, will prove him worthy of the zeal which *Rome* ſhewed for his deliverance.

WHILE *Papirius* ſtaid in *Rome*, the *Samnites*, taking advantage of his abſence, inſulted the *Roman* army, knowing that they would not ſtir out of their camp to engage them, for fear of meeting with the ſame fate as young *Fabius*. And indeed *M. Valerius*, one of the lieutenant-generals, ſuffered a detachment of *Romans*, who were eſcorting a convoy, to be cut in pieces, though he might eaſily have reſcued them, ſaying, that he dreaded the ſeverity of the dictator, more than the enemy's forces. This accident greatly contributed to increaſe the hatred of the ſoldiery to their general, who ſoon after arriving in the camp, with his new general of the horſe, *L. Papirius Craſſus*, a relation of his own, found his men ſo exaſperated againſt him, that he loſt all hopes of making any great progreſs. The *Samnites*, informed of the preſent diſpoſition of the *Roman* army towards their general, immediately marched out and offered him battle. *Papirius*, thinking himſelf obliged in honour to accept the challenge, drew up his men, and, in order to ſupply the want of affection in his ſoldiers by his ſkill in war, poſted them ſo advantageouſly, that it was not poſſible for them to be intirely defeated. They fought indeed very faintly for fear of increaſing the glory of their general; but after all they did not loſe the battle, there being more *Samnites* killed than *Romans*, though the number of the wounded was much greater on the ſide of the latter. After the battle *Papirius* acted a part which ſurprized every body. Not one officer, or ſoldier, who had behaved negligently in the engagement, was ſo much as reprimanded. Laying aſide the ſeverity and majeſty of a dictator, he went about with his lieutenants, viſiting the wounded ſoldiers, put his head into their tents, aſked them how they did, and charged their tribunes to take particular care of them. As in this ſudden change he did not diſcover the leaſt affectation, the army, which had always had a great eſteem for him, came in a ſhort time to ſhew him a moſt tender affection. The people in the city, being informed of this unexpected alteration, thought fit to continue him ſix months longer in his employment, during which time he gave the enemy a total overthrow, over-ran *Samnium*, and reduced the enemy to ſue for peace. This the dictator granted them on theſe three

Papirius defeats the Samnites, and obliges them to ſue for peace.

[r] LIV. l. viii. c. 34.

preliminary

preliminary conditions; 1. that they ſhould cloath all his troops: 2. that they ſhould give them a year's pay: and, 3. that they ſhould get the treaty confirmed by the ſenate. *Papirius* on his return to *Rome* was decreed a triumph, after which he preſided at the election of the new conſuls, *C. Sulpicius Longus*, and *Q. Aulus Cerretanus*, and then reſigned his dignity. The *Samnites*, to whom the ſenate had only granted a year's truce, no ſooner heard that *Papirius* had quitted the dictatorſhip, than they took the field. As the *Apulians* declared for them againſt *Rome*, the forces of the republic were divided between the two conſuls. *Aulus* marched againſt the *Apulians*, and *Sulpicius* againſt the *Samnites*; but little progreſs was made in the war this year, both *Samnites* and *Apulians* keeping themſelves cloſe in their ſtrong-holds.

The conſuls Q Fabius *and* L. Fulvius Corvus *gain a compleat victory over them.*

But the next year, when *Q. Fabius*, who had been general of the horſe to *Papirius*, and *L. Fulvius Corvus* were conſuls, the *Samnites* having raiſed a formidable army, ſurprized the *Romans*, commanded by the two conſuls, in a very diſadvantageous poſt, and obliged them to hazard a battle, which laſted many hours without either ſide's giving way. At length the imprudence of the *Samnite* cavalry turned the fortune of the day in favour of the *Romans*. For the conſul, having deſignedly ſent away the 'baggage of the army under a ſmall guard, the enemy's horſe, not being aware of the ſnare, wheeled off to ſeize it. But when they had put themſelves into diſorder, and loaded their horſes with the plunder, the conſuls detached all the *Roman* cavalry with orders to fall upon them; which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that few of them eſcaped. Then the *Roman* cavalry, marching a great way about, fell on the rear of the *Samnite* infantry, which had not yet given ground. This unexpected attack ſtruck them with terror, and threw them into confuſion. The *Romans* purſuing the advantage, cut all thoſe *Samnites*, who kept their ground, to pieces. Thoſe who fled were for the moſt part put to the ſword by the horſe, and among the reſt the general himſelf. The *Samnites*, after this defeat, repenting of their breach of the truce, endeavoured to pacify the *Romans*, by making reſtitution of what plunder they had taken contrary to the faith of the treaty. They likewiſe paſſed a decree, that *Brutulus Papius*, a man of diſtinction among them, but the chief author of the breach, ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*. But he having laid violent hands on himſelf, his dead body was carried to *Rome* with all the captives and ſpoil taken in the time of the truce. After this the conſul *Fulvius* returned to *Rome*; but his collegue led an army into *Apulia*, where he muſt have been attended

tended with ſucceſs, ſince he is ſaid in the *Faſti Capitolini* to have triumphed over the *Samnites* and *Apulians*, and his collegue *Fulvius* over the *Samnites* only. One *A. Cornelius* was choſen dictator this year to preſide at the games in the abſence of the conſuls, and during the ſickneſs of the prætor for the year. And hence comes the miſtake of ſome memoirs, which *Livy* followed. That writer, finding that the government was in the hands of a dictator at the time of the defeat of the *Samnites*, aſcribes to him all the glory of that exploit. But the *Faſti Capitolini* inform us better, and, upon their authority, we have rectified the miſtake of the *Latin* hiſtorian [f].

THE *Samnites*, being refuſed a peace, notwithſtanding the ſatisfaction they had made for the breach of the truce, made the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. They appointed one *Pontius*, an able and experienced officer, to command their troops. He was the ſon of *Herennius*, who had been at the head of their armies in his younger days, but now led a private life, and was on account of his wiſdom looked upon as a kind of oracle. On the other hand, the *Romans* in their comitia choſe *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Poſthumius* conſuls, who, putting themſelves at the head of the army, took their rout to *Calatia*, a city of *Campania*. When they arrived at that place, *Pontius*, who had encamped among the woods and mountains, in the neighbourhood of *Caudium*, a little town in *Samnium*, about a league from *Calatia*, cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the *Samnite* army was laying ſiege to *Luceria* in *Apulia*; and the more effectually to deceive them, he ſent ten of his ſoldiers in the habit of herdſmen to lead flocks into different parts between *Caudium* and *Calatia*, with inſtructions to agree all in the ſame report, when taken by the enemy. The ſtratagem had the deſired effect; and the *Romans* in a council of war reſolved to march into *Apulia*, and relieve *Luceria*. Some were for marching the fartheſt way about, through the open country; others, fearing leſt the place ſhould in the mean time fall into the enemy's hands, preferred the ſhorteſt way to the ſafeſt; and their opinion prevailing, the army began to march through narrow paſſes, and climb up rocks, which ſeemed inacceſſible. At length they came to the fatal place, which has been ſince known by the name of the *Caudine*

[f] FASTI CAPITOL. VELL. PATERCUL. l. i. & LIV. l. viii. c. 37.

The Caudine Forks.

Forks. The conſuls marched their troops through a narrow hollow way, having on each ſide thick foreſts; and from thence deſcended into a valley, ſo ſurrounded with hills that it looked like an amphitheatre. The hills were ſo covered with trees and briars, as to be abſolutely unſurmountable. The valley itſelf was very marſhy, being continually watered by torrents, rolling down from the rocks, and frequent ſprings. There was but one way out of it, which was narrow and ſteep; and the *Samnites* had taken care to ſtop it with huge ſtones, and trees laid acroſs. The conſuls gave orders to clear it; but finding it quite impracticable, and diſcovering at the ſame time great numbers of the enemy on the tops of the eminences, they began to fear an ambuſcade. To avoid therefore being inveſted, they inſtantly turned back, and endeavoured to get out of the valley by the hollow way, through which they had entered it. But in vain, for the *Samnites* had already blocked up the paſſage with trees cut down in haſte, and vaſt heaps of large ſtones. The legions, finding themſelves thus ſhut in, without a poſſibility of eſcaping, ſtood immoveable, fixing their eyes on one another, and wiſhing to diſcover ſome ſigns of hopes in their companions faces. The conſuls, to put a good face upon the affair, pitched their tent, and ordered fortifications to be raiſed, as if they had a mind to continue there. The ſoldiers laughed at this fruitleſs precaution, but nevertheleſs raiſed a rampart along the water, though they were all the while ſcoffed at and inſulted by the enemy from the tops of the eminences. As ſoon as the army was encamped, the chief officers repaired of their own accord to the conſuls tent; but the time of the conſultation was rather ſpent in lamentations, than in finding out wholeſome expedients, the gods themſelves not being able, as *Livy* ſays, to deliver them without a miracle. In the mean time, night came on, which the ſoldiers, inſtead of taking their reſt, ſpent in diſcourſing about the unhappy ſituation of their affairs. On the other hand, the *Samnites*, elated with this ſurpriſing ſucceſs, could not agree among themſelves what uſe to make of it. In this irreſolution, it was unanimouſly agreed in a council of war to conſult old *Herennius*, the general's father, and the oracle of the nation. A meſſenger was therefore diſpatched to him with a letter, informing him of the extremity, to which his ſon had, by his addreſs, reduced the *Roman* army, and deſiring him to adviſe them how they ſhould treat an army, hitherto invincible, but now intirely at their mercy. The wiſe old man returned by the meſſenger the following anſwer: *I adviſe my ſon to open a*

The Roman *army ſurrounded by the enemy.*

paſſage

paſſage for the Romans, *and to let them return home without doing them the leaſt harm.* The officers, ſurpriſed at this anſwer, and imagining the meſſenger had miſunderſtood *Herennius*, ſent him back to him; and then the old man gave a very different anſwer from the former: *Tell the council*, ſaid he, *that I would not have them ſpare the life of one* Roman; *let them be all put to the ſword without diſtinction.* The ſtrange difference between theſe two anſwers made the *Samnites* imagine, that there was ſome myſtery in the matter, and preſs *Pontius* to have his father brought to the camp to explain himſelf. When the wiſe *Herennius* was come and introduced to the council, he told them, that *Rome* was a powerful ſtate, from whoſe affection they might promiſe themſelves the greateſt benefits, and from whoſe enmity they had reaſon to fear the greateſt misfortunes. If we gain her affection, ſaid he, by a ſignal act of generoſity, we ſecure to ourſelves, a happy and laſting tranquillity. On the other hand, if we cut off all the flower of her youth at one blow, we ſhall be ſafe, at leaſt for a time. In good policy, there is no medium between theſe two extremes. Either ſave the *Romans* in ſuch manner as to make them your friends, or deſtroy them ſo effectually as to render them leſs formidable enemies. But *Pontius* and his officers, rejecting this advice, choſe a middle way, not ſo generous as the former, nor quite ſo rigorous as the latter. They ſpared their lives, but at the ſame time treated them as conquered enemies.

WHILE the *Samnites* were thus deliberating about the fate of the *Romans*, the ſcarcity of proviſions increaſed daily in the inveſted camp; and no hopes of relief appeared, or poſſibility of eſcaping. Some ſoldiers indeed attempted to get out of the ſnare, but were met and driven back by the enemy's parties. In this deſperate condition, the conſuls ſent a deputation to the *Samnites* to deſire a peace upon equitable terms, and in caſe of refuſal to invite them to a battle. *Pontius*, with a haughty air, gave the deputies the following anſwer: We have no battles to fight; the victory is already gained. Not a man of your legions ſhall eſcape, till you have all been diſarmed, and paſſed one by one under the yoke. This is a preliminary, which I abſolutely inſiſt upon. Beſides this, the *Romans* ſhall leave *Samnium*, and withdraw their colonies from all the cities which they have taken from us. Tell your conſuls this from me; and, if they do not accept the terms propoſed, appear no more in my preſence. This anſwer occaſioned as great a conſternation in the camp, as if they had received advice that they muſt die. Nothing

was heard but ſighs and lamentations. The conſuls, ſtruck dumb, durſt not declare themſelves for ſo ſhameful a treaty, and yet could not reject it in the extremity to which they were reduced. While they were thus heſitating, *L. Lentulus*, an officer of diſtinction, who by his wiſe conduct had raiſed himſelf to one of the chief poſts in the army, and had been at the head of the deputation to the *Samnites*, broke ſilence, and in a long harangue ſhewed the neceſſity of complying with the conditions impoſed, if they deſired to ſave their own lives, or had any regard to the preſervation of *Rome*. His advice was followed; and the conſuls ſignified to the *Samnite* general, that they conſented to lay down their arms and paſs under the yoke; upon which they obtained a conference with him. In this interview, *Pontius* deſired to conclude a treaty of peace and friendſhip with *Rome*; but the conſuls declared, that they could not conclude any that would be binding, without the approbation of the people, and the miniſtry of the *Feciales*. Our power, ſaid they, extends no farther than to make promiſes, which we are ready to ſtrengthen by giving hoſtages. The ſtipulation was accepted, and, on the day appointed, the conſuls, lieutenant-generals, quæſtors, and military tribunes went to the camp of the *Samnites* to ſign it. They promiſed to quit *Samnium*, evacuate the places where they had planted colonies, and ſuffer the *Samnites* to live in peace, according to their own laws. To ſecure the performance of this convention, the *Samnites* demanded ſix hundred *Roman* knights as hoſtages, with this condition, that they might cut off their heads, if the republic did not perform the conſuls promiſes. Upon the return of the conſuls, ſorrow and rage filled the hearts of the *Roman* ſoldiers. They could ſcarce refrain themſelves from offering violence to their generals, and cutting them in pieces. They formed dreadful ideas of their future diſhonour, and were ready to eſcape it, by laying violent hands on themſelves, and periſhing by each others ſwords. At length the fatal hour came. The ſix hundred knights marched firſt out of the camp, unarmed, and with their under garment only. Theſe were put into the enemy's hands, who conducted them to a place of ſafety. The two conſuls appeared next, and were ordered to pull off their *paludamenta*, or military clokes, the enſigns of their dignity. At this ſight the ſoldiers, though full of rage againſt their generals, turned away their eyes, and changed their anger into compaſſion. They could not ſee officers of ſo high a rank treated with ſo much indignity, without the utmoſt concern.

The Roman army paſſes under the yoke.

While

While the legions were lamenting their hard fate, the conſuls paſſed firſt under the yoke, ſtripped of their habits, and half naked; the inferior officers followed according to their rank, and at laſt the ſoldiers, one by one. The *Samnites* inſulted them as they paſſed; and if any *Roman* returned but a fierce look, he was immediately knocked down or killed. When they had all paſſed thus under the yoke, they were allowed to depart; and might have reached *Capua* the ſame day; but, partly out of diſtruſt of that city, though allied to *Rome*, and partly out of ſhame to be ſeen there in ſo miſerable a condition, they threw themſelves on the ground, at ſome diſtance from that city, with a deſign to paſs the night in the open air, without food or refreſhment. But the *Capuans*, being informed of their misfortune and forlorn condition, immediately ſent cloaths, horſes, arms, and even lictors and faſces to the conſuls, with great plenty of proviſions for the whole army. And when, the next day, they drew near the city, the ſenate and people went out to meet them, with all demonſtrations of friendſhip and kindneſs. But the conſuls and their troops, overwhelmed with ſhame, ſeemed unaffected with this friendly hoſpitality. With their eyes fixed on the ground they perſiſted in ſilence, and ſhunned all diſcourſe. They were attended by the flower of the *Campanian* nobility to the frontiers of their country; but they ſtill obſerved the ſame behaviour, and ſhewed the ſame dejection of mind; which made the *Capuans* conclude, that the *Roman* courage was for ever loſt, and paved the way for a revolt. One of them, however, a venerable old man, by name *Oſilius Calavius*, judged differently of the dumb confuſion of the *Romans*. Their eyes, ſaid he, fixed on the ground, ſhew much they are bent on revenge; and their refuſing to be comforted is a proof, that they will never forgive the affront they have received.

AT *Rome* the people began to be in pain for the conſular army: News had been brought thither, that it was ſurrounded by the enemy, and ſome levies had been made to march to their aſſiſtance. But, in the mean time, the ſenate receiving an account of the ſhameful peace, a ſtop was put to all further preparations. The people, as ſoon as it was communicated to them, put on the deepeſt mourning, without waiting for orders from the ſenate. The adminiſtration of juſtice was neglected; the ſhops in the forum were ſhut up; the *Roman* matrons laid aſide their jewels and gold rings, the magiſtrates their robes, *&c.* In ſhort, the city was in as great conſternation as the army. Every one made moſt bitter invectives againſt the cowards, as they ſtyled them, and the

authors

authors of ſo ſhameful a treaty. The multitude were even for ſhutting them out of the city, as wretches who did not deſerve to ſee their native country again. But the indignation of the *Roman* people was ſoon turned into pity. For their unhappy countrymen no ſooner appeared at the gates, but the whole city flocked out to ſee them, every one lamenting with tears in their eyes the misfortunes of thoſe unhappy men. However, they did not enter the city till night, and then every one ſtole home, and hid himſelf in his own houſe. Even the conſuls, looking upon themſelves as diſgraced and in a manner degraded, baniſhed themſelves from public ſociety, and only performed one function of their office, which was indiſpenſible; that is, they named a dictator to preſide in the comitia for the election of new conſuls, thinking themſelves unworthy to appear at the head of the republic in the *campus Martius*. The dictator they nominated was *Q. Fabius Ambuſtus*, who choſe *Ælius Pætus* for his general of the horſe; but, ſome defect being found in his nomination, *Æmilius Papus* was ſubſtituted in his room; and the general of the horſe he choſe was *Valerius Flaccus*. But the people were ſo diſſatisfied with all the magiſtrates of this unfortunate year, that the latter promotion was as much diſliked as the former. Whence it was thought expedient to let the republic fall into an inter-regnum, in order to have a more fortunate preſident of the comitia than either of the dictators, whom ſuch cowardly conſuls had named. And now two of the greateſt men in the republic were unanimouſly choſen, viz. *Papirius Curſor*, a ſecond time, and *Publilius Philo*, a third time. They entered upon their office the very day of their election, which was a ſort of degradation to their predeceſſors, who had deſerved this affront by their ill conduct. The firſt buſineſs of the new conſuls was, to get themſelves inveſted in their office by a decree of the ſenate, declaring, that in point of religion there had been no defect in their inauguration. After this the treaty with the *Samnites* being laid before the ſenate, *Poſthumius*, one of the conſuls who had been parties to it, declared, that the *Roman* people were not bound by it, as not being made by their order. He added, that the honour of the republic would be ſaved, by ſurrendering him and the reſt of the officers concerned in the treaty to the *Samnites*; which he moved might be forthwith done. The ſenators were ſtruck with admiration at the generoſity of *Poſthumius*, and ſhewed no leſs compaſſion for him than eſteem. However, they approved of the propoſal, and paſſed it into a decree. Two tribunes of the people, who had been raiſed to that office ſince their return from the *Caudine Forks*, oppoſed

The treaty with the Samnites *declared null.*

oppoſed at firſt the decree, maintaining, that the ſatisfaction deſigned for the *Samnites* was no ways ſufficient to diſcharge the demands they had upon *Rome*, and that as to themſelves, they were ſacroſanct magiſtrates, inviolable, and, though concerned in the treaty, not to be delivered up to the enemy. But *Poſthumius* offered ſuch arguments, to prove the invalidity of the *Caudine* convention, and the ſufficiency of the deſigned ſatisfaction, that the two tribunes conſented at laſt to follow the fate of their companions, and with that view laid down their office. The *Romans* talked of nothing now but *Poſthumius*; they compared his devotement to that of *Decius*, and thinking that their republic was obliged in juſtice to nothing more, than to deliver up into the hands of the *Samnites* thoſe who had ſigned the treaty, they began to make the neceſſary preparations for a new war. There needed no orders to raiſe troops; an army was ſoon formed almoſt wholly of voluntiers, the *Roman* youth burning with rage againſt the *Samnites*. The *Caudine* legions were again inrolled, and a powerful army, marching from *Rome* in a few days, arrived in the neighbourhood of *Caudium*. As the *Samnites* were encamped at a ſmall diſtance, preparations were made for ſurrendering up the *Roman* officers in due form by a fecialis. *Cornelius Arvina*, who was deputed by the republic to perform the ceremony, began with commanding *Poſthumius*'s hands to be tied. But the officer, who was to do it, not tying the cord hard enough, out of reſpect to ſo great a man, the generous *Poſthumius* reproved him. Why do you ſpare me, ſaid he? Tie me in ſuch a manner, that the enemy may have nothing to ſuſpect in my ſurrender. In this captive ſtate, the *Roman* officers were led to the *Samnite* camp, and preſented to *Pontius* by the fecialis, who expreſſed himſelf in theſe words, as he had been directed: Since theſe men undertook to conclude a peace with you without any commiſſion, and committed a crime in ſo doing, we deliver them up to you, in order to free ourſelves from any ſhare in the puniſhment, which they alone have deſerved. Upon this *Poſthumius*, as offended with what the fecialis ſaid, immediately gave him a blow on the thigh with his knee, and ſternly ſaid, I am now a *Samnite*, and you an embaſſador of *Rome*. I have therefore by this blow violated the law of nations; and you are thereby authorized to make war upon us. But this little low artifice ſerved only to raiſe the indignation of the *Samnite* general, who laid before the fecialis and *Poſthumius* the injuſtice and baſeneſs of their proceedings. He told them, that they were obliged in juſtice either to obſerve the treaty,

The conſuls, who had made the treaty, delivered up to the Samnites.

or

or ſend the *Roman* army again to the *Caudine Forks*. There, ſaid he, your conſuls may reject the peace, if they diſlike it. Your honour will then be untainted, and your fidelity, as well as the law of nations, will be preſerved inviolate. But ſhall the lives of your troops be ſaved, and you enjoy all the advantages of the peace, while we reap no benefit from our conventions? Are theſe the equitable maxims upon which your feciales are ordered to act? Is this the juſtice with which you proceed in treating with other nations? As for you, *Poſthumius*, do you think the gods will take you for a *Samnite*, and conſider the blow you have given, as an inſult offered to the *Roman* people by our nation? Is it thus that you ſport with religion and the faith of treaties? Are ſuch ludicrous tranſactions becoming the gravity of a conſul, and the dignity of a great nation? Lictors, untie the priſoners, and leave them free to go where they pleaſe [t].

Poſthumius and his company returned ſafe to the camp, where all things were getting ready to enter upon action. On the other hand, the *Samnites* kept cloſe within their intrenchments, having, as *Livy* ſays, a foreboding of the misfortunes which afterwards befel them. They repented, but too late, of their not having hearkened to the wiſe counſels of *Herennius*. So that *Pontius*, though conqueror, loſt in great meaſure his reputation, while *Poſthumius*, though conquered and obliged to paſs under the yoke, gained immortal glory among his countrymen. For the *Romans* looked on the liberty he had gained them of making war as a certain victory. Not long after the inhabitants of *Satricum* revolted from the *Romans*, and, being ſupported by a detachment of *Samnites*, ſurprized *Fregellæ* a *Roman* colony.

Fregellæ ſurpriſed by the Samnites

The *Fregellani*, running to arms, attempted to drive the enemy out of their city. All the inhabitants, women and children not excepted, ſtood up in defence of their lands, their altars, and their houſhold gods, and from the tops of their houſes made a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy. The *Samnites* and *Satricani*, fearing they ſhould be obliged to abandon the city, cauſed a proclamation to be made, offering quarter to all thoſe who ſhould lay down their arms. Upon this many ſubmitted; but the *Samnites*, not thinking themſelves obliged to keep their word with any of the *Roman* name, cauſed all, who had ſurrendered, to be burnt alive. Only a ſmall number of the *Fregellani*, who had not hearkened to the enemy's promiſes, retired fighting, and with their ſwords opened themſelves a way through the midſt of the *Samnit*

[t] Liv. l. ix. c. 8—12.

troops. At the same time, some of the chief citizens of *Capua* entered into a secret plot to shake off the *Roman* yoke. These commotions induced the republic to have recourse to the usual remedy in times of great danger; a dictator was named, viz. *C. Mœnius*, who appointed *M. Fostius*, surnamed *Flaccinator*, to be his general of the horse. The dictator's commission was, contrary to custom, confined to the enquiring into crimes against the state and punishing them. The terror of a judge, from whom there lay no appeal, so terrified the heads of the conspiracy in *Capua*, that they killed themselves to avoid a more severe death. As it is common for persons, who are charged with an extraordinary commission, to stretch their power to the utmost extent, the dictator pretended, that this authority extended, not only to the traiterous practices of the *Capuans*, but to all conspiracies whatsoever, and whereſoever, formed against the *Roman* state. By conspiracies the dictator, who was a plebeian, as well as his general of the horse, meant all intriguing and canvassing for offices; and accordingly summoned several of the patricians to appear before him on accusations of that kind. Hereupon, not only the accused, but the whole body of the nobility, taking the alarm, threatened to prosecute the dictator and his general of the horse, as soon as their magistracy should be expired, for the same crime which was laid to their charge. Our birth alone, said they, leads us to the highest posts. It is only for the common people, and such upstarts, as the dictator and his general of the horse, to raise themselves by intrigues. *Mœnius*, though free from guilt, yet fearing lest his reputation should suffer by the reports that began to be spread abroad, assembled the people, and, having laid before them the uprightness of his intentions, abdicated the dictatorship, that he might be brought to a trial. *Fostius* likewise resigned his office for the same purpose. The senate by a special commission appointed the consuls to be their judges. Those of the nobility, who appeared against them, were examined; and, upon a full hearing, the accused were acquitted in a very honourable manner [a].

C. Mœnius *dictator.*

It appears from several passages in *Livy*, and from the *Fasti Capitolini*, that the operations of the campaign this year were carried on by *Cornelius Lentulus*, dictator, and *Papirius Cursor*, not in quality of consul, but of general of the horse to *Cornelius*. These two divided their forces; *Cornelius*, at the head of the troops that had passed under the yoke, en-

[a] Liv. l. ix. c. 26.

or ſend the *Roman* army again to the *Caudine Forks*. There, ſaid he, your conſuls may reject the peace, if they diſlike it. Your honour will then be untainted, and your fidelity, as well as the law of nations, will be preſerved inviolate. But ſhall the lives of your troops be ſaved, and you enjoy all the advantages of the peace, while we reap no benefit from our conventions? Are theſe the equitable maxims upon which your feciales are ordered to act? Is this the juſtice with which you proceed in treating with other nations? As for you, *Poſthumius*, do you think the gods will take you for a *Samnite*, and conſider the blow you have given, as an inſult offered to the *Roman* people by our nation? Is it thus that you ſport with religion and the faith of treaties? Are ſuch ludicrous tranſactions becoming the gravity of a conſul, and the dignity of a great nation? Lictors, untie the priſoners, and leave them free to go where they pleaſe [t].

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It appears from several passages in *Livy*, and from the *Fasti Capitolini*, that the operations of the campaign this year were carried on by *Cornelius Lentulus*, dictator, and *Papirius Cursor*, not in quality of consul, but of general of the horse to *Cornelius*. These two divided their forces; *Cornelius*, at the head of the troops that had passed under the yoke, en-

[n] Liv. l. ix. c. 12.

camped near *Caudium*; while *Papirius* marched with the reſt of the army to *Luceria* in *Apulia*, where the ſix hundred *Roman* knights, who had been delivered up to the *Samnites* as hoſtages, were kept. *Pontius* would have willingly marched to the relief of *Luceria*; but, on the other hand, he could not leave his own country open to the *Romans*; and beſides, he was afraid the dictator would fall on his rear. He therefore reſolved to put all to the iſſue of a battle, and accordingly, marching out of his intrenchments, he drew up his men. As ſoon as the *Samnites* appeared in order of battle, the dictator aſſembled his men, in order to exhort them, as was uſual on ſuch occaſions, to behave themſelves valiantly. But the ſoldiers animated with an eager deſire of revenge, demanded a battle with ſuch clamours, that the general's harangue could not be heard. When they drew near the *Samnites*, they preſſed their ſtandard-bearers to march faſter, and fell upon the enemy with ſuch fury, as cannot be expreſſed. It was then uſual to begin general actions with ſome diſcharges of darts and ſtones; but the ardor of the *Romans* was ſo great, that they threw down the darts they had in their hands, and without orders drew their ſwords, and ruſhed upon the enemy with an impetuoſity, that ſeemed a kind of madneſs. This irregular animoſity, or rather rage, did more than could have been expected from the wiſeſt conduct. Nothing could ſtand before them; the *Samnite* army was put to the rout at the firſt onſet, and their camp taken and plundered. All the *Samnites* found in the camp were put to the ſword, and as great a ſlaughter of them was made there as in the battle.

Cornelius Lentulus *gives the* Samnites *a great overthrow.*

After this victory the dictator marched his army into *Apulia*, to aſſiſt his general of the horſe in the reduction of *Luceria*. And indeed the arrival of the victorious army proved very ſeaſonable, *Papirius* being greatly ſtraitened for want of proviſions. The dictator diſperſed his legions about the country, and by that means facilitated the bringing of proviſions to the camp, and at the ſame time intercepted the convoys that were ſent to the beſieged. The *Samnites*, who had likewiſe an army near *Luceria*, finding it impoſſible for the beſieged to hold out long, reſolved to give the beſiegers battle, which *Papirius* did not decline. But while every thing was getting ready for a general action, embaſſadors arrived from *Tarentum*, ordering both parties to put a ſtop to all further hoſtilities, and proteſting, that their ſtate would declare againſt that nation, which ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in carrying on the war. *Papirius* was not a man to be terrified with

the

the threatenings of the *Tarentines*. But nevertheleſs, he pretended to pay a regard to them, and anſwered the embaſſadors, that he would confer with the dictator. And indeed the two generals had a conference; but it was only about the moſt proper meaſures to be taken with relation to the engagement. While the *Romans* were ſacrificing, as was cuſtomary before a battle, the embaſſadors came for their anſwer. *Papirius* accoſted them, and with an air, which ſhewed how little account *Rome* made of the menaces of ſo inſignificant a people, The chickens, ſaid he, feed perfectly well: the gods too are much pleaſed with our ſacrifices: under their protection therefore we are going to fight, as you perceive. He then led his troops out of the camp, in order to engage the enemy. But the *Samnites*, being ſeized with a ſudden fright at their approach, declared, that they would keep themſelves within their camp upon the defenſive, out of reſpect to the *Tarentines*. The legionaries, encouraged by this timorouſneſs of the enemy, attacked their intrenchments with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that they ſoon forced them, and put all to the ſword who came in their way, ſparing neither men, children, ſlaves, nor even the beaſts of burden. Scarce any of the *Samnites* would have eſcaped, had not the generals reſtrained the fury of the ſoldiers, thirſty of blood, in regard to the ſix hundred knights in *Luceria*, whom the beſieged, if reduced to deſpair, might put to death, for the ſake of having the barbarous pleaſure of ſacrificing them, before they periſhed themſelves [w].

The Samnites *defeated in* Apulia.

NOTHING now remained, in order to put a glorious end to the campaign, but the reducing of *Luceria*, which was vigorouſly defended both by the inhabitants, and by thoſe *Samnites*, who had eſcaped from the battle, and taken refuge in the beſieged city; among whom was, as ſome authors tell us [x], *Pontius* himſelf. But notwithſtanding this reinforcement, the gariſon, being greatly diſtreſſed by famine, offered to capitulate, and to releaſe the ſix hundred hoſtages, on condition that the *Romans* would raiſe the ſiege. But *Papirius* peremptorily inſiſted, that all the ſoldiers in the place, to the number of ſeven thouſand, ſhould unarmed, and with one garment each, paſs under the yoke, and *Pontius* at the head of them. Theſe conditions were accepted, and the *Romans* had the pleaſure of retaliating upon *Pontius* and his *Samnites* the ignominy, which he had made them and their conſuls undergo at the *Caudine Forks*. But their greateſt ſatisfaction

Luceria *taken by* Papirius Curſor.

[w] LIV. ibid. c. 14. [x] OROS. l. iii. c. 15.

was the recovery of the hoſtages, which had been delivered up to the *Samnites*, as ſecurities for the execution of a ſhameful treaty.

The next year *Papirius* was raiſed to the conſulate, a third time, and *Q. Fulvius Curvetanus*, a ſecond time. The latter defeated the *Samnites* in *Apulia*, and made himſelf maſter of *Ferentum*, which was either ſubject to, or in alliance with, them. The former reduced *Satricum*, and put all the *Samnites*, who were there in garriſon, to the ſword. The chief authors of the revolt were firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded, and a ſtrong body of troops was left in the place to keep the inhabitants in awe. *Papirius*, after the reduction of this important place, returned to *Rome*, where he received the honours of a triumph, which he had not obtained the preceding year for far greater exploits, becauſe he had acted under the auſpices of a ſuperior magiſtrate. The people were overjoyed to ſee him enter *Rome*, with all the pomp due to a man, who had recovered the luſtre of the *Roman* name. *Livy* repreſents *Papirius* as a hero who would have been a match for *Alexander the Great*, had he attempted the conqueſt of *Italy*. But be that as it will, it is certain, that no general in *Italy* equalled him in military ſkill, or ſurpaſſed him in courage. He was very remarkable for his ſtrength of body, and wonderful ſwiftneſs in running, whence he had the ſurname of *Curſor*. He was a man of a tall ſtature and majeſtic mein, indefatigable in military labours, and always in motion, ſharing with the common ſoldiers the ſevereſt toils of war; and whether it was owing to his robuſt conſtitution, or continual exerciſe, no man exceeded him in eating and drinking. No general ever kept his troops to harder ſervice. We are told, that his cavalry having one day deſired a little relaxation from their fatigues, after they were returned from a ſucceſsful expedition, he pleaſantly anſwered; Yes, by all means, nothing is more juſt; when you alight from your horſes, I excuſe you from the trouble of ſtroaking their backs. Such was the character of the famous *Papirius*, a man greatly celebrated by all the *Latin* writers [y].

His character.

The Samnites *obtain a two years truce.*

In the following conſulate of *L. Plautius* and *M. Foſſius*, many of the *Samnite* cities ſent deputies to the *Roman* ſenate to aſk peace; but could only obtain a two years truce. In *Apulia* the conſul *Plautius* ſpread ſo much terror, that the cities of *Teanum* and *Canuſium* ſurrendered and gave hoſtages.

[y] Vide Liv. l. ix. c. 19. & Aurel. Vict. de Viris Illuſtr.

At

At this time *Capua* was so divided by intestine broils, that the inhabitants desired the *Romans* to give them a governor, and new laws to keep them in order; and it was on this occasion, that the *Romans* turned *Campania* into a prefecture, and sent thither a prefect. Two new tribes were formed this year, one in *Campania*, perhaps to make the *Campanians* some sort of amends for their liberty, which they had voluntarily given up: this was called the *Falernian* tribe, no doubt from the hill *Falernus*. The other was established in the country watered by the *Ufens* on the confines of *Latium*, and therefore called *Tribus Ufentina*; so that the *Romans* had now thirty one tribes, all with the right of suffrage in the comitia by tribes [z]. This year ended with a census, taken by *L. Papirius Crassus* and *C. Maenius*, censors; by which it appeared, that the number of men in *Rome* fit to bear arms amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand.

Campania turned into a præfecture.

The next year, *Q. Æmilius* and *C. Junius* being consuls, all *Apulia* was subdued; so that this year proved no less prosperous for the republic than the former. At the same time *Antium* followed the example of *Capua*, in having recourse to *Rome* for a governor and laws, which the republic readily granted (W). The succeeding consuls, *Sp. Nautius* and *M. Popilius*, no sooner entered upon their office, but they were obliged by the senate to nominate, contrary to custom, a dictator to carry on the war. Perhaps the people had but an indifferent opinion of their ability in warlike affairs. At least, it is certain, that they did not appear at the head of the army, but continued at *Rome* the whole time of their administration. *L. Æmilius*, who was appointed dictator, and chose *L. Fulvius* for his general of the horse, received the command of the legions from the preceding consuls, and with those troops began the campaign, by laying siege to *Saticula*, a city of *Campania* in alliance with the *Samnites*, who came with a very numerous army to relieve the place. But the

All Apulia subdued.

[z] Liv. l. ix. c. 20. Diodor. Sicul. l. xx.

(W) *Antium* was not made a *Præfecture*; nor was any single magistrate sent thither to give her laws. This was left to the patrons of the colony, it being then customary, not only for private families, but for cities and whole provinces, to have patrons, who were often of the chief nobility of *Rome*. The patrons of the municipia were generally of the families of those consuls and generals who had conquered them; and the patrons of the colonies were the children of those who had received the commission to plant them.

dictator

dictator defeated them in a pitched battle, after which they abandoned their camp in the night, and left the *Saticulans* without any hopes of relief. However, the beſieged made ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance, that the dictatorſhip of *Æmilius* expired, before he could make himſelf maſter of the place. The new conſuls were the famous *Papirius Curſor* and *Publilius Philo*, both choſen the fourth time. They had both triumphed more than once over the *Samnites*, were men of diſtinguiſhed merit, and the greateſt and moſt experienced generals the *Romans* had. But nevertheleſs they had the mortification to ſee the carrying on of the war committed to another general, while they continued inglorious, and in a manner out of office at *Rome*. Such mortifications are often given to men of the greateſt merit in popular governments. The people obliged the conſuls of the preceding year to raiſe to the dictatorſhip *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who had been formerly general of the horſe to *Papirius*, and ever ſince his implacable enemy. The new dictator immediately ſet out for *Saticula*, where he received the command of the legions, not from the conſuls, but from *Æmilius* the dictator, whoſe office was expiring. No ſooner had the *Roman* army changed its general, but the *Samnites*, who after their defeat had laid ſiege to *Pliſtia*, a city in alliance with *Rome*, returned to *Saticula*, in order to try their ſtrength with the new general. *Fabius*, without being alarmed in the leaſt at the great number of their troops, continued his attacks with the infantry, while his cavalry guarded the camp, under the command of *Aulius Cerretanus* his general of the horſe. The *Samnites* having one day advanced to the very gates of the camp, and there inſulted the *Roman* cavalry, *Aulius*, without conſulting the dictator, ſallied out with the *Roman* knights. This was a breach of diſcipline, like that which *Fabius* himſelf had been formerly guilty of. *Aulius* at firſt repulſed the enemy, but the *Samnite* general rallied his troops, revived their courage, and led them back to the charge. *Aulius* diſcovering him, ruſhed on him, and laid him dead on the ground with one blow. The *Samnites*, not in the leaſt diſheartened at the death of their general, thought of nothing but revenge. *Aulius*, having penetrated too far into the enemy's ſquadrons, could not retire. Whereupon the *Samnites*, having ſurrounded him on all ſides, called upon their general's brother, that he might have the glory of revenging his death. Accordingly he diſmounted *Aulius*, and, full of rage, ſtabbed him as he lay on the ground. It was then thought a ſingular honour to get poſſeſſion of the body of a general, who had been ſlain in battle. The *Samnites* therefore exerted their utmoſt

utmoſt efforts to carry off the body of *Aulius*. Hereupon the *Roman* knights alighted from their horſes to recover it, and free *Rome* from ſo terrible a reproach. The example of the *Roman* cavalry was followed by the *Samnites*; ſo that a battle was fought between them on foot, in which the *Romans* at length prevailed, and carried back to the camp the body of their general. After the loſs of the battle, the *Samnites* returned to the ſiege of *Pliſtia*, which they took by aſſault. *Fabius* purſued that of *Saticula*, which at length capitulated. From *Saticula* the dictator, without loſs of time, marched to beſiege *Sora*, a city in the country of the *Volſci*, which had declared for the *Samnites*, after having maſſacred a *Roman* colony ſettled in their territory. The *Samnites*, after the reduction of *Pliſtia*, followed him; which *Fabius* no ſooner underſtood, than he turned back to meet them, and came to an engagement with them near the narrow paſs of *Lentulæ*, not far from the *Pomptin* marſhes. Night put an end to it before either party could claim the victory; and both armies the next day continued their march to *Sora*, the one to attack, the other to defend, it. In the mean time, the dictator having choſen a new general of the horſe, *L. Fabius*, a relation of his own, he ordered him to go to *Rome*, to bring freſh levies from thence, and, concealing his march from the enemy, to wait, in ſome ſecure place near *Sora*, the ſignal for entering upon action. The dictator's orders were obeyed, and *Fabius* ſoon arrived with a ſtrong reinforcement. Hereupon the dictator, pretending fear, kept cloſe in his intrenchments, in order to draw the enemy's army near his camp. Accordingly, the *Samnites* marched up to the very rampart, when the *Roman* general all on a ſudden, without informing his legions of the ſuccours *Rome* had ſent him, hung out a red ſtandard over his tent, which was the ſignal for battle. By the fright the dictator ſhewed, and his ſudden reſolution of giving battle, the ſoldiers thought themſelves in great danger, and imagined they had no remedy left but to make a briſk ſally on the enemy. The dictator confirmed them in this opinion, by telling them, that their caſe was ſuch, that they muſt either conquer or periſh; that he had ordered fire to be ſet to their baggage and tents; but that they might ſoon make up the loſs by the plunder of the cities, which had ſhaken off the *Roman* yoke, and ſided with the enemy. However, he gave private orders to ſet fire to thoſe tents only which were next to the ramparts; and this was the ſignal for the general of the horſe to put his troops in motion, and fall upon the enemy's rear. As every thing was executed with wonderful harmony, the

The Samnites *defeated by* Fabius, *dictator, and* Saticula *taken.*

enemy

The Samnites *once more defeated by* Fabius.

enemy was at the ſame time attacked in the front and the rear with ſuch fury, that they were forced to give way, and leave the *Romans*, not only maſters of the field, but alſo of their camp, which was taken and plundered. After this the dictator led his troops back to their own camp, where, to their great joy and ſurprize, they found that only a ſmall number of their tents had been burnt. After this victory, *Fabius* laid ſiege to *Sora*, which was continued by his ſucceſſors in the command of the army, *M. Pætilius Liba* and *C. Sulpicius Longus*, the new conſuls. We know not what motives could induce the public to diſappoint *Fabius* of the honours of a triumph, which he had well deſerved, but did not obtain on his return to *Rome*. The two conſuls incamped cloſe to the walls of the beſieged city, in order to keep the gariſon continually in play. But the inhabitants, not in the leaſt intimidated, either by the nearneſs of the *Romans*, the number of their troops, or the late defeat of the *Samnites*, defended themſelves with incredible bravery. While the conſuls were under great perplexity, as not knowing in what part to make their attacks, the walls being every where well guarded, a deſerter from the town came to the *Roman* camp, and offered to put the place into their hands with the help of ten choſen men only. The conſuls, having examined and approved of his ſcheme, removed by his advice their camp ſome miles from the city, which brought the gariſon into a kind of ſecurity. Then the deſerter, at the head of his ten men, ſtealing in the night time into a part of the upper city, where the wall was unguarded, becauſe thought inacceſſible, placed them in a narrow ſteep path, leading from the citadel to the lower town. This done, he ran down into the lower town, crying, *To arms, to*

Sora *taken.* *arms; the enemy are in poſſeſſion of the fortreſs.* The inhabitants, ſeized with fear, thought of nothing but ſaving their lives by flight. Men and women, leaving their houſes, ruſhed in confuſion out at the gates, which the *Romans* on their approach finding open, entered the city without reſiſtance, and put all thoſe to the ſword whom they met in the ſtreets. The conſuls ſent the authors of the revolt, and of the maſſacre of the *Roman* colony to *Rome*, where they were all, to the number of two hundred and twenty five, by an order from the ſenate, firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. From *Sora* the conſuls marched into the country of the *Auſones*, and upon an accuſation, without proof, of their having formed a deſign to revolt, ſent detachments to ſurpriſe their three chief cities, *Auſona*, *Minturnæ*, and *Veſcia*. As the troops employed in this enterprize were out of their commanders ſight, they ſet no bounds to their fury. The three cities were taken, on

Three cities of the Auſones *ſurprized in one day.*

the

the ſame day and at the ſame hour; the *Roman* ſoldiers, having got into them under various diſguiſes, put all the inhabitants to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age; and this upon the bare ſuſpicion of a rebellion. *Luceria*, which had revolted and maſſacred the colony which *Rome* had ſent thither, was taken the ſame year by aſſault; and both the inhabitants and *Samnites*, who defended it, put to the ſword. The ſenate was at firſt inclined to raze a city, which had ſo often revolted; but it was afterwards reſolved, that a colony of two thouſand five hundred men ſhould be ſent thither from *Rome*, to ſecure that important city, which kept all *Apulia* in awe [a]. *Luceria retaken.*

THE *Campanians*, notwithſtanding theſe examples of ſeverity, prepared once more, as they were a reſtleſs and factious people, to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. *Rome* therefore thought fit to name a dictator to keep the inhabitants in ſubjection, by arms, and the fear of an abſolute magiſtrate. *C. Mænius* was raiſed to that dignity the ſecond time; and he choſe the ſame general of the horſe, *M. Foſlius*, whom he had named to that poſt in his former dictatorſhip. The dictator entered *Campania*, and encamped near *Capua*, while the conſul *Sulpicius*, at the head of another army, drew near *Caudium*, where the *Samnites* waited for the inſurrection of the *Campanians*. The two armies came ſoon to an engagement, in which the *Samnites* gained at firſt the advantage; but by the prudent conduct of the conſul *Sulpicius*, were in the end entirely defeated, with the loſs of thirty thouſand men killed or taken. After this victory the conſul marched to *Bovianum*, one of the chief cities of *Samnium*, and, having poſted his troops round it in quarters of refreſhment, returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph [b]. C. Mænius *dictator.* *The* Samnites *overthrown with the loſs of thirty thouſand men.*

THE enſuing year *L. Papirius Curſor*, a fifth time, and *C. Junius Brutus*, a ſecond time, were raiſed to the conſulate. But nevertheleſs, a dictator was nominated to carry on the war againſt the *Samnites*. The perſon honoured with that dignity was *C. Pætilius Libo*, ſirnamed *Viſolus*, who, having choſen *Pætilius Libo*, one of the laſt year's conſuls, for his general of the horſe, ſet out for *Bovianum*, where the legions were cantoned; but in a ſhort time quitted that poſt to retake *Fregellæ*, which the enemy abandoned at his approach. After he had placed a ſtrong gariſon in it, he led his army againſt *Nola*, which he quickly reduced, as he did likewiſe the cities of *Atina* and *Calatia*, both in the ſame province. The

[a] LIV. l. ix. c. 23---26. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. [b] LIV. ibid FASTI CAPITOLINI.

The Samnites *once more defeated by* Fabius.

enemy was at the ſame time attacked in the front and the rear with ſuch fury, that they were forced to give way, and leave the *Romans*, not only maſters of the field, but alſo of their camp, which was taken and plundered. After this the dictator led his troops back to their own camp, where, to their great joy and ſurprize, they found that only a ſmall number of their tents had been burnt. After this victory, *Fabius* laid ſiege to *Sora*, which was continued by his ſucceſſors in the command of the army, *M. Pætilius Liba* and *C. Sulpicius Longus*, the new conſuls. We know not what motives could induce the public to diſappoint *Fabius* of the honours of a triumph, which he had well deſerved, but did not obtain on his return to *Rome*. The two conſuls incamped cloſe to the walls of the beſieged city, in order to keep the gariſon continually in play. But the inhabitants, not in the leaſt intimidated, either by the nearneſs of the *Romans*, the number of their troops, or the late defeat of the *Samnites*, defended themſelves with incredible bravery. While the conſuls were under great perplexity, as not knowing in what part to make their attacks, the walls being every where well guarded, a deſerter from the town came to the *Roman* camp, and offered to put the place into their hands with the help of ten choſen men only. The conſuls, having examined and approved of his ſcheme, removed by his advice their camp ſome miles from the city, which brought the gariſon into a kind of ſecurity. Then the deſerter, at the head of his ten men, ſtealing in the night time into a part of the upper city, where the wall was unguarded, becauſe thought inacceſſible, placed them in a narrow ſteep path, leading from the citadel to the lower town. This done, he ran down into the lower town, crying, *To arms, to*

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the ſame day and at the ſame hour; the *Roman* ſoldiers, having got into them under various diſguiſes, put all the inhabitants to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age; and this upon the bare ſuſpicion of a rebellion. *Luceria*, which had revolted and maſſacred the colony which *Rome* had ſent thither, was taken the ſame year by aſſault; and both the inhabitants and *Samnites*, who defended it, put to the ſword. The ſenate was at firſt inclined to raze a city, which had ſo often revolted; but it was afterwards reſolved, that a colony of two thouſand five hundred men ſhould be ſent thither from *Rome*, to ſecure that important city, which kept all *Apulia* in awe [a].

Luceria *retaken.*

THE *Campanians*, notwithſtanding theſe examples of ſeverity, prepared once more, as they were a reſtleſs and factious people, to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. *Rome* therefore thought fit to name a dictator to keep the inhabitants in ſubjection, by arms, and the fear of an abſolute magiſtrate. *C. Mænius* was raiſed to that dignity the ſecond time; and he choſe the ſame general of the horſe, *M. Foſlius*, whom he had named to that poſt in his former dictatorſhip. The dictator entered *Campania*, and encamped near *Capua*, while the conſul *Sulpicius*, at the head of another army, drew near *Caudium*, where the *Samnites* waited for the inſurrection of the *Campanians*. The two armies came ſoon to an engagement, in which the *Samnites* gained at firſt the advantage; but by the prudent conduct of the conſul *Sulpicius*, were in the end entirely defeated, with the loſs of thirty thouſand men killed or taken. After this victory the conſul marched to *Bovianum*, one of the chief cities of *Samnium*, and, having poſted his troops round it in quarters of refreſhment, returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph [b].

C. Mœnius *dictator.*

The Samnites *overthrown with the loſs of thirty thouſand men.*

THE enſuing year *L. Papirius Curſor*, a fifth time, and *C. Junius Brutus*, a ſecond time, were raiſed to the conſulate. But nevertheleſs, a dictator was nominated to carry on the war againſt the *Samnites*. The perſon honoured with that dignity was *C. Pætilius Libo*, ſirnamed *Viſolus*, who, having choſen *Pætilius Libo*, one of the laſt year's conſuls, for his general of the horſe, ſet out for *Bovianum*, where the legions were cantoned; but in a ſhort time quitted that poſt to retake *Fregellæ*, which the enemy abandoned at his approach. After he had placed a ſtrong gariſon in it, he led his army againſt *Nola*, which he quickly reduced, as he did likewiſe the cities of *Atina* and *Calatia*, both in the ſame province. The

[a] LIV. l. ix. c. 23---26. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. [b] LIV. ibid FASTI CAPITOLINI.

following year, when *M. Valerius Maximus* and *P. Decius Mus* were in the conſulate, the *Romans*, being alarmed with the apprehenſions of a war with all *Hetruria*, appointed *C. Sulpicius Longus* dictator to conduct it. But, the *Hetrurians* continuing quiet within their own bounds, no hoſtilities enſued on either ſide, the dictator being unwilling to ſtir up new enemies againſt his republic.

At home the city was greatly diſturbed by the innovations of *Appius Claudius*, at this time cenſor. He was a man extremely wedded to his own opinion, and had boldneſs enough to undertake any thing, and ſteadineſs to maintain whatever he undertook. He was an able civilian, and looked upon as the oracle of *Rome* in all knotty points of law; but a lover of reformations, and one who took delight in overturning the moſt antient inſtitutions, and ſetting up for a legiſlator. This great man, for he was really ſo notwithſtanding ſome faults, in his cenſorſhip took upon him to humble the pride of the ſenate. It belonged to the cenſors to draw up and read, after every luſtrum, a liſt of thoſe citizens, who had a right to ſit and vote in the ſenate. Hitherto none but patricians, or the moſt conſiderable among the plebeians, had been admitted into it. But *Appius* introduced the *libertini*, that is, the ſons of thoſe who, having been ſlaves, had obtained their liberty. Having thus debaſed the ſenate, he attacked the prieſthood, which was confined to the nobility alone. The moſt ancient prieſthood in *Rome* was that of the temple of *Hercules*, and of the altar, which had been conſecrated to him, under the name of *Ara Maxima* by *Evander*, in memory of his victory over *Cacus*. This prieſthood, when firſt inſtituted, had been conferred upon a venerable old man of the *Aborigines*, named *Potitius*, and had continued ever ſince in his family. But *Appius* prevailed upon the *Potitii* to reſign this venerable prieſthood to the ſlaves belonging to the public, a moſt contemptible race of men. By this means he gave the nobility a fatal blow, the prieſthood being the only dignity, which the plebeians at this time did not ſhare with the patricians. *Livy*, who has affected to fill his hiſtory with wonderful events, ſpeaks of a tradition, that the whole name of the *Potitii*, conſiſting of twelve families, in which were thirty perſons, at or paſt the age of puberty, periſhed within the year, *Hercules* thus revenging himſelf on the family which had deſpiſed him. The ſame author adds, that *Appius* was ſtruck blind ſome years after by the angry gods, as a puniſhment for his profaneneſs. But *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that *Appius* confined himſelf to his houſe, and that he only pretended to be blind, leſt, if he appeared in public, he ſhould be reproached by the patricians,

Appius Claudius cenſor admits the ſons of freedmen into the ſenate, and debaſes the prieſthood.

whom

whom he had highly exaſperated c. Thus *Appius* brought a blemiſh on the ſenate and prieſthood; but made his country amends by the uſeful works he undertook with ſucceſs. For, by an aqueduct ſeven miles long, he ſupplied *Rome* with plenty of wholſome water, which it wanted before, and made the famous road from *Rome* to *Capua*, which laſted intire above eight hundred years. The remains of this wonderful work are the admiration of all the nations in *Europe* to this day (X). *His aqueduct and high-way.*

THE

c LIV. l. ix. c. 29. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. FAST. voce Potitius.

(X) The aqueduct of *Appius* began ſeven miles from *Rome*, and, after having run a great way under ground, diſcharged part of its waters between the gates *Capena* and *Trigemina*, and conveyed the reſt quite to the *campus Martius*. It was dug under-ground and laid very deep, ſays *Frontinus* (16), either becauſe the art of levelling was not then brought to perfection; or becauſe the *Roman* territory was yet too much expoſed to the incurſion of her enemies, who might have deſtroyed the ſtately arches, and intercepted the water. This water was for many ages called *Aqua Appia* from the cenſor's name. The other work he undertook was equally uſeful to the republic. The road from *Rome* to *Capua* was almoſt impaſſable, eſpecially for the *Roman* armies, which were often obliged to croſs the *Pomptin* marſhes to make war in *Samnium*, and in the eaſt of *Italy*. The cenſor therefore levelled a way through rocks and hills, and built bridges over the rivulets and marſhes for the conveniency of the troops and of travellers. This road was called *the Appian way*, and alſo *the queen of roads*. *Procopius* gives us the following deſcription of it (17): This way was made, ſays he, nine hundred years ago, by the order and direction of *Appius Claudius*, who was then cenſor. It reached from *Rome* to *Capua*, that is, about a hundred and forty two miles. It was broad enough for two chariots to go abreaſt, without incommoding each other. The ſtones, which *Appius* employed in this great work, were brought from a great diſtance, and as hard as flints. Theſe great pieces of rock were ſquared and ſmoothed by the moſt ſkilful workmen. The ſtones were ſo artfully joined together without any cement, that they looked like one ſingle ſtone for ſeveral miles together. This vaſt work continues intire to this day, without having received the leaſt injury from carts and carriages. Thus far *Procopius*. This famous road began at the gate *Capena*, and did not for a great while reach farther than *Capua*, though the author of the *lives of illuſtrious men* gives *Appius* the honour of carrying it from *Rome* quite to *Brunduſium*, in the extreme parts *Italy*, on the *Adriatic* ſea. But that writer

(16) *Frontin. de Aquæductibus.* (17) *Procop. de Bell. Gothic. l. i.*

The ſucceedin; conſuls, *C. Junius Brutus*, a third time, and *Q. Æmilius Barbula*, a ſecond time, cancelled, with the conſent and approbation of the people, the new liſt of ſenators, which *Appius* had made, and reſtored that venerable body to its former luſtre. This ſame year the people recovered a privilege, which the conſuls and dictators had uſurped from them. A law had been formerly made, by which the people aſſembled in the comitia were empowered to chuſe ſix legionary tribunes (Y), out of the twenty four in the conſular armies conſiſting of four legions. Each conſul had two legions under his command, which made a conſular army; and each legion was commanded by ſix tribunes. The generals had for ſome time taken upon them to nominate all the legionary tribunes, without any regard to the right of the people, *L. Attilius* therefore and *C. Marcius*, two tribunes of the people, got a decree paſſed in the comitia, empowering the people, not only to chuſe ſix tribunes, as formerly, but

is herein certainly miſtaken, the provinces through which he muſt have carried this work, in order to bring it to the ſea, not being at that time ſubject to the *Romans*. In the beginning of *Auguſtus*'s reign it reached indeed to *Brunduſium*, that is, two hundred thirty eight miles further. But no hiſtorian tells us who was the author or manager of this ſecond work. Moſt writers gueſs, that it was done by *Julius Cæſar*; for *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Roman* people committed the inſpection of the *Appian* way to him, and that he ſpent great ſums of money upon that work. The *Appian* way is ſtill in many places for ſeveral miles together as intire as when it was firſt made (18). It was paved with ſeveral beds of great ſtones, and bounded on each ſide with a deep ditch to receive and carry off the water.

(Y) There were, generally ſpeaking, ſix legionary tribunes in each legion, which they commanded by turns; that is, firſt, two of theſe tribunes commanded in chief at a time, and then were ſucceeded by two others; and ſo round. *Varro* tells us, that theſe officers were called *tribunes* from the beginning of the monarchy, becauſe a legion then conſiſted of three thouſand men only, and had but three tribunes, there being as many legionary tribunes as thouſands of men in each legion. *Polybius* tells us, that of the twenty four tribunes, who were in each conſular army, conſiſting of two legions, fourteen were choſen out of the *equites* or *knights*, who had ſerved five years, and the other ten out of ſuch as had ſerved in the foot full ten years. The former were called *Tribuni Juniores*, and the latter *Tribuni Seniores*. But theſe qualifications were not rigorouſly inſiſted on till the latter ages, when the *Roman* diſcipline became more regular.

(18) *See Dr.* Burnet's *letters, letter* 4.

ſixteen

fixteen out of the twenty four. But this law was not of long duration. Though the republic at this time ſtood in no need of a fleet, having no wars to maintain but with the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*, yet the people, at the motion of *Decius Mus*, one of their tribunes, appointed two officers, ſtyled by the *Latin* hiſtorians *Duumviri Navales*, to take upon them the care of naval affairs [d].

Duumviri Navales.

IN the mean time, the two conſuls took the field, *Brutus* againſt the *Samnites*, and *Æmilius* againſt the *Hetrurians*. The latter found the enemy ready to lay ſiege to *Sutrium* with a very numerous army, all the *Leucumanies*, except that of *Arretium*, having furniſhed their contingents of troops. The conſul no ſooner appeared, but the *Hetrurians*, depending on their numbers, offered him battle, which *Æmilius* did not decline. Both *Romans* and *Hetrurians* behaved with extraordinary courage and reſolution. The latter, being obſtinately bent to conquer or die, fell in great numbers round their colours, without giving ground, or being put into diſorder. The battle laſted till night put an end to it, when both armies retired in good order to their reſpective camps. But as the *Hetrurians* had loſt more men than the *Romans*, they thought fit to retire in the night, and leave the conſul maſter of the field. *Livy* robs *Æmilius* of the glory of a triumph for this victory, which he repreſents as very inconſiderable; but it is certain from the *Capitoline* marbles, that he entered *Rome* triumphantly on the ides of the month *Sextilis* [e]; whence we are inclined to think, that this victory was more complete than that writer makes it. As for the other conſul, he took from the *Samnites* firſt *Cluvia*, and then *Bovianum*. All thoſe in the former, who were able to bear arms, were put to the ſword; the latter was given up to be plundered by the ſoldiers, but the lives of the citizens were ſpared. And now the *Samnites* had no refuge but in artifice; they endeavoured to draw the *Romans* into new *Caudine Forks*, and with this view ſpread a report in the *Roman* camp by their emiſſaries, that they had conveyed all their proviſions and effects into the foreſt of *Avernus*, between *Cumæ* and *Puteoli* in *Campania*. The *Roman* troops, allured by the hopes of booty, entered the foreſt, where they were all on a ſudden ſurrounded by the enemy's forces, who lay concealed among the buſhes. But the legions rallying in an inſtant, threw all their baggage into a heap, and without waiting for the word of command, drew up in battalia, and falling upon the enemy, obliged them to ſeek an aſylum in thoſe very woods, which they intended to

The Romans *and* Hetrurians *come to an engagement.*

Cluvia *and* Bovianum *taken from the* Samnites.

[d] LIV. l. ix. c 30. [e] FASTI CAPITOL.

have

Junius Brutus gives the Samnites a great overthrow.

have rendered fatal to the *Romans*. As the *Samnites* could not eaſily retire on account of the brambles and thickneſs of the foreſt, the *Romans* maſſacred them without mercy, and left twenty thouſand of them dead upon the ſpot. For this victory *Junius Brutus* enjoyed the honours of a triumph, though *Livy* does not mention it, on the nones of the month *Sextilis* [f]. During the adminiſtration of the following conſuls, *Q. Fabius*, a ſecond time, and *C. Marcius*, the cenſor *Appius* obſtinately refuſed to quit his office, though his eighteen months, the legal time for its duration, were expired, preſuming on the favour of the people, who were greatly pleaſed with his aqueduct and new road. Nevertheleſs, *Sempronius Sophus* cited him to appear before the people for this infraction of the law. Seven of the tribunes were for committing him to priſon; but the other three taking him under their protection, he carried his point, and kept the cenſorſhip alone, his collegue having reſigned it in compliance with the law, more than three years longer.

Q. Fabius gives the Hetrurians a total overthrow and penetrates into the Ciminian foreſt.

During theſe diſturbances, the *Hetrurians*, having drawn together all their forces, encamped in the neighbourhood of *Sutrium*. But the conſul *Fabius* falling upon them, gave them a total overthrow, took thirty eight ſtandards from them, and made himſelf maſter of their camp and all their baggage. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter, took refuge in the *Ciminian* foreſt. Whereupon *Fabius* propoſed in a council of war to purſue the conquered, even into the moſt impenetrable parts of the wood. But not one officer was for marching in queſt of the *Hetrurians*, at the hazard of finding the *Caudine Forks* of *Samnium* in *Hetruria*. And indeed the *Ciminian* foreſt, ſays *Livy*, was at that time more impaſſable and dreadful than the *Hercynian* foreſt in *Germany*. No body, not even the merchants, had ever attempted to paſs through it. However, *Fabius* reſolved to enter it, thinking his victory was not complete, ſo long as the enemy could conceal themſelves in this thick foreſt. He had then with him a near relation, by name *Cæſo Fabius*, who, knowing perfectly well the *Hetrurian* language, as he had been brought up at *Cære*, undertook to examine the foreſt and places about it. He took only one ſlave with him, who, having been brought up with him, had learnt the language of the country, as well as himſelf. Before they ſet out, they diſguiſed themſelves in the habit of ſhepherds, bearing each a hatchet and two javelins, after the manner of the peaſants. But their chief ſecurity a-

[f] Fasti Capitol.

gainſt

gainſt a diſcovery was, the general notion that no ſtranger would dare to enter that foreſt. In this diſguiſe they ſet out, and travelled as far as *Camerinum* in *Umbria*; where *Fabius* diſcovering himſelf to be a *Roman*, treated with the magiſtrates of the place in the name of the conſul, and obtained a promiſe, that if the *Roman* army ſhould come into thoſe parts, they would ſupply it with a reinforcement of men, and thirty days proviſions. Upon the report made by *Fabius* at his return, the conſul reſolved to enter the foreſt, and carry the war that way into the very heart of *Hetruria*, and executed his deſign with a great deal of addreſs. He ordered all his baggage to be removed out of the camp in the evening, and the infantry to follow it to the place where he deſigned to enter the foreſt. He continued himſelf in the intrenchments with the cavalry, which he marched early in the morning to the ſkirts of the wood, where the enemy had placed ſome centinels. Having by this means kept the enemy in play, he returned, after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes, to his camp; but ſoon marched out of it again by another gate to join his infantry, which he came up with before night, and together with them entered the narrow paſſes on the oppoſite ſide to the enemy. The next morning by day-break he reached the top of the hill *Ciminus*, which gave name to the foreſt. From thence he ſurveyed with pleaſure the vaſt and fruitful plains of *Hetruria*; was charmed that he had broke through a barrier, which had been hitherto impenetrable to the *Romans*, and promiſed himſelf much ſpoil and great conqueſts. From mount *Ciminus* he ſent a detachment of legionaries, who not only brought off an immenſe booty, but defeated a tumultuous army, that had got together to reſcue it out of their hands. After this expedition *Fabius* returned to his camp, where he found two tribunes of the people ſent thither to forbid him, in the name both of the ſenate and people, to venture upon ſo dangerous an expedition. But the tribunes, extremely pleaſed to find that the prohibition was come too late, and that the ſucceſs of the project had put an end to the public fears, returned to *Rome*, with the joyful tidings, that a way was opened into *Hetruria*.

THE detachments, which *Fabius* had ſent out to plunder, having alarmed all *Hetruria*, and the people on the confines of *Hetruria*, theſe two nations took the field together, and came to the camp before *Sutrium*, where they drew up in the plain, and offered the *Romans* battle. But *Fabius*, pretending fear, kept cloſe within his intrenchments, and having by this means lulled the enemy into a falſe ſecurity, he drew up his men, about the fourth watch of the night, within the intrench-

ment

ment of the camp; cauſed the ramparts to be levelled, and the ditch to be filled, and then marched out and ſurpriſed the enemy, while half aſleep, and lying ſcattered over the plain: Of the *Hetrurians* were ſixty thouſand men ſlain, or taken priſoners. Their camp was ſeized and plundered; thoſe, who had the good luck to eſcape, flying to the wood. Hiſtorians do not agree about the place where this important victory was gained, ſome contending that it was beyond mount *Ciminus* near *Peruſia*. But be that as it will, this overthrow was ſo great, that the three leucumonies of *Cortona*, *Arretium*, and *Peruſia*, immediately ſent deputies to *Rome* to deſire a ſuſpenſion of arms, which they obtained for thirty years.

The Hetrurians *overcome by* Fabius.

The conſul *Marcius* was not attended with the ſame ſucceſs againſt the *Samnites*. For, tho' at firſt he gained ſome advantages over them, and took *Allifæ*, a conſiderable place on the *Vulturnus*, with ſeveral other caſtles and villages, he had the mortification to hear of the misfortune which befel the *Roman* fleet, the firſt *Rome* had ever put to ſea. It was commanded by *P. Cornelius*, who having made a deſcent at *Pompeii* beyond cape *Palinurus*, ſuffered his troops to penetrate too far into the country, and thereby gave the inhabitants time to aſſemble, and cut off their retreat. The *Romans* were forced to relinquiſh their booty; ſeveral of them were ſlain, and thoſe who eſcaped were driven to their ſhips. This news, with a report ſpread among the *Samnites*, that *Fabius* had met with the *Caudine Forks* in the *Ciminian* foreſt, revived their courage to ſuch a degree, that they gave *Marcius* battle, which is allowed by all hiſtorians to have been a very bloody one, and to have coſt both parties very dear. At *Rome* the *Romans* were thought to have loſt it. A great number of the *Roman* knights and ſeveral legionary tribunes were killed; one of the lieutenant-generals was left dead upon the ſpot, and the conſul himſelf was dangerouſly wounded. In order therefore to prevent the misfortunes which were thought imminent, the republic judged it neceſſary to chuſe a dictator, and caſt her eyes on *Papirius Curſor*, whoſe fate it was to be the refuge of his country in times of public danger. The difficulty was how to get him nominated. It was doubted whether the conſul *Marcius* was alive; and beſides, the *Samnites* had ſtopt up all the avenues to his camp. As for *Fabius*, it was much queſtioned whether he could be prevailed upon to raiſe his mortal enemy to the dictatorſhip, and whether *Papirius* would accept of that dignity from the hands of his old rival in glory. Under theſe difficulties the ſenate thought fit to paſs a decree, commanding *Fabius* to nominate *Papirius* to the dictatorſhip, and enjoining *Papirius* to accept it.

The Samnites *gain conſiderable advantages over the* Romans.

This

This decree was ſent by the ſenate to *Fabius*'s camp at *Sutrium*, with a deputation of their own body, conſiſting of ſuch perſons as had all been conſuls. When they read to him the decree of the ſenate, he was ſtruck with ſurprize and confuſion; but kept his temper, and retired to his tent without coming to any determination. At length his love for his country getting the better of his private reſentment, at midnight, according to the ſuperſtitious cuſtom, he declared *Papirius* dictator; who, having appointed *C. Junius Bubulcus* to be his maſter of the horſe, without loſs of time marched away with an army, which had been ſuddenly raiſed upon the alarm of *Fabius*'s danger in paſſing the *Ciminian* foreſt, and arrived at *Longula* on the frontiers of the *Volſci*, where *Marcius* delivered up to him the troops under his command. *Papirius* offered the enemy battle, but they declining it, both armies continued ſome days quiet in their camps watching each other. Papirius Curſor *dictator.*

IN the mean time, *Fabius*, who was continued in the command of the army in *Hetruria* with the title of proconſul, carried the war into *Umbria*, at that time in alliance with the *Hetrurians*, and gained a complete victory over the *Umbrians*, who no more appeared in the field. While *Fabius* was waging war in *Umbria*, the *Hetrurians* aſſembled the moſt numerous army they had ever raiſed, on the banks of a little lake called *Vadimonius*. All the ſoldiers, who compoſed it, had made a vow to conquer or die. At leaſt this is ſuppoſed to be the meaning of their *ſacred law*, by which they are ſaid to have bound themſelves. But, whatever we underſtand by it, it is certain, that the *Hetrurians* ſhewed by their obſtinacy in maintaining the fight, how much power their *ſacred law* had over their minds. What helped to promote unanimity and create emulation among their troops was, the leave which was given to every private man to chuſe himſelf a companion to fight by him. But *Fabius* was not afraid to engage an enemy, who had even made it a point of religion not to give way. Both armies were ſo warmly bent on trying each other's ſtrength, that, as ſoon as they drew near, they ruſhed upon one another ſword in hand, without loſing time in throwing darts, as was uſual, by way of prelude to the battle. The ſucceſs was long doubtful, and this uncertainty increaſed the ardour of both parties. The *Romans* could ſcarce believe, that they were contending with the ſame people they had ſo often conquered. On the ſide of the *Romans*, their firſt line was cut in pieces, and ſecond repulſed; ſo that the

proconſul was obliged to bring his triarii to the charge, which was never done, but in the utmoſt extremity. Nor was even this ſufficient; it became neceſſary for the *Roman* cavalry to diſmount and ſupport the foot. But when the *Roman* knights, who were quite freſh, paſſing over heaps of dead bodies, had placed themſelves in the front of the battle, they fell upon the enemy with ſuch fury, that the *Hetrurians* began at length to give way. Hereupon the legions, ſhattered and fatigued as they were, returned to the charge, overpowered the enemy, and obliged their whole army to fly in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion. The *Hetrurians* loſt the flower of their youth in this action; their camp was taken and plundered, and their whole nation thrown into the utmoſt conſternation [g].

The Hetrurians *overcome by* Fabius.

The dictator *Papirius* was no leſs ſucceſsful againſt the *Samnites*, whoſe general, to raiſe the courage of his men, had given them finer arms than uſual. He divided his army into two bodies, one of which he cloathed in ſtuff of various colours, and furniſhed with gilt bucklers; the other was armed with ſilvered bucklers, and clad in white habits. That this novelty might not ſurprize the *Roman* ſoldiers, their officers put them in mind, that true glory conſiſted in martial courage, that gold and ſilver were of no uſe in battle but to inrich the conquerors, and that thoſe, who at the beginning of an engagement were the pooreſt, often proved the richeſt at the end of it. The officers having thus raiſed the courage of their men with the hopes of booty, *Papirius* drew up his army in the plain. He commanded the right wing himſelf, and his general of the horſe, *Junius Bubulcus*, the left, which faced the white battalions. *Bubulcus*, advancing with his legions, cried out, *I devote all theſe white men to the black* Pluto; and immediately falling upon them, forced them to give ground; which the dictator obſerving, cried out, *What! will you, who have a dictator at your head, ſuffer the chief glory of the action to be gained by another?* This ſaid, he preſſed his ſoldiers to advance, and encouraged them with his example. At the ſame time his two lieutenants, *M. Valerius* on the right, and *P. Decius* on the left, who had both commanded armies in chief as conſuls, putting themſelves at the head of the cavalry, each on his own ſide, attacked with great fury the enemy in flank. Then the *Samnites*, ſeized with terror, broke their ranks, and fled with all ſpeed to their camp. All the plain was covered with gilt and ſilvered arms, and dead

[g] Liv. l. ix. c. 39. Flor. l. 1.

bodies

bodies in white cloth and ſtuffs of various colours. The victory was ſo complete, that the *Samnites* abandoned their camp, which before night was taken and burnt. *Papirius*, having thus retrieved the glory of the *Roman* arms in *Samnium*, returned to *Rome*, where he was decreed a triumph, which was embelliſhed with the fine arms he had taken from the *Samnites*. About the ſame time *Fabius* arrived from *Hetruria*, and triumphed the ſame year as the dictator; the former on the ides of *November*, and the latter on the ides of *October*. *Papirius*, after his triumph, retired for the reſt of his life from public buſineſs; whence we ſhall not ſee him appear on the ſtage any more. The circumſtances and time of his death are unknown; but all agree, that in him *Rome* loſt one of the greateſt generals ſhe ever had [h].

Papirius *gains a complete victory over the* Samnites.

WHEN *Papirius*'s dictatorſhip was expired, *Q. Fabius*, the third time, and *Decius Mus*, the ſecond time, were raiſed to the conſulate. *Samnium* fell by lot to the former, and *Hetruria* to the latter. *Fabius* took *Nuceria*, which had ſome time ſince joined the *Samnites*; whom he defeated afterwards in a battle, but without gaining any great advantage over them. As for *Decius*, he was attended with ſuch ſucceſs in *Hetruria*, that the whole nation deſired an alliance with *Rome*. But as the way was now open for making the conqueſt of this rich country, the conſul granted them only a truce for one year; and even that coſt them dear: for *Decius* made them pay his troops, and furniſh every ſoldier with two ſuits of cloaths. While all was quiet in *Hetruria*, the *Umbrians*, having armed all their youth, without concerning themſelves about the conſul who was in *Hetruria*, formed a deſign of marching directly to *Rome*. This put both the conſuls in motion. The prudent *Decius*, leaving *Hetruria*, by long marches came and incamped in a place called the *Pupinian* field, lying in the way between *Umbria* and *Rome*, and there quietly waited for the arrival of the enemy. But the bold and enterpriſing *Fabius* no ſooner received orders from the ſenate to cover *Latium*, than he left *Samnium*, croſſed *Sabinia*, and entering *Umbria*, encamped in the very heart of the country near a city called *Mevania*, on the banks of the *Clitumnus*. His ſudden and unexpected appearance among them ſo terrified them, that ſome retired into their ſtrong-holds, and others fled to the woods. However, a conſiderable body of the moſt reſolute had courage enough to offer the conſul battle, in which they behaved more like women than men. The

Nuceria *taken from the* Samnites.

The Umbrians *vanquiſh*

[h] LIV. ibid. FASTI CAPITOL.

Romans rushing upon them, beat them down with their bucklers, without making any use of their swords. They took the standards from those who guarded them, and carried the standard-bearers to the consul. They even surrounded whole bodies of troops, and made them prisoners without striking a blow. For the words, *Lay down your arms*, were no sooner heard in the ranks, but they all obeyed, and even delivered up to *Fabius* the authors of the war. So that little or no blood was spilt, but the whole army were made prisoners, and the rest of the nation soon after submitted to *Rome*. After this *Fabius* hastened back to *Samnium*, to oppose the enterprizes of that warlike people [1].

Appius Claudius *chosen consul.*

When the time came for the electing of new consuls, *Appius Claudius*, who had kept the censorship five years in direct defiance to the laws, stood candidate for the consulate. He was no soldier, and it seemed very improper at that time to bestow the fasces upon any but great commanders. However, *Appius*, being supported by the people, carried his point, and was promoted to the consulate the first time with *L. Volumnius Flamma*. But, as he was not qualified for the command of the army, the senate obliged him to continue in the city, and left *Fabius* in quality of proconsul at the head of the army, which he had commanded the year before. *Appius*, upon what motives we know not, did all that lay in his power to prevent *Fabius* from having the sole command of the army, and advised the senate to appoint him a colleague. But his proposal was rejected; and *Fabius* continued without any associate in the command of all the troops in *Samnium*, where he made the campaign with great success. The *Samnites* had advanced as far as *Allifæ* on the banks of the *Vulturnus*, and there the proconsul attacked them, and gained a complete victory. The conquered fled to their camp, which *Fabius*, as the day was already far spent, did not attack then, but kept it invested all night. Early next morning, while he was preparing to force it, the *Samnites* thought fit to capitulate and surrender upon articles; the chief of which was, that all the natives of *Samnium* should have their lives spared and be sent home; but that they should march out of the camp with only one garment, and pass under the yoke. As for the allies of the *Samnites*, the proconsul made no terms with them; so that they were all, to the number of seven thousand, made slaves, and sold by auction. The *Hernici* were separated from the rest, and sent to *Rome* to be examined, whether they had joined the *Samnites* as voluntiers, or by

Q. Fabius *gains a complete victory over the* Samnites.

[1] Liv. l. ix. c. 41. Diodor. Sicul. l. xix.

a public

a public order of their nation. The conſcript fathers, after having examined them, kept them as ſlaves, and diſtributed them about in the villages and municipal towns near *Rome* [k].

WHILE *Fabius* was thus employed againſt the *Samnites*, the conſul *Volumnius* made war on the *Salentines* in the fartheſt part of *Italy*; with whom he fought ſome battles with ſucceſs, and paved the way for his ſucceſſors to make an intire conqueſt of that fruitful country. In the mean time, the conſular year being expired, the faſces were transferred to *Q. Marcius Tremulus*, and *P. Cornelius Arvina*, and at the ſame time *Appius* was created prætor, a poſt which, as he was an able civilian and eloquent orator, well ſuited his talents. *Marcius* marched againſt the *Hernici*, who had taken up arms, provoked at the ſevere treatment which ſome of their countrymen, made priſoners in the late battle with the *Samnites*, had met with at *Rome*. The *Hernici*, formerly ſo formidable, were now, it ſeems, become a contemptible people. For *Marcius* in a few days took three different camps from them, and obliged them to ſurrender at diſcretion. The conſul, having ended this war, haſtened to join his collegue, who ſtood in great want of his aſſiſtance, having ſuffered himſelf to be inveſted by the *Samnites* in narrow paſſes, where all his convoys were intercepted. The enemy, hearing of his march, went to meet him, and gave him battle, while his troops were fatigued with long marches, and in ſome diſorder. The battle began with the uſual fury of men under a neceſſity of conquering or dying; both the *Samnites* and *Romans* fighting with incredible reſolution. As the attack was made not far from the camp of *Cornelius*, by the ſhouts he heard, and the clouds of duſt which were raiſed, he judged that his collegue was engaged with the enemy. Whereupon he immediately ordered his troops to arms, marched out of his intrenchments, and falling upon the enemy in flank, broke through them, and made his way to their camp, and ſet fire to it. At the ſight of the flames the *Samnites* were ſo diſcouraged, that they betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight, every man ſhifting for himſelf in the beſt manner he could. The *Romans* purſued them, cutting them in pieces, till they were tired with ſlaughter, and then returned to their camp. In this action the *Samnites* loſt thirty thouſand men. While the *Roman* generals were congratulating each other on their victory, news was brought that a new body of *Samnites* appeared near the

The Hernici *ſubdued.*

The Samnites *defeated with the loſs of thirty thouſand men.*

[k] Liv. l. ix. c. 42.

field

field of battle. Theſe were new levies raiſed all over *Samnium*, and ſent to recruit the army. They no ſooner appeared, than the victorious legions, forgetting the fatigues they had already undergone, aſſembled before they had received the conſuls orders, drew up in battalia, and falling upon the newcomers, diſperſed them with great ſlaughter. The *Samnites*, now quite diſheartened, ſent deputies to the conſuls to ſue for peace. The conſuls referred the ſuppliants to *Rome*, after having obliged the vanquiſhed to ſupply, by way of preliminary, the two armies with three months proviſions, to give them a year's pay, and furniſh each ſoldier with one habit [1].

The fate of the Hernici *determined.*

The two conſuls being in the field, when the time came for electing new magiſtrates, *P. Cornelius*, ſurnamed *Barbatus*, was appointed dictator to preſide in the comitia. He choſe *Decius Mus* for his general of the horſe, and the people *Poſthumius Megillus* and *Tib. Minucius Augurinus* for their next year's conſuls. At the ſame time the ſenate determined the fate of the *Hernici*. The cities of *Alatrium*, *Ferentinum*, and *Verulum*, which had continued faithful to the *Romans*, were allowed to chuſe, whether they would be governed by their own laws, or have the right of *Roman* citizens; and they preferred the former. The inhabitants of the other cities were obliged to be governed by the laws of *Rome*, and declared *Roman* citizens, but without the right of ſuffrage. They were forbid to hold any aſſemblies, or to marry out of their own cities. This law the *Romans* uſed to impoſe on conquered nations, to prevent a too ſtrict union among them. At this time deputies arrived from *Carthage* with a compliment and preſents, which the republic accepted, and made others in return. The new conſuls were both ordered into *Samnium*, each at the head of a conſular army, that is, of an army conſiſting of two legions. The *Samnites*, notwithſtanding their loſſes, had entered *Campania* and laid waſte the fruitful country of *Falernum*. *Marcius* therefore encamped in the neighbourhood of *Bovianum*, and *Poſthumius* took his rout towards *Tifernum*. The latter came to an engagement with the *Samnites*, the ſucceſs of which being equal, *Poſthumius* pretended to be worſted, and, in order to deceive the enemy, decamped in the night-time and retired to the mountains. The *Samnites* followed him, and poſted themſelves within two miles of his camp. Hereupon *Poſthumius*, having finiſhed his intrenchments with the utmoſt diſpatch, and left a ſufficient number of troops to defend them, marched out at midnight with the reſt of his army,

The Samnites *enter* Campania;

[1] Liv. l. ix c. 43.

and

and joined his collegue *Minucius*, who lay in ſight of another body of *Samnites*. *Minucius*, being thus reinforced, marched with his two legions alone into the plain, and offered the enemy battle; which they accepted, not knowing that the other conſul was arrived. The victory was diſputed with great warmth on both ſides. But when the *Samnites* were much fatigued, *Poſthumius* and his troops falling upon them with freſh vigor, they could no longer hold out, but were forced to ſave themſelves by flight. The *Romans* made a dreadful ſlaughter of them, and took one and twenty enſigns. After this victory the conſuls without delay led their victorious troops to *Poſthumius*'s camp, and from thence ſallied out upon the body of *Samnites*, which was poſted there. This battle was more bloody than the former; the conſul *Minucius* was killed in it, and *Statius Gellius*, the *Samnite* general, made priſoner. At length the *Romans* carried the day, and took twenty ſix enſigns from the enemy. Upon the news of *Minucius*'s death, the people at *Rome* immediately appointed *Fulvius Curvus* to ſucceed him, who took *Bovianum* and other cities, for which he triumphed on his return to *Rome*. Why *Poſthumius*, who ſeems to have deſerved the ſame honour, did not triumph with him, we know not. The *Faſti Capitolini* do not allow him this honour, though *Livy* does; but as that author makes him triumph with *Minucius*, who was killed in the battle, we have choſe to follow the *Faſti* [m]. In the ſucceeding conſulate of *Sempronius Sophus* and *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, the *Samnites*, quite exhauſted with the war, ſent deputies to *Rome* to deſire a renewal of their antient confederacy with the republic. The ſenate granted them their requeſt, after they had given certain proofs of their ſincerity, by receiving every-where the conſular army under the command of *Sempronius* with marks of reſpect, and ſupplied the troops with all ſorts of proviſions. The conſuls, being now diſengaged from the *Samnitic* war, marched againſt the *Æqui*, who, ſeduced by the bad example of the *Hernici*, had declared againſt *Rome*, and joined the *Samnites*. They were no more that formidable nation, which had often ſtruck terror into the *Roman* legions; long inaction had enervated them ſo that they had not courage enough to keep the field, but ſheltered themſelves behind the walls of their cities, which the two conſular armies inveſted, over-running their country, and laying it every-where waſte. The conquerors made themſelves maſters of forty one towns in fifty

But are defeated in two battles.

Minucius the conſul killed.

The Samnites *obtain a renewal of their antient alliance with* Rome.

[m] Liv. l. ix. c. 45.

days,

days, moſt of which they razed or burnt, and thereby almoſt exterminated the whole nation of the *Æqui*. Theſe rapid conqueſts ſpread ſuch terror among the neighbouring nations, that the *Marſi*, *Peligni*, *Frentani*, and *Marrucini*, ſent to demand an alliance with *Rome*, which they eaſily obtained. By this memorable expedition the conſuls merited, and obtained, the honours of a triumph.

The Æqui ſubdued.

The renowned *Q. Fabius*, being this year cenſor with *P. Decius Mus*, reformed an abuſe introduced by *Appius*, who had diſperſed great numbers of freed-men, and the meaneſt of the people, among the country tribes, and by that means had got a great influence in all elections, thoſe men being intirely devoted to him. *Fabius* re-incorporated into the four city tribes the rabble *Appius* had taken from thence, ſo that for the future they could influence no more than four tribes, and in theſe their party was not the ſtrongeſt. This reformation was ſo agreeable to the republic, that the *Romans* gave *Fabius* for this ſingle act the ſurname of *Maximus*, a title which he had not acquired by ſubduing the *Hetrurians*, the *Samnites*, and the *Umbrians*. This ſurname was ever after preſerved in his branch of the *Fabian* family. The next year, when *Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Genucius* were conſuls, was ſpent chiefly in ſending colonies to the conquered cities. In the ſucceeding conſulate of *Livius Denter* and *Æmilius Paulus*, the art of painting was introduced at *Rome* by *C. Fabius*, afterwards conſul, who painted the walls of a new temple dedicated to the goddeſs of *Health*, and thence got the ſurname of *Pictor*, or, *The Painter*. The following year the republic had no conſuls, but was governed by two dictators ſucceſſively created, *Q. Fabius* and *Valerius Corvus*. The former marched an army againſt the *Marſi*, who had revolted, and by one ſingle victory brought them back to their duty. The latter was created dictator to conduct a war againſt the *Hetrurians*, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, though ſluſhed with the advantage which they had gained a few days before over *Sempronius Sophus* his general of the horſe, who had fallen into an ambuſh, and loſt a great number of men, and ſome ſtandards. The *Hetrurians*, humbled by this overthrow, ſued for a peace, but could obtain only a truce for two years. *Valerius* on his return entered *Rome* in triumph the fourth time, on the tenth of the calends of *December*.

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abroad, two tribunes of the people of the ſame family, and probably brothers, endeavoured to ſtir up the people againſt the nobility. The one was named *Quintus Ogulnius*, and the other *Cneius Ogulnius*. Theſe two complained, that all the pontifices and augurs were created out of the patricians, and urged, that the plebeians might alſo partake of thoſe offices. The nobility were highly offended with this propoſal, which tended to deprive them of the only diſtinction between them and the plebeians; but made no great oppoſition to this new incroachment, knowing that their attempts to exclude them from theſe dignities would prove fruitleſs, the people having carried their point in all their ſtruggles with the nobility. However, the famous *Appius Claudius*, though wholly devoted to the plebeian party, became on this occaſion, no doubt out of pure caprice, a moſt zealous defender of the nobility. He had debaſed the ſenate by introducing the ſons of freed-men into it, and profaned the prieſthood by lodging it in the hands of the public ſlaves. But now he exerted all his eloquence in favour of the nobility. On the other hand, *P. Decius Mus*, a plebeian of great diſtinction, who had been twice conſul, once dictator, and once cenſor, ſpoke in behalf of the people, with all the weight and dignity, which his employments, his credit, and the reputation of his virtue gave him. The debate was in the aſſembly of the curiæ; but the tribes being afterwards ſummoned, the affair was almoſt unanimouſly determined by them in favour of the plebeians, and a decree paſſed for chuſing four new pontifices and five new augurs out of the plebeians; ſo that the college of the pontifices was made now to conſiſt of eight perſons, and that of the augurs of nine; which regulation continued to the dictatorſhip of *Sylla*, who increaſed the number both of the pontifices and augurs to fifteen. *Decius Mus* was choſen one of the new pontifices[n].

Plebeians admitted to the pontificate and augurate.

THE *Ogulnian* law was the work of the two tribunes: but the conſul *Valerius* undertook to revive another law, which had been made by *Valerius Poplicola*, and had afterwards been revived by another of his anceſtors. By this law it was enacted, that in capital cauſes the accuſed ſhould have a right of appealing to the tribunal of the people. The patricians had by their intereſt rendered this law ineffectual, and often prevented the execution of it; ſo that it was become obſolete. *Valerius* therefore now reſtored it once more, and drew it up in more diſtinct terms than before. But the only

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Other laws revived in favour of the people.

[n] Liv. l. x. c. 8

punishment denounced against the transgressors of it was, that they should be deemed guilty of a dishonest action. A slight punishment indeed for a more corrupt age, but sufficient at this time to restrain the *Romans*, who piqued themselves on their virtue, and were never chosen for great employments, unless they had preserved their reputation pure and untainted.

The consuls chosen for the new year were *M. Fulvius Pætinus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The former marched into *Umbria* to carry on the siege of *Nequinium*, which *Apuleius*, one of the former consuls, had begun. This city was, with regard to its situation, one of the strongest in *Italy*. It was built upon the edge of a steep rock, and surrounded in great part by the river *Nar*. But the treachery of two *Nequinians* facilitated the taking of a place, which was deemed impregnable. These traitors from their houses, which were near the ramparts, dug by dint of hand-labour a passage under-ground, quite to the advanced guard of the *Romans*, on the side of the town where there were no rocks. The consul before whom they appeared quite unexpected, after having examined them, detained one of them as an hostage, and sent the other back to the city through the subterraneous passage with two *Roman* soldiers. These upon their return made such a report as increased the confidence of the consul, who ordered three hundred chosen men to follow them, and inlarge the way under-ground; which they did accordingly, and, having entered the city in the night, seized one of the gates, and let in the rest of the army. The consul having by this means made himself master of the city without striking a blow, for the *Nequinians* immediately threw down their arms, obliged the inhabitants to receive a *Roman* colony, which might keep the rest of *Umbria* in awe. This was the only punishment he inflicted upon them. The colony changed the infamous name of *Nequinium*, derived from *Nequitia roguery*, into that of *Narnia* from the river *Nar*. For this exploit *Fulvius* was rewarded with a triumph, which he obtained on the seventh of the *Calends* of *October* [o]. In the same consulate the *Hetrurians* broke their truce with *Rome*; but, while they were preparing to enter the *Roman* territories, they were obliged by an irruption of the *Gauls* to suspend the execution of their design. However, their animosity against the republic was so great, that they

Nequinium *taken from the* Umbrians

[o] Liv. l. x. c. 10. Flor. epit. 89. Frontin. strat. l. xi. Fast. Capit.

chose

choſe rather to gain over theſe new enemies by money, than to repel them by force. Accordingly, they paid them large ſums, on condition that they ſhould not only forbear pillaging *Hetruria*, but join them againſt *Rome*. The *Gauls* accepted the offers made them, took the money, and left *Hetruria* in tranquillity. But when they were to march towards *Rome*, they excuſed themſelves, unleſs the *Hetrurians* would ſecure them a retreat in their country, by aſſigning them lands to ſettle on. This the *Hetrurians* abſolutely refuſed. The *Romans*, being informed of theſe negotiations between the *Hetrurians* and *Gauls*, ordered the conſul *Manlius* to march into *Hetruria*, and puniſh the inhabitants for their breach of faith. But *Manlius* being killed by a fall from his horſe, the centuries met to appoint him a ſucceſſor; and all to a man, which had never happened ſince the foundation of *Rome*, gave their ſuffrages in favour of *Valerius Corvus*, who was now the ſixth time raiſed to the conſulate. The *Hetrurians* no ſooner underſtood that the formidable *Valerius* was marching againſt them, than they quitted the field, and retired within the walls of their cities. The brave conſul over-ran the whole country, committing every-where great devaſtations, in order to draw the enemy into the field. But they, more concerned about preſerving their lives than their eſtates, kept cloſe within their ſtrong-holds. This was a kind of victory, which brought great glory to *Valerius*, and was the laſt of his exploits. On his return to *Rome*, as he was now in a very advanced age, he retired to enjoy the tranquillity of a private life, after ſo many labours, and ſo plentiful a harveſt of glory. In what year he ended his days is not known; but it is certain, that he lived above an hundred years. He was a true pattern of the zeal men in public ſtations owe their country. He was twenty one times promoted to offices, that intitled him to ſit in the curule chair, which can be ſaid of no *Roman* but himſelf. When the republic ſeemed to forget him, he took advantage of thoſe intervals of reſt, to improve his paternal eſtate and manure his lands. He was great in peace, and greater in war, and may be ſaid to have appeared eminent among thoſe heroes, whom *Rome* produced in her moſt glorious and virtuous age [p].

Valerius Corvus *over-runs* Hetruria.

TOWARDS the cloſe of this year, the republic, whether by the death of *Valerius* or ſome other accident is unknown, fell into an inter-regnum. When the comitia were aſſembled

[p] PLIN. l. vii. c. 48. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 13. CIC. in Cat. Major. PLUT. in Mario.

to elect new magiſtrates, *Appius* took it into his head to prevent any plebeian from being choſen to the conſulate. But *Curius Dentatus*, one of the tribunes, withſtood the eloquence and authority of *Appius*, and obliged the ſenate to confirm the cuſtom of chuſing one of the conſuls out of the plebeians; ſo that *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, a plebeian, were raiſed to that dignity. During their adminiſtration, the republic was engaged in a war with the two moſt formidable nations in her neighbourhood, the *Hetrurians*, who had broken the truce, and the *Samnites*, who, notwithſtanding their treaty of alliance, had openly declared war. *Scipio* marched againſt the *Hetrurians*, who met and engaged him in the plains of *Volaterræ*. The battle laſted all day, and when night put an end to it, the victory was ſtill doubtful. But an unaccountable terror ſeizing the enemy, they retired in the night-time in ſmall companies to their reſpective leucumonies. Hereupon the conſul plundered and laid waſte the whole country. This is the account *Livy* gives of the campaign in *Hetruria*. But a more authentic monument than *Livy*'s hiſtory aſcribes the defeat of the *Hetrurians* to *Fulvius* the plebeian conſul; and adds, that having finiſhed his expedition againſt the *Hetrurians*, he haſtened into *Samnium*, and there obtained a complete victory over thoſe antient enemies of his republic, while his collegue *Scipio* continued inactive at *Rome*. On his return a triumph was decreed him, for having conquered the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*. He triumphed on the ides of *November* [q]. A report being ſpread, before the comitia aſſembled for electing new conſuls, that both the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites* were making mighty preparations to repair their loſſes, the firſt care of the *Romans* was to chuſe conſuls of valour and experience, to diſappoint the deſigns of the two nations, more enraged againſt *Rome* than ever. The centuries immediately caſt their eyes upon *Fabius*; but he, from what motive is hard to gueſs, declined the honour, and would not accept of it, till he was in a manner forced by the people and their tribunes. He then deſired, that they would oblige him ſo far, as to give him a collegue to his own mind, and propoſed to them *Decius Mus*, who was at his requeſt unanimouſly choſen. While the two new conſuls were preparing to take the field, the *Hetrurians* came to a reſolution to aſk a peace. Hereupon the conſuls marched both into *Samnium*, *Fabius* by the territory of *Sora*, and *Decius* through the country of the *Sidicini*. *Fabius* was informed on his march, that the *Samnites* lay in an ambuſh on the banks

The Hetrurians *and* Samnites *renew the war, but are defeated.*

[q] Fast. Capit.

of

of the *Tifernus*, and there waited for his coming into a deep valley, with a deſign to attack him from the hills. This advice did not make the brave *Fabius* change his rout: he choſe to ſurpriſe and attack the enemy in their ambuſcade. Accordingly, having lodged his baggage in a ſafe place, he marched with his troops in battle-array towards the enemy, who, finding their project diſcovered, left their ambuſh and drew up in the plain. Their firſt onſet was terrible: they had aſſembled all the forces of their country, and, looking upon this battle as the deciſive ſtroke, exerted their utmoſt efforts. The brave reſiſtance of the enemy gave *Fabius* no ſmall uneaſineſs. He therefore commanded the cavalry to ruſh full ſpeed on their battalions. But this proved ineffectual, the *Samnite* infantry ſtill keeping their poſts without loſing an inch of ground. *Fabius*, finding he could not by force break thoſe impenetrable battalions, had recourſe to ſtratagem, and ordered *Scipio*, one of his lieutenants, to march with the *haſtati* ſilently round the top of a neighbouring hill, and from thence to fall on the enemy's rear. The conſul's orders were executed with ſuch addreſs, that neither the *Samnites* nor *Romans* perceived this motion. In the mean time, the former, proud of having repulſed the *Roman* cavalry, took new courage, and obliged the firſt line of the conſular army to give way, and retire through the ſpaces of the ſecond line. Then the *principes*, who formed that line, engaged in their turn, and, as they were quite freſh, put a ſtop to the impetuoſity of the *Samnites* for ſome time. But they likewiſe were obliged in the end to give way. When the *Samnites* thought themſelves ſecure of the victory, they diſcovered at a diſtance the enſigns of a body of troops, which advanced in good order to the field of battle. This was the detachment commanded by *Scipio*, coming down the hill to attack the enemy's rear. The conſul, in ſeeing it, cried out, *What unexpected good fortune! I ſee my collegue* Decius *haſtening to our aſſiſtance.* The general's words, paſſing from legion to legion, were ſoon carried through the whole army, and heard by the enemy's battalions. The *Romans* took freſh courage; but the *Samnites*, already tired with fighting, and afraid to engage another conſular army, were ſo diſcouraged, that, without waiting for their general's orders, they diſperſed and fled in confuſion, leaving only three thouſand four hundred men dead upon the plain, a very inconſiderable loſs. The *Romans* took twenty three ſtandards. On the other hand, *Decius* gained a conſiderable victory over the *Apulians*, as they were marching to join the *Samnites*. After this the two conſular armies, entering *Samnium*, laid the whole country waſte. *Decius* changed his camp forty five times, and

Fabius *by a ſtratagem gains a complete victory over the* Samnites.

and *Fabius* his eighty ſix. By this means the fields were every-where laid waſte, and the country, which had been in a flouriſhing condition during a pretty long interval of peace, utterly ruined. *Fabius* took alſo the city of *Cimetra* and razed it. Two thouſand four hundred priſoners were taken in theſe expeditions, and all the inhabitants, who were found with arms, put to the ſword.

Samnium laid waſte.

THE campaign being ended, *Fabius* was recalled to preſide in the comitia for the election of new conſuls. Upon his arrival he found, that *Appius* had once more formed a ſcheme to exclude the plebeians, and confine the conſulate to the patricians. In order to this, having ſecured his own election beyond a poſſibility of failing, he engaged the centuries to continue *Fabius* in his office for the enſuing year. As the *Romans*, eſpecially the patricians, had a great eſteem and veneration for that able commander, the firſt centuries, conſiſting chiefly of the nobility, unanimouſly voted in his favour. But *Fabius* himſelf oppoſed his election, proteſting, that he would never give the republic ſo pernicious a precedent, as to ſuffer himſelf to be elected in the comitia where he preſided. The whole body of the patricians ſurrounded his tribunal, conjuring him to reſtore the conſulate to its antient luſtre. But *Fabius* could not by any means be prevailed upon to fall into *Appius*'s ſcheme; ſo that *Volumnius Flamma*, a plebeian, was joined with *Appius* in the conſulate. However, *Fabius* and his colleague *Decius* were continued, with the title of proconſuls, in the command of the armies in *Samnium* for ſix months longer; which *Fabius* ſpent in keeping in awe the *Lucanians*, who had revolted, and preventing them from joining the *Samnites*. As for *Decius*, after having laid waſte all *Samnium*, he purſued the ſmall army that unhappy people had ſtill on foot from place to place, in order to draw them to a battle, and ſo haraſſed them, that they were at length obliged to diſband, and retire into the neighbouring countries. Then *Decius*, having no enemy in the field to contend with, laid ſiege to their cities, and made himſelf maſter of *Murgantia*, *Romulea*, and *Ferentinum*, three important cities; in the firſt he made two thouſand one hundred and ten priſoners; in the ſecond he put two thouſand three hundred of the inhabitants to the ſword, and took ſix thouſand; in the third about three thouſand men, who defended the place and made a deſperate reſiſtance, were killed upon the ramparts. Thus *Samnium* was reduced to the laſt extremity; and to complete the deſtruction of this unhappy country, the new conſul *Volumnius* entered it with another army of two legions and fifteen hundred auxiliaries [r].

Appius attempts to exclude the plebeians from the conſulate.

Several cities taken from the Samnites.

[r] Liv. l. x. c. 16.

The

THE *Samnites*, being thus driven out of their own country, took refuge in *Hetruria*; where, in a diet held at their requeſt, they prevailed upon the ſeveral leucumonies to join in a war againſt *Rome*, and offered to ſerve under them at their own expence. The *Hetrurians* looking upon this reinforcement as ſent them from heaven, raiſed a formidable army, and even engaged with ſums of money ſome troops of *Gauls* to join them. The ſenate, being informed of theſe motions, diſpatched *Appius*, to whom *Hetruria* had fallen by lot, to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy, with an army conſiſting of two legions and twelve thouſand auxiliaries. *Appius* came and poſted himſelf within reach of the enemy. But, as he neither knew how to time a battle nor to chuſe his ground, he was worſted in every ſkirmiſh and ſlight action, in which he ventured to engage. Theſe ſmall advantages increaſed the enemy's confidence, and gave them certain hopes of victory in a general action. In ſhort, things were come to that paſs, that the ſoldiers diſtruſted their general, and the general his ſoldiers. In this extremity, *Appius* is ſaid [f], for the fact is not abſolutely certain, to have written to his collegue, begging him to leave *Samnium*, and haſten to his aſſiſtance. *Volumnius*, upon the receipt of the letter, immediately came and joined him, to the inexpreſſible joy of the troops of *Appius*. But *Appius* himſelf, pretending to be ſurprized, aſked his collegue ſternly what had brought him from *Samnium*, diſowned his letter, and told him, that he had acted a diſhonourable part in quitting his own province, in order to gain credit by giving aſſiſtance to others, who did not want it. Hereupon *Volumnius* was for returning immediately into *Samnium*; but the officers of both armies prevailed upon him to ſtay in *Hetruria*, where the common cauſe called for his aſſiſtance, and to deſpiſe the reproaches and unaccountable behaviour of *Appius*. At the requeſt of the officers the two conſuls afterwards had an interview, in that part of the camp where the generals uſed to harangue their ſoldiers, and there in the preſence of the army made their complaints of each other. *Volumnius*, tho' naturally no orator, ſpoke on this occaſion with great eloquence; for he had the better cauſe. Upon which *Appius*, who had had *Volumnius* for his collegue in the conſulſhip ten years before, could not forbear rallying him: Wonderful indeed! ſaid he, I have made a dumb man ſpeak. *Volumnius* in our firſt conſulate ſcarce opened his mouth for ſome months. He had then no tongue; but now is become elo-

Appius *reduced to great ſtraits in* Hetruria.

[f] Tuus annales citati a Livio, l. x. c. 18.

quent,

quent, a perfect maſter of oratory. What a miraculous change have I wrought in him! Since you have taught me to ſpeak, replied *Volumnius*, I wiſh I could, in return for your kindneſs, teach you to fight. In our preſent ſituation it is of ſmall importance to be able to talk well. If you have a mind to know which of us underſtands beſt the conduct of an army, we have wars to carry on in two places, *Samnium* and *Hetruria*; make your choice; it is indifferent to me in which province I command. At theſe words the ſoldiers cried out with one voice, that both conſuls ſhould carry on the war in *Hetruria*. *Volumnius* anſwered, that he was willing to ſtay, but deſired the troops to ſignify to him their inclinations by a general ſhout. Inſtantly the army made ſuch loud acclamations, as were heard in the enemy's camp, who, taking the alarm, drew up in order of battle. *Volumnius* immediately marched out with his troops to engage them. But *Appius* was for ſome time in ſuſpence, whether he ſhould join in the battle or not; and nothing determined him but the fear of being deſerted by his troops, who ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to follow *Volumnius*, in defiance of their general's orders. It fell to *Volumnius* to engage the *Hetrurians*, and to his collegue to oppoſe the *Samnites*, who, full of rage, advanced againſt him. Emulation for glory, and the ſhame of being obſcured by a rival, rouſed *Appius* to ſuch a degree, that he behaved himſelf with more courage than could have been expected. He gave his orders like a good commander, fought with intrepidity, inſpired his men with ardour, and in ſhort equalled his collegue both in bravery and conduct. The united *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*, not being able to withſtand two conſular armies, were intirely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered. The enemy left ſeven thouſand three hundred men dead upon the field of battle, and two thouſand of them were made priſoners. It muſt be owned, that *Appius* bore a good ſhare in this glorious action, and that if he inſpired *Volumnius* with eloquence, *Volumnius* inſpired him with courage. After this victory, which put an end to the miſunderſtanding between the two conſuls, *Volumnius* was obliged to return into his own province, and oppoſe the *Samnites*, who, notwithſtanding their late loſſes, had raiſed a new army, and were actually ravaging *Campania*. *Volumnius* ſurpriſed them near the *Vulturnus*, ſlew ſix thouſand of them, and recovered all the ſpoil they had taken [t].

Appius and Volumnius *defeat the united* Hetrurians *and* Samnites.

The republic, being alarmed by accounts from *Appius* of the vaſt preparations for war, which the *Hetrurians* and their

[t] Liv. l. x. c. 20.

allies

allies, the *Umbrians*, *Gauls*, and *Samnites*, were making, turned their eyes again upon *Fabius*, and in the comitia, which were held ſoon after, raiſed him the fifth time to the conſulate. The collegue they deſigned to give him was *Volumnius*, who preſided in the comitia; but *Fabius* refuſing to accept the office, unleſs he had again *Decius* for his collegue, *Volumnius*, tho' the firſt tribes had already voted for him, approved of *Fabius*'s requeſt; and making a fine elogium upon *Decius*, exhorted the tribes to chuſe him; which they did accordingly, beſtowing that honour upon him the fourth time. *Appius*, who was then in *Hetruria*, was appointed prætor; and *Volumnius* continued in the command of the army in *Samnium*, with the title of proconſul. It was cuſtomary for the new conſuls to draw lots for their reſpective provinces; but it was natural to ſuppoſe, that *Decius* would compliment *Fabius* with the command in *Hetruria*, where the ſtreſs of the war lay, induced thereunto by gratitude, as well as by the age and ſuperior merit of his collegue: and this he was very willing to do; but the patricians making it a point of honour not to permit any other than *Fabius* to have the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, the plebeians would not ſuffer him to have it, unleſs it fell to him by lot, fearing leſt the patrician conſul ſhould, for the future, claim a right of chuſing his province. How difficult is it for a man to avoid being carried away by the ſtream of a party in which he once engages! The pacific *Decius* was compelled, contrary to his temper and inclination, to go with the current of his party, and inſiſt on its being determined by lot, whether he or *Fabius* ſhould command in *Hetruria*. The affair was firſt brought before the ſenate, where it was determined in favour of *Fabius*. Hereupon *Decius* appealed to the people; and the comitia being aſſembled, the two competitors pleaded each his own cauſe, more like ſoldiers than orators. When they had both done ſpeaking, the people began to vote, when *Fabius* riſing up again deſired them, in a few words, to hear *Appius*'s letters read, before they decided on the preſent diſpute. *Appius*, in the letters he had lately written from *Hetruria*, had painted the danger with which the republic was threatened in very lively colours, and given a very particular account of the four armies which were to fall upon *Rome*. The bare relation of the danger determined the people to have recourſe to the ſureſt remedy; and *Fabius* was inſtantly appointed to command the army in *Hetruria*. And now all the *Roman* youth were eager to ſerve under ſo great a commander; but he would carry with him no larger a reinforcement

Fabius *ſent againſt the united forces of the* Hetrurians, Umbrians, Samnites, *and* Gauls.

quent, a perfect master of oratory. What a miraculous change have I wrought in him! Since you have taught me to speak, replied *Volumnius*, I wish I could, in return for your kindness, teach you to fight. In our present situation it is of small importance to be able to talk well. If you have a mind to know which of us understands best the conduct of an army, we have wars to carry on in two places, *Samnium* and *Hetruria*; make your choice; it is indifferent to me in which province I command. At these words the soldiers cried out with one voice, that both consuls should carry on the war in *Hetruria*. *Volumnius* answered, that he was willing to stay, but desired the troops to signify to him their inclinations by a general shout. Instantly the army made such loud acclamations, as were heard in the enemy's camp, who, taking the alarm, drew up in order of battle. *Volumnius* immediately marched out with his troops to engage them. But *Appius* was for some time in suspence, whether he should join in the battle or not; and nothing determined him but the fear of being deserted by his troops, who shewed a strong inclination to follow *Volumnius*, in defiance of their general's orders. It fell to *Volumnius* to engage the *Hetrurians*, and to his collegue to oppose the *Samnites*, who, full of rage, advanced against him. Emulation for glory, and the shame of being obscured by a rival, roused *Appius* to such a degree, that he behaved himself with more courage than could have been expected. He gave his orders like a good commander, fought with intrepidity, inspired his men with ardour, and in short equalled his collegue both in bravery and conduct. The united *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*, not being able to withstand two consular armies, were intirely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered. The enemy left seven thousand three hundred men dead upon the field of battle, and two thousand of them were made prisoners. It must be owned, that *Appius* bore a good share in this glorious action, and that if he inspired *Volumnius* with eloquence, *Volumnius* inspired him with courage. After this victory, which put an end to the misunderstanding between the two consuls, *Volumnius* was obliged to return into his own province, and oppose the *Samnites*, who, notwithstanding their late losses, had raised a new army, and were actually ravaging *Campania*. *Volumnius* surprised them near the *Volturnus*, slew six thousand of them, and recovered all the spoil they had taken [c].

Appius and Volumnius defeat the united Hetrurians and Samnites.

The republic, being alarmed by accounts from *Appius* of the vast preparations for war, which the *Hetrurians* and their

[c] Liv. l. x. c. 20.

allies

allies, the *Umbrians*, *Gauls*, and *Samnites*, were making, turned their eyes again upon *Fabius*, and in the comitia, which were held ſoon after, raiſed him the fifth time to the conſulate. The collegue they deſigned to give him was *Volumnius*, who preſided in the comitia; but *Fabius* refuſing to accept the office, unleſs he had again *Decius* for his collegue, *Volumnius*, tho' the firſt tribes had already voted for him, approved of *Fabius*'s requeſt; and making a fine elogium upon *Decius*, exhorted the tribes to chuſe him; which they did accordingly, beſtowing that honour upon him the fourth time. *Appius*, who was then in *Hetruria*, was appointed prætor; and *Volumnius* continued in the command of the army in *Samnium*, with the title of proconſul. It was cuſtomary for the new conſuls to draw lots for their reſpective provinces; but it was natural to ſuppoſe, that *Decius* would compliment *Fabius* with the command in *Hetruria*, where the ſtreſs of the war lay, induced thereunto by gratitude, as well as by the age and ſuperior merit of his collegue: and this he was very willing to do; but the patricians making it a point of honour not to permit any other than *Fabius* to have the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, the plebeians would not ſuffer him to have it, unleſs it fell to him by lot, fearing leſt the patrician conſul ſhould, for the future, claim a right of chuſing his province. How difficult is it for a man to avoid being carried away by the ſtream of a party in which he once engages! The pacific *Decius* was compelled, contrary to his temper and inclination, to go with the current of his party, and inſiſt on its being determined by lot, whether he or *Fabius* ſhould command in *Hetruria*. The affair was firſt brought before the ſenate, where it was determined in favour of *Fabius*. Hereupon *Decius* appealed to the people; and the comitia being aſſembled, the two competitors pleaded each his own cauſe, more like ſoldiers than orators. When they had both done ſpeaking, the people began to vote, when *Fabius* riſing up again deſired them, in a few words, to hear *Appius*'s letters read, before they decided on the preſent diſpute. *Appius*, in the letters he had lately written from *Hetruria*, had painted the danger with which the republic was threatened in very lively colours, and given a very particular account of the four armies which were to fall upon *Rome*. The bare relation of the danger determined the people to have recourſe to the ſureſt remedy; and *Fabius* was inſtantly appointed to command the army in *Hetruria*. And now all the *Roman* youth were eager to ſerve under ſo great a commander; but he would carry with him no larger a reinforcement *and* Gauls.

Fabius *ſent againſt the united forces of the* Hetrurians, Umbrians, Samnites,

ment than four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. At the head of this ſmall body he marched towards the camp, which the fearful *Appius* was ſtill ſtrengthening with new fortifications. As he drew near it, he met a detachment ſent to cut wood in a neighbouring foreſt. Whither are you going, fellow-ſoldiers? ſaid *Fabius*. The ſoldiers anſwered, To cut wood to fortify our camp. What! replied the general, is it not already fortified? We are already ſurrounded, returned the ſoldiers, with a double ditch and a double rampart, and yet we are ſtill afraid. Since that is the caſe, ſaid *Fabius*, return to the camp, and level the firſt rampart. The detachment immediately returned, and put their new general's orders in execution; which greatly alarmed *Appius*: but *Fabius* arrived the ſame day, to the inexpreſſible joy of the army, every one hoping affairs would take a better turn under ſo able a general. The next day *Appius* ſet out for *Rome*, to take upon him the prætorſhip, which had been aſſigned, and better ſuited his talents than the conduct of an army. *Fabius*, inſtead of ſhutting up his ſoldiers within lines, which, he ſaid, betrayed fear, kept them in conſtant motion, by frequent marches and counter-marches; but, before he entered upon action, he returned to *Rome*, for what reaſon is uncertain. Upon his arrival, the ſenate, alarmed at the dreadful repreſentation which *Appius* had made of the enemy's forces, judged it neceſſary to ſtrengthen him by a ſecond army. *Fabius*, when this was firſt propoſed to him, told the conſcript fathers, that he ſhould acquieſce in what they thought proper, on account of the fears of others, not his own; but deſired, that if another general was to be joined with him, *Decius* might be the perſon, ſhewing thereby, that his late conteſt with him had not leſſened the eſteem he had for ſo great a man. The ſenate and people readily granted him his requeſt; and then the two conſuls, before they left *Rome*, made the following regulations: they ſent the proconſul *Volumnius* with two legions into *Samnium*, and, in order to cover the city on the ſide of *Hetruria*, directed two camps to be pitched, one near *Rome* on the hill *Vaticanus*, and the other on the banks of the *Tiber*, in the country of the *Faliſci*. After theſe regulations, the two conſuls ſet out for the camp in *Hetruria*. Upon the road they were informed, that a legion, which *Fabius* had left under the command of *Scipio*, had been entirely cut off by the *Gauls* called *Senones*. However, the two generals, without being diſcouraged by this accident, continued their march; and as their army conſiſted of four legions, a good number of *Roman* knights, a thouſand *Campanian* horſe, and a body of auxiliaries, more numerous than all the *Roman* forces,

forces, they divided it into two parts, and encamped feparately, but within reach of each other, in the plain of *Sentinum*, about four miles from the enemy. We are told, that the forces of the *Gauls* and *Samnites*, who encamped together, amounted to one hundred and forty three thouſand three hundred and thirty foot, and forty ſix thouſand horſe. What the number was of *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*, who jointly made another camp, we find no-where recorded. As theſe confederates were ſeparated in their camps, they agreed, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* ſhould engage the *Romans*, while the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* attacked their two camps in the heat of the action. *Fabius*, being informed of this deſign by deſerters, immediately ſent orders to the two proprætors, *Fulvius* and *Poſthumius*, who commanded in the camps that covered *Rome*, to enter *Hetruria* without delay and lay it waſte. Hereupon the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* haſtened to the relief of the unfortunate people, whoſe houſes were burnt, and land ravaged. *Fabius*, having thus obliged the enemy to divide their forces, took advantage of the diverſion he had made, and, in the abſence of the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*, brought the *Gauls* and *Samnites* to a battle. *Fabius* commanded the right wing, which faced the *Samnites*, and *Decius* the left, which engaged the *Gauls*. Both parties ſuſtained the firſt onſet with equal bravery, and the reſiſtance of the enemy made the *Romans* ſenſible, that they could never have withſtood the four armies, had they all engaged at once. The advantage firſt appeared in favour of the *Gauls*, who ſurprized the *Romans*, ſoon after the action began, with a new way of fighting, never heretofore uſed in the wars of *Italy*. They drove full ſpeed armed chariots againſt the *Roman* cavalry, which, with the noiſe of the wheels and the novelty of the ſight, frightened the horſes, and put them into diſorder. They fell afterwards on the firſt line of the infantry, and broke into the ranks, carrying every-where terror and confuſion. The conſul *Decius*, having in vain endeavoured to rally his terrified ſoldiers, reſolved to follow the example of his father, and in the ſame manner devote himſelf to the *dii manes*. Purſuant to this reſolution, he commanded the pontifex *M. Livius* to pronounce the words uſed in devotements; and, having repeated them after him, rode full ſpeed into the thickeſt of the enemy's battalions, where he was killed, after having received numberleſs wounds. How great is the power of credulity and ſuperſtition! The *Romans*, after the death of their general, looking upon the enemy as devoted to deſtruction, took new courage, and re-

Decius *devotes himſelf.*

turned to the charge, as it were to put the decrees of the gods in execution. The pontifex *Livius*, who was himſelf an able commander, taking advantage of their prejudices, put himſelf at their head, crying out, *We have conquered*; *the death of* Decius *has ſecured to us the victory*; *the* Samnites *and the* Gauls *are devoted to the* manes, *and muſt inevitably periſh*. Having thus ſpoke, he renewed the battle with great fury, and being ſeconded by ſome troops ſent by *Fabius* from the rear, under the command of *L. Cornelius* and *C. Marcius*, he ſoon changed the fortune of the day in favour of the *Romans* in the left wing.

The Samnites *and* Gauls *defeated*.

In the right wing *Fabius* had attacked the *Samnites* but faintly, or rather kept himſelf upon the defenſive, till the enemy had quite ſpent their ſtrength and were exhauſted; and then becoming in his turn the aggreſſor, he ordered his cavalry to wheel about and flank the wings of the enemy, while he, at the head of the legions, attacked them in front. All the troops being thus put in motion at once, the ſhock was ſo violent, that the *Samnites*, not being able to ſtand it, fled in diſorder to their camp, leaving the *Gauls* to ſhift for themſelves. Theſe brave men, not diſheartened at the rout of their allies, ſtill kept their ground, and, covering their heads with their bucklers, formed a tortoiſe. *Fabius* therefore, to break theſe impenetrable troops, detached a body of five hundred *Campanian* horſe to fall upon their rear, ordering the principes to follow the detachment, and penetrate into their battalions, when once broken. This motion ſucceeded ſo well, that the *Gauls* were at length obliged to retire, which they ſeem to have done in good order; for *Livy* does not tell us, that they were put into confuſion, but only that they gave way, and left the *Romans* maſters of the field. *Fabius* did not purſue them; but led his forces againſt the camp of the *Samnites*, where he made a dreadful ſlaughter. Twenty five thouſand of the *Samnites* and *Gauls* were killed in this action, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. Among the former was *Gellius Egnatius*, an eminent commander of the *Samnites*, who had negotiated the alliance of the four nations. On the ſide of the *Romans*, the number of the dead in the left wing amounted to ſeven thouſand; but in the right, where *Fabius* commanded, only twelve hundred were killed. As for the two proprætors, *Fulvius* and *Poſthumius*, they gained no ſmall advantages over the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*; and the ſame year the proconſul *Volummius* defeated the *Samnites* in a pitched battle at the foot of mount *Tifernus*. After all theſe ſucceſſes, *Fabius* returned to *Rome*, and triumphed the day before the nones of *September*. He had ſcarce left the country, when the *Hetru-*

rians

rians raiſed a new army, which obliged him to lead his troops thither again. Upon his arrival, he attacked the *Hetrurians*, killed four thouſand five hundred of them on the ſpot, took one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty priſoners, and ſtruck the reſt with ſuch terror, that they made no further attempts that year. This was the laſt exploit of a hero, who did not leave off conquering, till age diſabled him from ſerving his country. He had a ſon, ſurnamed *Gurges*, that is, *the gulph*, on account of his exceſſive intemperance in his youth. After he had ſquandered away immenſe ſums in debauchery, he corrected his way of living, and became a zealous reformer of manners, in order to wipe off the ſhame of his paſt exceſſes. In his ædileſhip, he accuſed before the people a great many patrician women of adultery, and, having convicted them, perpetuated the ſhame of the criminals, by building, with the money accruing from their fines, a temple to *Venus*, as a laſting monument of their infamy [u].

IN the mean time, the *Samnites*, notwithſtanding their loſſes, brought two new armies into the field. With one they encamped on the banks of the *Vulturnus*; with the other they entered *Campania*, and pillaged the territories of *Veſcia* and *Formiæ*. Hereupon *Appius* the prætor was ordered into *Samnium*, at the head of the army which *Decius* had commanded. The proconſul *Volumnius*, who was already on the ſpot, joined his forces to thoſe of *Appius*; and both theſe generals, by purſuing the *Samnites* from place to place, obliged them to unite their two armies in the *Campi Stellates*, between the *Vulturnus* and the *Savo*. There the *Samnites* reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle; and, as they looked upon it as a deciſive ſtroke, they behaved with extraordinary courage and reſolution: but the *Romans* at length prevailed, after having loſt two thouſand ſeven hundred men. Of the *Samnites* there fell in the battle and purſuit ſixteen thouſand three hundred. *The* Samnites *again defeated.*

Rome had now made war with the *Samnites* for forty years, almoſt without interruption, and always with ſucceſs. The laſt campaign ſeemed enough of itſelf to extinguiſh their martial ardor. They had loſt four battles in one year; the braveſt of their generals had been killed; all the flower of their youth cut off; the *Hetrurians*, *Umbrians*, and *Gauls*, whom they had drawn into a confederacy, were not now in a condition to lend them any aſſiſtance. However, they were not

[u] LIV. l. x. c. 24—30. FAST. CAPIT. MACRON. ſat. I. ii. c. 9.

ſo

ſo far diſcouraged, as to loſe all hopes of being able one day to conquer. They made great preparations to take the field once more. The ſenate being alarmed ordered the two new conſuls, *L. Poſthumius Megellus*, who was raiſed to that dignity a ſecond time, and *M. Attilius Regulus*, to carry the war jointly into *Samnium*; but *Poſthumius* falling ſick, the whole management of affairs was committed to *Attilius*, who, haſtening into *Samnium*, met the *Samnites* on the confines of *Campania*. The conſul was no ſooner encamped, than the enemy, tho' ſo often vanquiſhed, undertook to execute what the *Romans* themſelves would ſcarce have attempted; they formed a deſign of forcing the conſul's lines, and marching out of their camp undiſcovered, by means of a thick fog, ſurpriſed the advanced guards, made themſelves maſters of the *Decuman* gate, and penetrated to the quæſtor's tent, where the military cheſt was kept. In the mean time the alarm ſpreading to the general's quarters, he put himſelf at the head of ſome *manipuli*, and obliged the enemy to retire by the gate through which they had entered. The *Romans* would have purſued them; but *Attilius*, fearing ſome ambuſcade, would not ſuffer them to march out of their entrenchments. The *Samnites*, not doubting but fortune would favour their bold attempts another time, encamped cloſe to the *Roman* lines, and kept the conſular army ſo cloſely ſhut up, that they could not enter *Samnium*, to live upon free quarter there, as they had deſigned; but were obliged to bring their proviſions from the countries behind them, to which alone they had acceſs.

But take the field anew.

The ſenate and people of *Rome*, alarmed at this diſadvantageous ſituation of the army, diſpatched *Poſthumius*, tho' not yet perfectly recovered, with another conſular army, to the aſſiſtance of his collegue. Upon his arrival, the *Samnites*, who were not in a condition to make head againſt two conſular armies, decamped in haſte, and left their country a prey to the enemy. Hereupon the two generals ſeparated, to pillage and lay waſte the whole country. *Poſthumius*, having committed every-where great devaſtations, made himſelf maſter of *Milionia* and *Triventum*, two places of great ſtrength. The former was taken by aſſault, after a vigorous defence, and given up to be plundered by the ſoldiers; three thouſand two hundred *Samnites* were cut in pieces on the ramparts, and four thouſand two hundred made priſoners. *Triventum* was abandoned by the inhabitants; ſo that the

Some of their cities taken.

the conſul made himſelf maſter of it without ſtriking a blow [w].

WHILE *Poſthumius* was thus employed, *Attilius* marched to the relief of *Luceria* in *Apulia*, beſieged, as he was told, by the *Samnites*. On his march he met the enemy and came to a battle with them, the ſucceſs of which was ſuch, that neither army cared to try a ſecond engagement. The *Samnites* were wholly bent on decamping the next day and returning home; but as the place where they were encamped was a kind of defile, and the *Romans* were between them and *Samnium*, after much deliberation, they reſolved to march directly to the *Roman* camp, take their rout by the ſide of it, and thence advance into the plain. The conſul no ſooner perceived them, than he gave orders to his legions to prepare for battle, not doubting but they were coming to attack him. But now *Attilius* perceived how much the action of the day before had diſcouraged his troops; his officers told him, that they were ready to obey his orders; but that the ſoldiers were extremely fatigued and intimidated, and that they would certainly be overcome as ſoon as attacked. This gave *Attilius* great uneaſineſs; he went in perſon to viſit them in their tents, and endeavoured by ſoft words to rouſe their courage; but all to no purpoſe: he could not by any means prevail upon them to ſtir. In the mean time, the *Samnites* drawing near, the *Romans* obſerved, that they were loaded with ſtakes and faſcines. Whereupon the conſul, believing they deſigned to ſhut him up in his camp, proteſted, that he would march out and meet the enemy alone; and that if he were cut in pieces, he ſhould at leaſt eſcape the mortification of ſeeing his camp at the mercy of a people ſo often conquered. His words, and the ſhame of abandoning their general, induced them at length to take to their arms and march out; which they did with great reluctance, and very ſlowly, the battalions not being cloſe, but broken in ſeveral places. This motion of the *Romans* was a great diſappointment to the *Samnites*, who were no leſs afraid than they, and equally deſirous to avoid a battle; but when they found it was neceſſary to fight, they acted like brave men, threw down all their baggage in a heap, and, placing it in the centre, drew up in battalia. When the two armies drew near, they both betrayed ſo little inclination to fight, that they would have retired without action, had they not feared,

[w] Liv. l. x. c. 32.

that

that the firſt which drew off would be attacked in the rear by the other. However, they charged at length each other, but in a very faint manner, and without drawing ſo near as to come to a cloſe engagement. The *Romans* ſoon began to give ground, which ſo encouraged the *Samnites*, that they now exerted their uſual vigor, and preſſing upon the legions, drove them quite back to their intrenchments, which they would have entered, and left the *Samnites* maſters of the field, had not *Attilius* ordered a body of horſe to advance to the gate of the camp, with directions to kill every *Roman* who ſhould attempt to enter it. By this means the run-aways being obliged to return to the charge rallied, and renewed the fight with ſuch vigor, that the *Samnites*, who purſued them, were forced to fly in their turn. Thus the victory fell in the end to the *Romans*, after they had loſt ſeven thouſand three hundred men. Four thouſand eight hundred of the *Samnites* were killed upon the ſpot, and ſeven thouſand taken priſoners, whom the conſul made all paſs under the yoke. The conſul *Attilius* would have gained but little honour this campaign, had he not repaired his loſſes by a new advantage; for, on his march homewards, having accidentally fallen in with a body of *Samnites*, loaded with the booty which they had made in the country of the *Volſci*, he cut them in pieces, recovered the booty, and releaſed many *Roman* priſoners, whom they had taken in this incurſion. After this, he left his army in winter-quarters, and returned to *Rome*, to preſide at the elections. In the mean time, *Poſthumius*, uneaſy to find nothing to do in *Samnium*, left that country, without orders from the ſenate, and marching into *Hetruria*, where there was more booty and more glory to be gained, defeated the *Hetrurians*, took *Ruſſellæ*, and obliged the three leucumonies of *Volſinii*, *Peruſia*, and *Arretium* to ſue for peace. Nevertheleſs the ſenate, on his return, refuſed him a triumph, on account of his irregular proceedings; but he appealed to the people, who, in ſpite of the ſenate, decreed him a triumph, for his victories over the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians* [x].

Attilius gains a complete victory over the Samnites.

The Hetrurians *overcome by* Poſthumius.

In the new conſulate of *L. Papirius Curſor*, ſon of the famous *Papirius*, and *Sp. Corvilius*, *Samnium* became again the ſeat of war. That martial nation reſolved to make a new and more vigorous effort than ever. They publiſhed a law, commanding all, who were of age to bear arms, to appear upon the firſt ſummons from the general of their nation,

[x] Liv. l. x. c. 31. Fast. Capit.

upon

upon pain of death. The heads of thoſe who diſobeyed this law were devoted to *Jupiter*, and it was lawful for any one to kill them, where-ever they were found. The general rendezvous was appointed in the neighbourhood of *Aquilonia*, a city of *Hirpinia*, whither fear brought all the youth of the country, to the number of forty thouſand and upwards. In order to inſpire them with courage, the heads of the nation obliged ſixteen thouſand of the braveſt men among them to take the following oath, which was adminiſtered to them with great ſolemnity; *May all the curſes of the gods fall upon me and my poſterity, if I do not follow my generals where-ever they ſhall lead me; if I ever turn my back, or do not kill thoſe whom I ſhall ſee attempting to fly.* Thoſe, who heſitated at loading themſelves and their poſterity with ſuch imprecations, were immediately ſtabbed, and their bodies thrown among the carcaſſes of the many victims that were ſacrificed on this occaſion. Thoſe who took the oath were called *legio linteata*, or the *linen legion*, becauſe they had bound themſelves by it under a canopy or covering of linen. Magnificent bucklers were given them, and, that they might be the better diſtinguiſhed in an engagement, their helmets were adorned with ſtately creſts. In the mean time, the conſul *Corvilius*, having left *Rome*, and put himſelf at the head of the army which *Attilius* had commanded, took his way towards *Samnium*, which he entered without oppoſition, the enemy not having yet finiſhed their preparations. His firſt exploit was the taking of *Amiternum*, a city in *Sabinia*, but ſubject to the *Samnites*, where he cut in pieces two thouſand eight hundred men, and made four thouſand two hundred and ſeventy priſoners. On the other hand, *Papirius*, having haſtened his levies in *Rome*, took the field, made himſelf maſter of *Furconia*, in the neighbourhood of *Amiternum*, and then joined his collegue. After they had laid waſte that part of the *Volſcian* territory which was ſubject to the *Samnites*, they parted again, *Corvilius* turning off towards *Cominium*, on the confines of the eaſtern part of *Samnium*, with a deſign to beſiege it; and *Papirius* marching towards *Aquilonia*, the place of the enemy's general rendezvous. The latter encamped within ſight of the enemy, and tried their ſtrength and courage in ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes, before he came to a general action; which he at length reſolved to venture, and therefore ſent an expreſs to his collegue, deſiring him to preſs the ſiege of *Cominium*, leſt the enemy ſhould ſend detachments from thence to reinforce their army near *Aquilonia*. He then called his troops together, and ſo animated them, that they

The Samnites *raiſe a new army.*

all cried out to him that they were ready to follow him whitherſoever he ſhould lead them. From the general to the meaneſt ſoldier all were equally eager to engage; they were only uneaſy to ſee the battle put off to the next day. Even the augur, whoſe buſineſs it was to obſerve the preſages, choſe rather to make a falſe report, than to check this general ardour. It was then cuſtomary to judge of the ſucceſs of battles before-hand, by the haſte or ſlowneſs with which the ſacred chickens picked up their food. The augur obſerved, that the chickens fed but ſlowly, which was a bad omen; but, as the miniſters of religion are not always the moſt ſcrupulous, or the moſt credulous, the augur, depending more on the ardour of the ſoldiers, than the greedineſs of his chickens, declared, that they had fed greedily. *Papirius* heard the augury with joy, and immediately ordered his men to prepare for battle; but the next day, when the army was ready to march out and engage, the report being ſpread among the troops, that the preſages were not favourable, the *Roman* knights, thinking it a matter of ſuch importance as ought to be communicated to the general, prevailed upon young *Papirius*, the conſul's nephew, to diſcover to him the error he was in concerning the auguries. *Be of good courage*, anſwered the general, *and behave yourſelf in the action like a brave man. If the augur has made me a falſe report, he has drawn the vengeance of the gods upon himſelf by his irreligion. As for me, I conclude the augury to be favourable, ſince it was ſo declared.* Thus ſpoke *Papirius*, and then ordered the unfaithful keeper of the ſacred chickens to be placed at the head of the firſt line, where he was killed by an unknown hand, before the two armies came to a cloſe engagement. He was probably killed by order of the conſul, who, pretending to look upon his death as a ſtroke from heaven, cried out, when the news was brought him, *The vengeance of the gods has ſpent itſelf on the perſon who deſerved it. We have nothing more to fear from their anger.* In the beginning of the action, the *linen legion*, which lay under the moſt ſacred engagements not to give way, made a moſt gallant reſiſtance; and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the *Romans*, kept their ground, till all on a ſudden they diſcovered, at ſome diſtance, a cloud of duſt, ſuch as is raiſed by the marching of an army, but was now occaſioned by the ſervants and muleteers of the *Roman* camp, whom the conſul had mounted upon mules and other beaſts of burden, ordering them to appear in the heat of the action, and raiſe as great a cloud of duſt as poſſible. *Papirius*, though the author of the ſtratagem, ſeemed to be ſurprized at this new ſight. As the ſervants of the army had provided themſelves

themſelves with branches of trees, which they trained on the ground to raiſe the greater duſt, nothing could be ſeen but the tops of ſome ſtandards and lances, and ſomething like cavalry, which ſeemed to flank a body of infantry. While both armies were under no ſmall apprehenſion of this freſh body of troops, *Papirius* all on a ſudden cried out with an air of joy, Cominium *is taken, and my collegue is coming to my aſſiſtance. Courage, fellow-ſoldiers; let us gain the victory ourſelves, before another army comes to ſhare with us the glory and the ſpoils.* At theſe words, both the infantry and cavalry fell with new vigour on the *linen legion*, which was at length obliged to give way, the fear of the enemy, who had penetrated into the midſt of their battalions, not ſuffering them to attend to any other apprehenſions. Their example was followed by the reſt of the *Samnite* army; their foot in the left wing retired to *Aquilonia*, and thoſe in the right regained the camp; but their horſe, which conſiſted of the nobility of the country, fled to *Bovianum*, a city which was a great way from the field of battle. Twelve thouſand of the *Samnites*, according to *Oroſius*, were ſlain in this battle; but, according to *Livy*,, above thirty thouſand. Their camp was taken, and ſoon after the city of *Aquilonia*, where moſt of the fugitives had taken ſhelter [y].

The Samnites *totally defeated.*

IN the mean time, *Corvilius* made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong and important city of *Cominium.* The beſieged, after having made a vigorous defence, were at length obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, to the number of fifteen thouſand four hundred, after four thouſand three hundred and eighty had been ſlain in the attacks. After this, the two conſuls joined their forces to complete the deſtruction of the *Samnites*, who had no army to oppoſe them. Their ſcheme being approved by the ſenate, *Corvilius* took *Volana*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculaneum*, all cities of great note. *Papirius* made himſelf maſter of *Sepinum*, a town ſituated at the foot of the *Apennines*, and deemed impregnable. But, in the mean time, the *Hetrurians* taking arms again, it was thought neceſſary to recal one of the conſuls with his army from *Samnium.* They were accordingly ordered to caſt lots for the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, which fell to *Corvilius*, who thereupon haſtened to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, and thence continued his march into *Hetruria*, where he took *Troſſulum* by aſſault, and obliged the *Faliſci* to ſue for peace, but granted them only a year's truce, for which he made

Cominium *taken with many other cities.*

The Faliſci *ſue for a peace.*

[y] LIV. l. x. c. 41. FRONT. ſtrat. VAL. MAX. l. vii c. 2. OROS. l. vi.

them pay three hundred and ninety thouſand aſſes of braſs. After this he returned to *Rome*. *Papirius* arrived much about the ſame time from *Samnium*, and obtained a triumph, the chief ornaments of which were the ſpoils taken from the *Samnites*, eſpecially from the *linen legion* [z] (Z).

In the next election of conſuls, the perſons choſen by the centuries were *Fabius Gurges*, the ſon of *Fabius Maximus*, and *Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Scæva*, of an illuſtrious, though plebeian, family. It is undoubted, that *Fabius* the father, who was then prince of the ſenate, oppoſed the promotion of his ſon. Perhaps he did not think him well qualified for ſo high a ſtation, or was induced thereunto, as *Valerius Maximus* is of opinion [a], by a republican principle, judging it a pernicious precedent to heap ſo many honours on one family; for he himſelf had been five times conſul, and his father and grandfather had been likewiſe promoted to that dignity. *Junius Brutus*, the other conſul, was no better qualified for the conſulate than his collegue; ſo that now the government of the republic was in the hands of two perſons of ſmall abilities, eſpecially for war; which was at this time a very impolitic choice. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when the *Faliſci* in *Hetruria*, encouraged by a plague which raged in *Rome*, broke their truce; and the old enemies of *Rome*, the *Samnites*, taking arms again, entered *Campania*. The conſuls having drawn lots for their provinces, *Hetruria* fell to *Brutus*, and *Samnium* to *Fabius*. The former, being aſſiſted by *Corvilius*, whom the republic appointed to be his lieutenant, over-ran *Hetruria*, defeated the *Faliſci*, and returned to *Rome*, loaded with ſpoils. But, on the other hand, *Fabius*, having raſhly, and even without drawing up his troops, attacked the *Samnites*, was by them put to flight, after he had loſt three thouſand men in the action. The number of the wounded was greater, and moſt of them died for want of at-

The conſul Fabius Gurges *defeated by the* Samnites.

[z] Liv. ibid & Fast. Capit. [a] Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1.

(Z) *Papirius*, on his return to *Rome*, dedicated a temple to *Quirinus*, which his father, when dictator, had vowed. Upon this temple was fixed a ſun-dial, the firſt that had ever been ſeen at *Rome*. The *Romans*, for ſome ages, marked only the riſing and ſetting of the ſun; afterwards they obſerved the hour of noon, but in a very groſs manner. When the ſun ſhone between the roſtra and the houſe appointed for the reception of embaſſadors, one of the conſuls heralds uſed to proclaim with a loud voice, that it was mid day; but now they could mark the ſeveral hours of the day: and the water-clock, invented ſoon after, enabled them to reckon the hours of the night.

tendance,

tendance, the conſul having left the ſervants of the army and the baggage a great way behind him. The news of an action ſo ill conducted exaſperated the people and ſenate to ſuch a degree, that the conſul was recalled, and would have been depoſed, had not his father ſpoke in his behalf, with all the dignity of a man of his age, merit, and employments, and even offered to ſerve under his ſon the remainder of the campaign, in quality of his lieutenant. This offer was immediately accepted, and *Fabius* ſet out with his ſon for *Samnium*, which they had ſcarce entered, when they were met by the enemy, who offered them battle. The *Samnites*, whom no adverſe fortune could diſcourage, made their firſt onſet with ſuch vigour, that the *Romans* could ſcarce withſtand them. *Pontius Herennius*, their general, elated with his firſt victory, made incredible efforts to gain a ſecond. On the other hand, the conſul, to wipe off the ſhame of his late defeat, fought as a private ſoldier in the firſt line. But *Pontius*, having broke through the troop which covered young *Fabius*, was ſurrounding him on all ſides; which the father perceiving, threw himſelf into the midſt of the enemy's battalions, and by his example animated the legions to exert themſelves with ſuch vigour, that *Gurges* was reſcued, and the enemy put to the rout. Twenty thouſand of the enemy were ſlain, and four thouſand taken priſoners. Among the latter was *Pontius* himſelf, who had done in this fatal engagement all that could be expected from an experienced commander and gallant ſoldier. *Rome* would have been more ſenſibly affected with this victory at any other time; but the plague, which made a dreadful havock of her citizens, much damped her joy. To appeaſe the wrath of the gods, recourſe was had to the uſual remedy, ſuperſtition. The *Sibylline* books were conſulted, and there it was read, that, to put a ſtop to the plague, the god *Æſculapius* ſhould be brought to *Rome* from *Epidaurus*, a city of *Peloponneſus*, where he was worſhipped under the figure of a ſerpent. An embaſſy was accordingly appointed for that purpoſe [b].

But Fabius Maximus *gives them a dreadful overthrow.*

THE conſular year being near expired, and the two conſuls buſied in carrying on the war in their reſpective provinces, a dictator was appointed to ſupply their room; but his nomination proving defective, the republic fell into an inter-regnum, when *L. Poſthumius*, one of the magiſtrates named to govern the ſtate till the new election, held the comitia, and, by his intrigues, got himſelf elected the third time. His collegue was *Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Bubulcus*. *Poſthumius*, who was a man of a haughty,

[b] LIV. l. x c. 47. OROS l. viii c. 22 ZONAR. l. viii. FLOR. epit. 11.

haughty, enterprising, and untractable temper, assumed to himself the command of the war in *Samnium*, without drawing lots with his collegue, or waiting for a decree of the senate in his favour. About this time the god *Æsculapius*, who had been expected a whole year, arrived from *Epidaurus*, to the great joy of the people; and the plague is said to have ceased soon after (A). The two consuls set out for their respective

Æsculapius brought to Rome.

(A) *Æsculapius* was a native of *Messene*, a city of *Peloponnesus*. As soon as he was born, his parents exposed him, according to the barbarous custom of those times, in a forest, where he was found by some hunters, who, touched with compassion, caused him to be suckled by a bitch. When he became capable of instruction, he was committed to the care of the famous *Chiron*, who taught him physic or surgery; for these two arts were then confounded. The disciple soon excelled his master, and, being grown an able physician, settled at *Epidaurus*, a city of *Argos*, and practised his art there. He made some discoveries in the cure of diseases and wounds; for he is said to have invented the *probe*, to have first made use of *bandages*, and to have been the first who invented *purges*, and the art of drawing *teeth*. For these discoveries the people were pleased to call him the son of *Apollo*, and, after his death, to rank him among the gods. He had a temple erected to him in *Epidaurus*; and the priests, who presided over the worship of this new god, bred one of those snakes, which were easily tamed, and taught to follow any persons where they pleased. This snake the silly vulgar honoured as the god himself His usual hole was under the feet of the fine marble statue of *Æsculapius*, which the famous sculptor *Thrasymedes* of *Paros* had made; and whenever he came out of it, his appearance was understood to prognostic the cure of the sick person. The *Roman* envoys were brought into the temple, and it is probable, that the *Epidaurians* made them pay dear for the relief they desired, their reputation and interest being then very small in *Greece*. But however that be, the *Epidaurians* suffered them to carry away the snake, which drew all the people in the neighbourhood into the city. We are told, that the snake came out of its hole, while the embassadors were viewing the statue of *Æsculapius*, left the temple of its own accord, passed all through the city, went directly to the port, where the *Roman* ship was at anchor, and, entering the vessel, curled himself into several circles in the cabbin of *Ogulnius*, who was at the head of the embassy, and continued quietly there. The other adventures of the pretended *Æsculapius*, in his passage from *Epidaurus* to *Rome*, have been celebrated both by the poets and historians. It is pretended, that the voyage was exceeding prosperous and happy, till the vessel approached the coasts of *Italy*, when a violent storm, arising all on a sudden, forced the mariners to put in at the port of *Antium*, where there was a temple dedicated to *Æsculapius*. The snake, which

reſpective provinces, *Brutus* for *Hetruria*, and *Poſthumius* for *Samnium*. The former performed nothing which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. In *Samnium* the two *Fabii* gained great advantages, and were actu-

which had hitherto confined himſelf to *Ogulnius*'s cabbin, here made his eſcape, and gliding along came to the court of the ſanctuary, where he was worſhipped. As the place was planted with myrtles and palm trees, the pretended *Æſculapius* got upon one of the largeſt of them, and, twiſting his long body round it, continued there three days. At length he returned to the galley of his own accord, and ſuffered himſelf to be carried to the place intended. The joy the *Romans* ſhewed upon the arrival of this ſalutary god is not to be expreſſed. Altars were erected all along the banks of the *Tiber*, and numberleſs ſacrifices offered. The *Romans* deſigned to receive him within their walls, and there build him a temple; but the god is ſaid to have choſe his own abode in the midſt of the *Tiber*, on an iſland formed in the infancy of the republic by ſtraw, trunks of trees, ſand, and the rubbiſh of the city. Thither the ſerpent retired, ſwimming gently through the water. From that time it was called the iſland of *Æſculapius*, and a temple was ſoon erected to him there, and inriched with numberleſs preſents. It was built in the ſhape of a ſhip, the higher part of it reſembling the ſtern, and the lower the prow. *Pliny* tells us, that the *Romans*, who had an averſion to phyſicians and their art, would not ſuffer *Æſculapius* to be brought within their walls; and indeed it muſt be owned, that the *Romans* had not that regard for phyſic, which an art of that importance deſerves. For a long courſe of years they left the practice of it wholly to perſons of a ſervile condition, or freedmen. This contempt for phyſicians was chiefly owing to the roguery and ignorance of the empirics or quacks, who, under the title of phyſicians, abuſed the credulity of the people, made their market of them, and at the ſame time much endangered the ſick under their care. However, the temple of the god of health was much frequented by the common people at *Rome*. The ſick came and paſſed a night in it; and either imagination, or the ſtrength of nature, ſometimes wrought cures there, which were aſcribed to the power of the god. Thoſe who recovered, ſacrificed to the god, by way of thankſgiving, a cock; for this bird was ſacred to *Æſculapius*, and a ſymbol of the vigilance, which is neceſſary for the cure of diſeaſes. It was in alluſion to this, that *Socrates*, when condemned to die, and thereby delivered from all the evils and diſtempers attending this life, ordered a cock to be ſacrificed to *Æſculapius*. There were ſome remains of the antient temple of *Æſculapius* to be ſeen in the ſixteenth century, near the church of St. *Bartholomew* in the iſland of the *Tiber* (19).

(19) *Cic. de nat. deor. l.* iii. *Val. Max. l.* i. *c.* 8. *Ovid. Metamor. l.* xv. *Plin. l.* xix. *c.* 1.

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ally beſieging *Cominium*, which the *Samnites* had rebuilt, when *Poſthumius* arrived with a new conſular army. *Fabius Gurges* had been continued in the command of the army in quality of proconſul; but nevertheleſs *Poſthumius* ſent him orders to deſiſt from the ſiege, and leave that enterpriſe to him. *Fabius* had recourſe to the ſenate, acquainting the conſcript fathers with the orders he had received from the conſul; whereupon the ſenate immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to *Poſthumius*, injoining him to bend his forces another way, and not diſturb *Fabius* in the enterprize he was carrying on; but *Poſthumius*, without paying any regard to the authority of the ſenate, gave their meſſenger this haughty anſwer, *Tell the conſcript fathers, that it is their duty to obey their conſul, and not his to ſubmit to their commands.* He then marched towards *Cominium*, reſolved to give the *Fabii* battle, if they did not yield to his obſtinate humour. Young *Fabius*, being warranted by the authority of the ſenate, was for ſuſtaining the attack of the raſh aggreſſor; but his father prevailed upon him, for the ſake of the public good, to give way to his imperious rival. Then *Poſthumius*, having a clear ſtage, preſſed *Cominium* with ſuch vigour, that he made himſelf maſter of it in a few days. From thence he turned his arms againſt *Venuſium*, an important place on the confines of *Apulia*, *Lucania*, and *Samnium*, and brought it under ſubjection to the *Romans*. He then wrote to the ſenate, giving them an account of his conqueſt, which, he hoped, would have reconciled the conſcript fathers to him, and made them forget his diſobedience. In the ſame letter he propoſed, that a colony might be ſent to *Venuſium*, to keep the neighbouring provinces in awe. His propoſal was approved, but occaſion taken from it to mortify him, and make him ſenſible, that the ſenate preferred obedience to valour. It was cuſtomary for the conqueror of a city to be one of the triumviri ſent thither to ſettle a colony; but, in the caſe of *Venuſium*, the ſenate, without any regard to *Poſthumius*, named three others, allowing him no ſhare in that honour. Nor was this all; to humble the proud *Poſthumius* yet more, they granted the honours of a triumph to young *Fabius* his rival, who entered *Rome* triumphantly on the calends of the month *Sextilis.* The brave *Pontius*, famous for having ſurprized the *Roman* legions, and made them paſs under the yoke at the *Caudine Forks*, followed the chariot of the conqueror, and, by an act of inhumanity unworthy of a civilized nation, was condemned to loſe his head. While young *Fabius* was riding in his triumphal chariot, his father followed him on horſeback. He had formerly, in his firſt triumphs, carried his ſon in his chariot with him, and

Cominium *retaken from the* Samnites.

Pontius the famous Samnite *general, put to death at* Rome.

was now overjoyed to march after him, to mingle in the croud, and to hear the acclamations of the people, and the ſongs of the ſoldiers, in praiſe of the triumphant victor; however, the ſpectators did him juſtice, ſaying, that the ſon was honoured with a triumph, but that the father deſerved it [c].

Poſthumius, ſeeing his rival thus honoured, and himſelf treated with ſo much contempt, vented his rage in bitter invectives againſt the ſenate, and invented a new kind of revenge, which was to diſtribute among his ſoldiers all the booty he had taken in the two conquered cities, without lodging any part of it in the public treaſury. He then out of ſpite diſbanded his troops, before his ſucceſſor could arrive. His collegue *Brutus* preſided in the comitia, when *P. Cornelius Ruſinus* and *Manius Curius Dentatus* were choſen. *Poſthumius* was no ſooner out of office, than he was brought to a trial before the comitia by tribes. Before he left *Rome*, he had employed a detachment of his troops in the ſervile work of grubbing up a foreſt in his own eſtate. His accuſation chiefly turned on his employing in ſo mean an office men of free condition, and who owed no ſervice but to the public. As this crime offended the people more than his diſobedience to the ſenate, they condemned him to pay a conſiderable fine [d].

THE war with the *Samnites* had already furniſhed the *Roman* generals with matter for twenty four triumphs, but had coſt the conquerors a great deal of blood, many fatigues, and vaſt expences; ſo that the republic was quite tired with engaging every year the ſame enemy. In order therefore to put an end to this tedious war, both conſuls were ordered into *Samnium*, where they acted ſeparately, each at the head of a conſular army, ravaged the country, took ſeveral cities, gained ſome battles, and at length obliged that gallant nation, which, after the loſs of their brave general and able governor *Pontius*, was no longer in a condition to oppoſe the progreſs of their arms, to ſue for peace. The republic readily conſented to enter into an alliance with them for the fourth time; but left the ſettling of the articles to *Curius Dentatus*, a man of great probity, and who, without any vanity or oſtentation, lived in that voluntary poverty and unaffected contempt of riches, which the philoſophers of thoſe times cried up and recommended. The *Samnite* deputies found him ſitting on a poor wooden ſeat near the fire, dreſſing his own dinner, which conſiſted of a few roots, and offered him a

The republic enters into an alliance with the Samnites.

Year after the Flood 2711. Before Chriſt 285. Of *Rome* 469.

[c] LIV. epit. 11. FAST. CAPIT. PLUT. in Fab. & VAL. MAX. l ix c 7. [d] DIO. HAL. in excerpt. Valeſii. LIV epit. 11.

large ſum of money; but *Curius* expreſſed his indignation with a diſdainful ſmile. Without doubt, ſaid he, my poverty inſpires you with hopes of corrupting me; but your attempts are vain. I had rather command the rich, than be rich myſelf. Carry back with you this fatal metal, which men make uſe of only for their deſtruction; and tell your countrymen, that they will find it as difficult a matter to corrupt, as to conquer, me. The conditions *Curius* impoſed upon them are not known; but it is probable they were noways favourable to that warlike and reſtleſs nation. The treaty was no ſooner concluded, than the conſul returned to *Rome*, where he triumphed, to the unexpreſſible joy of the people, who found themſelves diſburdened of a war, which had laſted forty nine years, and given the republic more trouble, than their wars with all the other ſtates of *Italy* together.

The Sabines *reduced.*

And now the conqueſt of *Samnium* drew after it the intire reduction of the *Sabines*, whoſe confederacy with *Rome* was as antient as the city itſelf; but, notwithſtanding their alliance with the republic, they had joined the *Samnites*. *Curius* being therefore ſent againſt them brought the whole country under ſubjection; but as they were old allies, and had not aggravated their offences by any long revolt or obſtinate hatred, the weight of the yoke was leſſened, and the right of *Roman* citizenſhip beſtowed upon them, but without the right of ſuffrage. For the conqueſt of the *Sabines Curius* had a ſecond triumph decreed him the ſame year, an honour which no general before him had ever enjoyed. As *Curius* was by birth a plebeian, ſome patricians attempted to caſt a ſtain upon his reputation, accuſing him of appropriating to himſelf part of the ſpoils taken from the enemy. As the proofs were not clear, *Curius* was put to his oath, and then he confeſſed, that he had kept a little wooden oil veſſel for making libations to the gods; but proteſted that he had reſerved nothing more. Such was the character of his diſintereſtedneſs that he was believed, the malice of his accuſers ſerving only to heighten the luſtre of his virtue[c].

In the following conſulate of *M. Valerius Corvinus*, and *Q. Cædicius Noctua*, *Curius Dentatus* was ſent into *Lucania*, in quality of proconſul, to aſſiſt the *Thurini* againſt the *Lucanians*, who had invaded their territory. In this expedition, being attended with his uſual ſucceſs, he defeated the *Lucanians*, and obliged them to retire into their own country.

[c] Flor. in epit. 11. Auth. de illuſt. viris.

The

The two conſuls ſpent their whole year in works of peace, and in ſending colonies to the conquered cities; namely to *Adria*, a maritime town, which is ſaid to have given name to the *Adriatic* ſea; to *Caſtrum* in *Picenum*, and to *Sena*, another city on the *Adriatic*, at the mouth of the *Seno*, in the country of the *Senones*. As men were grown more vicious, and the number of malefactors daily increaſed, as is uſual in time of peace, three new judges were appointed to relieve the prætor, and try criminals. The puniſhments theſe judges could inflict were confined to pecuniary fines; but nevertheleſs they were ſtyled *triumviri capitales*, becauſe the care of the priſons, where the greateſt criminals were kept, was committed to them, and they had the direction of their execution. Theſe new magiſtrates were choſen annually in the comitia by tribes; and from their ſentence there lay no appeal. The time of this general peace was alſo thought a proper ſeaſon to take a cenſus of the *Roman* people, by which it appeared, that the number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms, amounted to two hundred and ſeventy three thouſand *f*.

Triumviri capitales.

THE fruit of this new peace abroad was, trouble and diſſention at home. The people, oppreſſed by the uſuries of the rich citizens, revived a quarrel, which had begun near two hundred years before. They kept themſelves at firſt within bounds, only demanding, that ſome abuſes ſhould be reformed with reſpect to contracts, whereby creditors exacted an immoderate intereſt for money lent. But the year enſuing, when *Q. Marcius Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius Arvina* were conſuls a ſecond time, a new accident drove them to extremities. *T. Veturius*, one of thoſe unfortunate conſuls who had been ſurprized in the *Caudine Forks*, died inſolvent; and his ſon, who had been educated with great care and formed to virtue, borrowed a conſiderable ſum of one *C. Plotius*, to defray the expence of his father's funeral. *Plotius*, who had alſo lent great ſums to the father, ſoon after preſſed the ſon to pay both his father's debts and that which he had lately contracted himſelf. Young *Veturius*, having neither money nor credit, was forced to ſubmit to ſlavery, and work for his creditor, till he had diſcharged the whole debt. He bore his ſervitude with great conſtancy, and made it his ſtudy to pleaſe his creditor in every thing, till that infamous wretch ſolicited him, as he was a youth of great beauty, to gratify a brutal paſſion he had conceived for him; but then *Veturius*,

The debtors murmur againſt the uſurers.

f LIV. epit. 11. FEST. POMP. l. xvii.

remembering his birth, and the leſſons he had been taught in his earlieſt infancy, rejected his ſhameful addreſſes with the utmoſt indignation. His conſtancy was immoveable, tho' his cruel maſter treated him moſt unmercifully for his virtuous reſiſtance. One day, being covered all over with blood and torn with ſtripes, he made his eſcape out of the houſe, appeared in the forum, and there ſhewed the people the marks of his barbarous creditor's cruelty, and diſcovered the infamy of his tyrant. The people laid hold of this opportunity to decry the uſurers, and to demand the abolition of the law, which impowered them to reduce inſolvent debtors to ſlavery. This inhuman law had been annulled once before on a like occaſion; but the patricians had, by their authority and intereſt, revived it. As for the execrable *Plotius*, the tribunes accuſed him before the aſſembled centuries, and got him condemned to death. The plebeians, not content with this firſt victory, inſiſted on the abolition of the above-mentioned law. The patricians oppoſed it to the utmoſt of their power: This is robbing us, ſaid they, of our ſecurity for what we have lent. Debts muſt be paid, according to the old law, either in body or goods. The people, finding the patricians obſtinate and inflexible, had recourſe to an expedient, which had ever proved effectual. They left the city, and poſted themſelves on the hill *Janiculus*, with the *Tiber* between them and their proſecutors. By this removal of the people, the city being left deſtitute of artificers and labourers, and no proviſions being brought thither from the country, for the country-people had likewiſe their complaints, the patricians and rich citizens found themſelves obliged to humour the multitude. The conſuls therefore of this year, *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Nautius Rutilus*, were ordered to name a dictator, in order to appeaſe the revolted populace. The perſon they named was *Q. Hortenſius*, who, immediately entering into a treaty with the ſeparatiſts, made them the following conceſſions, *viz.* that the law in queſtion ſhould be repealed, and that two other laws, which had been formerly made, but no-ways regarded by the patricians, ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved for the future. Theſe were, that the decrees made by the tribes ſhould be equally obſerved both by the patricians and plebeians; and that all laws ſhould firſt paſs in the ſenate, and be afterwards brought to the comitia, to be there approved or rejected. The country-people complained, that juſtice was not adminiſtered at *Rome* on market-days; and that, when any cauſes were depending, they were forced to leave their work and return to the city again. This was rectified, and the dictator

Seceſſion of the people.

Q. Hortenſius *dictator.*

Terms of reconciliation.

tator promiſed, that market-days ſhould no longer be vacation days for the judges, that the huſbandmen might have their cauſes heard before they went home. When theſe articles were drawn up, and the people's minds began to be calmed, Q. *Hortenſius* died. It being therefore neceſſary to nominate another dictator, Q. *Fabius Maximus* was raiſed to that dignity, who choſe for his general of the horſe a famous plebeian named *Volumnius Flamma*. By the interpoſition of theſe two great men, the work, which *Hortenſius* had begun, was ſoon accompliſhed; and the people, having attained to the higheſt pitch of their deſires, returned to the city, and thought only of enjoying the ſweets of tranquillity. The balance of power leaned now rather to their ſide. The nobility had no other advantage over them but that of great riches, and the reſpect which is naturally paid to perſons of high birth. The peace of the city being therefore no more interrupted by inteſtine conteſts, we ſhall ſee the republic increaſe her dominions abroad with incredible rapidity. The great *Fabius* died ſoon after he had happily accompliſhed the accommodation. In his life-time he had been looked upon as a prodigy of valour, wiſdom, and virtue; and upon his death the people contributed to the expence of his obſequies with ſo much generoſity, that his ſon, with the victims offered at his funeral, gave a public entertainment to the whole city[g]. It is probable, that, after the reconciliation, the dictator *Fabius* preſided at the election of the new conſuls, *M. Valerius Potitus* and *C. Ælius Pætus*, whoſe year proved barren of remarkable events; as did alſo the following, when *C. Claudius Canina*, and *M. Æmilius Lepidus* were conſuls. But in the following conſulate of *C. Servilius Tucca* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, the *Tarentines*, jealous of the proſperity of the *Romans*, and apprehending that they aimed at the conqueſt of all *Italy*, ſtirred up both old and new enemies againſt the republic, and engaged her in one of the moſt formidable wars ſhe had ever ſuſtained.

Fabius Maximus *dictator.*

The Tarentines *ſtir up both old & new enemies againſt* Rome.

Tarentum was a city of *Great Greece*, which comprehended the greateſt part of the ſouth coaſt of *Italy*. Moſt of the cities in this great province had been founded by *Greeks*, who brought thither with them the *Greek* language, cuſtoms, and manners. The *Tarentines* in particular were a colony of *Spartans*, who, ſettling on the continent of *Italy* under the conduct of one *Phalantus*, made themſelves maſters of a

[g] Liv. ibid. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Auth. de vir. illuſt. Cic. in orat. pro Planco.

city

city firſt called *Oebalia*, and afterwards *Tarentum*, from one *Taras*, or, as others will have it, *Tarentus*, who is ſaid to have increaſed and embelliſhed the city after the *Greeks* were maſters of it. Theſe tranſplanted *Spartans* ſoon forgot the ſevere diſcipline of *Sparta*, and plunged themſelves into all the debaucheries with which the reſt of the *Greeks* were reproached. The heat of the climate, the fruitfulneſs of the country, and the opportunity of ſupplying themſelves by ſea with all the delights of *Greece*, ſunk them into idleneſs, and all the vices that attend it. Their whole life was ſpent in feaſts, ſports, and public entertainments. Buffoons and proſtitutes governed the ſtate at their pleaſure, and often determined the moſt important affairs by a joke or an indecent geſture. They bore a mortal hatred to the *Romans*, and dreaded their dominion, not ſo much out of fear of loſing their liberty, as of being diſturbed by that warlike and rough people in the purſuit of their pleaſures. They therefore employed all their *Grecian* ſubtlety to draw ſuch a number of enemies upon them, as ſtill to keep them at a diſtance from themſelves, and this without appearing to be concerned.

At the ſame time the *Senones*, having raiſed a formidable army, marched into *Hetruria*, with a deſign to beſiege *Aretium*, a city about forty leagues from *Rome*, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Arnus*. The *Aretines* had immediately recourſe to the *Romans*, who, they knew, would never ſuffer the *Gauls* to make conqueſts in *Hetruria*, and thereby open themſelves a way to *Rome*. The republic, alarmed at the leaſt motion of ſo powerful an enemy, diſpatched, without loſs of time, the conſul *Lucius Cæcilius* with an army to the aſſiſtance of the *Aretini*; but before any act of hoſtility, a deputation was ſent to the *Senones*, to diſſuade them from their deſign. But the proud *Gauls*, inſtead of liſtening to the mediation of *Rome*, killed the deputies, and brought their troops before *Aretium*. Hereupon the conſul advanced with his army, and came to an engagement with the enemy, in which he himſelf was killed, with ſeven legionary tribunes, the beſt part of the *Roman* knights, and thirteen thouſand private men. Upon the news of this dreadful overthrow, the famous *Curius Dentatus* was ordered with new troops into *Hetruria*, to ſupply the place of the conſul *Cæcilius*; but that wiſe commander, inſtead of marching to the relief of *Aretium*, and engaging the enemy flushed with their late victory, held his rout along the confines of *Hetruria*, and entering the country of the *Senones*, took advantage of the abſence of their beſt troops to ravage it without oppoſition.

The Senones *kill the deputies of* Rome, *and defeat the* Roman *army.*

He

He plundered and burnt their houſes, laid waſte their fields, put all thoſe to the ſword who were able to bear arms, carried the women and children into captivity, and, in ſhort, reduced the whole country to a vaſt deſert, in which there ſcarce remained any appearance of its having ever been cultivated or inhabited [h]. Thus he took ample revenge for the murder of the *Roman* embaſſadors.

THE next year, in the beginning of the adminiſtration of the new conſuls, *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, and *Cn. Domitius Calvinus*, the *Boii*, the *Hetrurians*, and the *Samnites*, once more declared againſt the republic, being ſtirred up under-hand by the *Tarentines*; but, notwithſtanding this great confederacy, the ſenate repoſed ſo great a confidence in the new conſuls, that they did not think of creating a dictator, as was uſual in times of great danger. Nor was their confidence ill grounded; for *Domitius* taking the field and meeting the *Senones*, who had raiſed the ſiege of *Arretium*, and were marching ſtrait to *Rome*, to revenge the devaſtations made in their country, gave them a total overthrow, and covered the field of battle with their dead bodies. Only a ſmall number of them eſcaped, and ſaved themſelves in the country of the *Boii*, whom they preſſed to take arms immediately, and revenge the common cauſe of the *Gauls*. Accordingly the *Boii*, having raiſed all the young men in their territory who were able to bear arms, and being reinforced by a great body of *Hetrurians*, purſued the attempt which the *Senones* had begun, and marched towards *Rome*; but the conſul *Cornelius*, who waited for them on the banks of the lake *Vademonis* in *Hetruria*, now *il Lago di Baſſano*, engaged them, killed almoſt all the *Hetrurians*, and the greater part of the *Boii*. The latter made ſome faint efforts againſt the *Romans* the next year; but, being defeated a ſecond time, they were forced to ſue for peace. As for the *Senones*, they were ſo utterly deſtroyed, that there ſcarce remained any footſteps in *Italy* of a nation, which had diſtinguiſhed itſelf ſo much by the taking of *Rome*.

The Senones *intirely defeated.*

And alſo the Boii *and* Hetrurians.

IN the following conſulate of *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, almoſt all *Italy* roſe in arms againſt the imperious republic; but *Fabricius* being ſent into *Lucania*, defeated there the confederate forces of the *Lucanians*, *Brutians*, and *Samnites*, and made himſelf maſter of their camp. Twenty five thouſand of the enemy, with their general *Statilius*, were ſlain. The *Romans*, imagining that the god *Mars* had fought in perſon for them, returned him ſolemn thanks

[h] POLYB. l. ii. DION. apud Ful. Urſinum.

ſo.

for his aſſiſtance by public ſupplications (B). As for the *Tarentines*, tho' they were the real authors of this war, they had not yet appeared in the field, nor openly declared againſt *Rome*; but an accident made them at length throw off the maſk, and brought on, after a long ſeries of events, their utter ruin. *Valerius*, or, as others call him, *Cornelius*, one of the maritime duumviri, or admirals of the *Roman* fleet, happened to come to the mouth of their harbour with ten ſhips, while the idle inhabitants of the city were aſſembled, as uſual, in the theatre, which looked towards the harbour. The *Tarentines* imagining that *Rome*, having at laſt diſcovered their ſecret plots, had ſent that fleet to puniſh them, they all, with one conſent, ran down to the port, fell upon the *Roman* fleet with the fury of madmen, ſunk one ſhip and took four, the other five eſcaping. All the priſoners fit to bear arms were put to the ſword, and the others ſold for ſlaves to the beſt bidder. The *Romans*, upon the news of this unexpected act of hoſtility, ſent a deputation to *Tarentum*, to demand ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to the republic; but the *Tarentines*, inſtead of hearkening to their demands, inſulted the embaſſadors in the moſt outrageous manner. They admitted them to an audience in the theatre, where *Poſthumius Megellus*, who was at the head of the embaſſy, and had been thrice conſul, harangued the aſſembly in *Greek*. His advanced age, his perſonal merit, and, above all, the character of an embaſſador from a powerful people, ought to have gained him reſpect; but the *Tarentines*, heated with wine, not only gave no attention to his diſcourſe, but burſt

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(B) *Fabricius*, after having defeated the confederate army of the *Lucanians*, *Brutians*, and *Samnites*, found it a difficult enterprize to force their camp. The means, by which he ſucceeded in it, and which had ſomething of the air of a miracle, was probably a ſtratagem of his own contriving. While he ſeemed to be in ſuſpence what meaſures to take, a young man, full of ſtrength and vigour, wearing feathers in his helmet, appeared on a ſudden in the midſt of the legions, exhorted them to decline no danger for the honour of their country, and then ſeizing a ladder, advanced to the rampart through a ſhower of darts, planted his ladder againſt it, and mounted the wall. This bold action intimidated the confederates, and inſpired the *Romans* with ſuch intrepidity, that they ſoon made themſelves maſters of the camp. After the victory, the conſul ordered the young man to be ſought for, in order to reward him for having firſt mounted the rampart; and becauſe he was not to be found, the *Romans* immediately imagined, that he was the god *Mars* himſelf.

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into loud laughter, and impudently hiſſed him, whenever he dropped an improper expreſſion, or pronounced a word with a foreign accent. Nor was this all: when he began to ſpeak of reparation of injuries, they flew into a rage, and rather drove him out of the aſſembly, than diſmiſſed him. As he was walking off with an air of gravity and dignity, which he preſerved, notwithſtanding the reception they gave him, a buffoon, named *Philonides*, coming up to him, urined upon his robe, a new ſource of immoderate laughter to the mad and drunken multitude, who clapped their hands, applauding the outrageous inſolence. *Poſthumius*, turning about to the aſſembly, ſhewed them the ſkirt of his garment ſo defiled; but when he found that this had no effect but to increaſe the loudneſs of their contumelious mirth, he ſaid, without the leaſt emotion, *Laugh on, Tarentines, laugh on, now while you may; the time is coming when you will weep. It is not a little blood that muſt waſh and purify this garment.* This ſaid, he withdrew, left the city, and embarqued for *Rome*. When the *Tarentines* came to themſelves, and began to reflect on the enormity of their conduct, and at the ſame time on the inability of their neighbours to defend them againſt ſo powerful a republic, they caſt their eyes upon *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, whoſe great reputation for valour, and long experience in war, had gained him the reputation of one of the heroes of *Greece*. They therefore immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to him, but rather to ſound his diſpoſition and obſerve the ſituation of his affairs, than to enter, without farther deliberation, into any engagements with him. As *Pyrrhus* naturally loved action, and the buſtle and hurry of war, the embaſſadors found him in a diſpoſition to hearken to any propoſal, which would furniſh him with employment worthy of his ambition [1].

And inſult their embaſſadors in a moſt outrageous manner.

IN the mean time, the *Tarentines*, to amuſe the *Romans* till the return of their embaſſadors from *Epirus*, beſieged *Thurium*, which was defended by a *Roman* gariſon, and made themſelves maſters of it. This news was brought to *Rome* a little after the return of *Poſthumius* and the other embaſſadors, who had been ſo ill treated at *Tarentum*. The new conſuls therefore, *L. Æmilius Barbula*, and *Q. Marcius Philippus*, having aſſembled the conſcript fathers, laid before them the ſituation of the affairs of the republic on one hand, and the ſhameful indignity which had been offered the embaſſadors on the other. It was dangerous to engage in a

They take Thurium.

[1] DIO. HAL. in legat. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 2. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 2. FLOR. epit. 12. PLUT. in Pyrrho.

for his aſſiſtance by public ſupplications (B). As for the *Tarentines*, tho' they were the real authors of this war, they had not yet appeared in the field, nor openly declared againſt *Rome*; but an accident made them at length throw off the maſk, and brought on, after a long ſeries of events, their utter ruin. *Valerius*, or, as others call him, *Cornelius*, one of the maritime duumviri, or admirals of the *Roman* fleet, happened to come to the mouth of their harbour with ten ſhips, while the idle inhabitants of the city were aſſembled, as uſual, in the theatre, which looked towards the harbour. The *Tarentines* imagining that *Rome*, having at laſt diſcovered their ſecret plots, had ſent that fleet to puniſh them, they all, with one conſent, ran down to the port, fell upon the *Roman* fleet with the fury of madmen, ſunk one ſhip and took four, the other five eſcaping. All the priſoners fit to bear arms were put to the ſword, and the others ſold for ſlaves to the beſt bidder. The *Romans*, upon the news of this unexpected act of hoſtility, ſent a deputation to *Tarentum*, to demand ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to the republic; but the *Tarentines*, inſtead of hearkening to their demands, inſulted the embaſſadors in the moſt outrageous manner. They admitted them to an audience in the theatre, where *Poſthumius Megellus*, who was at the head of the embaſſy, and had been thrice conſul, harangued the aſſembly in *Greek*. His advanced age, his perſonal merit, and, above all, the character of an embaſſador from a powerful people, ought to have gained him reſpect; but the *Tarentines*, heated with wine, not only gave no attention to his diſcourſe, but burſt

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(B) *Fabricius*, after having defeated the confederate army of the *Lucanians*, *Brutians*, and *Samnites*, found it a difficult enterprize to force their camp. The means, by which he ſucceeded in it, and which had ſomething of the air of a miracle, was probably a ſtratagem of his own contriving. While he ſeemed to be in ſuſpence what meaſures to take, a young man, full of ſtrength and vigour, wearing feathers in his helmet, appeared on a ſudden in the midſt of the legions, exhorted them to decline no danger for the honour of their country, and then ſeizing a ladder, advanced to the rampart through a ſhower of darts, planted his ladder againſt it, and mounted the wall. This bold action intimidated the confederates, and inſpired the *Romans* with ſuch intrepidity, that they ſoon made themſelves maſters of the camp. After the victory, the conſul ordered the young man to be ſought for, in order to reward him for having firſt mounted the rampart; and becauſe he was not to be found, the *Romans* immediately imagined, that he was the god *Mars* himſelf.

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into loud laughter, and impudently hiſſed him, whenever he dropped an improper expreſſion, or pronounced a word with a foreign accent. Nor was this all: when he began to ſpeak of reparation of injuries, they flew into a rage, and rather drove him out of the aſſembly, than diſmiſſed him. As he was walking off with an air of gravity and dignity, which he preſerved, notwithſtanding the reception they gave him, a buffoon, named *Philonides*, coming up to him, urined upon his robe, a new ſource of immoderate laughter to the mad and drunken multitude, who clapped their hands, applauding the outrageous inſolence. *Poſthumius*, turning about to the aſſembly, ſhewed them the ſkirt of his garment ſo defiled; but when he found that this had no effect but to increaſe the loudneſs of their contumelious mirth, he ſaid, without the leaſt emotion, *Laugh on*, Tarentines, *laugh on, now while you may; the time is coming when you will weep. It is not a little blood that muſt waſh and purify this garment.* This ſaid, he withdrew, left the city, and embarqued for *Rome*. When the *Tarentines* came to themſelves, and began to reflect on the enormity of their conduct, and at the ſame time on the inability of their neighbours to defend them againſt ſo powerful a republic, they caſt their eyes upon *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, whoſe great reputation for valour, and long experience in war, had gained him the reputation of one of the heroes of *Greece*. They therefore immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to him, but rather to ſound his diſpoſition and obſerve the ſituation of his affairs, than to enter, without farther deliberation, into any engagements with him. As *Pyrrhus* naturally loved action, and the buſtle and hurry of war, the embaſſadors found him in a diſpoſition to hearken to any propoſal, which would furniſh him with employment worthy of his ambition [1].

And inſult their embaſſadors in a moſt outrageous manner.

IN the mean time, the *Tarentines*, to amuſe the *Romans* till the return of their embaſſadors from *Epirus*, beſieged *Thurium*, which was defended by a *Roman* gariſon, and made themſelves maſters of it. This news was brought to *Rome* a little after the return of *Poſthumius* and the other embaſſadors, who had been ſo ill treated at *Tarentum*. The new conſuls therefore, *L. Æmilius Barbula*, and *Q. Marcius Philippus*, having aſſembled the conſcript fathers, laid before them the ſituation of the affairs of the republic on one hand, and the ſhameful indignity which had been offered the embaſſadors on the other. It was dangerous to engage in a

They take Thurium.

[1] DIO. HAL. in legat. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 2. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 2. FLOR. epit. 12. PLUT. in Pyrrho.

new war, when the republic had ſo many nations to contend with. The *Hetrurians* were ſtill in arms; the *Samnites*, without regard to the faith of treaties, had declared anew againſt the republic; and the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* were grown more confident ſince the taking of *Thurium*. On the other hand, the hoſtilities committed by the *Tarentines* and the inſult offered to *Poſthumius*, whoſe robe was produced in the ſenate, left no room to deliberate, whether they ſhould enter into a war with that people or not. They were all unanimous as to the neceſſity of chaſtiſing them; but whether it was adviſeable for the republic to ſhew her reſentment immediately was doubted. Some of the ſenators were for declaring war forthwith; others for deferring it, till the provinces bordering on the *Tarentine* territories were ſubdued. Never was debate more tedious or more perplexing. The ſame queſtion was diſcuſſed and warmly debated, from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet, for ſeveral days together. At length the opinion of thoſe, who were for beginning the war immediately, prevailed; and the decree of the ſenate being confirmed by the people, orders were diſpatched to the conſul *Æmilius*, who was on his march into *Sammium*, to lay aſide that expedition, and turn his arms againſt *Tarentum*. The *Tarentines*, upon the approach of a conſular army, carried on their deliberations with more ſerioufneſs; and when the conſul ſent once again to demand ſatisfaction before he began hoſtilities, the better ſort of citizens declared for peace. *Æmilius* offered them moderate terms; and, after all, it was but equitable, that they ſhould repair the injuries, and wipe off the reproach they had thrown on a conſiderable republic without any provocation; but the populace, who had nothing to loſe, inſiſted on a war; and their clamours prevailed over the juſt reaſons of the wiſeſt men in *Tarentum*. The propoſal of bringing *Pyrrhus* into *Italy* was revived, and a decree paſſed for inviting that prince to *Tarentum*. One *Meton*, a citizen of good ſenſe, and no-ways infected with the general corruption which prevailed in the city, endeavoured to divert his countrymen from this mad deſign (C); but was thruſt out of the aſſembly,

They invite Pyrrhus *into* Italy.

(C) *Meton*, on the day that a public decree was to paſs for inviting *Pyrrhus* to *Tarentum*, and when the people were all placed in the theatre, putting a withered garland on his head, and having a flam-beau in his hand, as was the manner of the drunken debauchees, came dancing into the midſt of the aſſembly, accompanied by a woman playing on the flute. This filly fight was ſufficient

ent

aſſembly, and embaſſadors were immediately diſpatched into *Epirus*, not only in the name of the *Tarentines*, but of all the *Greek* colonies in *Italy*, with magnificent preſents for the king, and with inſtructions to acquaint him, that they only wanted a general of fame and experience; and that as for troops, they could themſelves furniſh a numerous army of twenty thouſand horſe and three hundred and fifty thouſand foot, made up of *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians*, *Samnites*, and *Tarentines*. As ſoon as the news of this deputation was brought to the *Roman* camp, *Æmilius*, who had hitherto made war on the *Tarentines* but gently, in hopes of adjuſting matters by way of negotiation, took other meaſures, and began to commit all ſorts of hoſtilities. He took cities, ſtormed caſtles, and laid the whole country waſte, burning and deſtroying all before him. The *Tarentines* brought their army into the field; but *Æmilius* ſoon obliged them to take refuge within their walls. However, to induce them to lay aſide the deſign of receiving *Pyrrhus*, he uſed the priſoners he had taken with great moderation, and even ſent them back without ranſom. Theſe highly extolled the generoſity of the conſul, inſomuch, that many of the inhabitants were brought over to the *Roman* party; and they all began to repent of their having rejected a peace and ſent for *Pyrrhus*. But, in the mean time, the *Tarentine* embaſſadors arriving in *Epirus*, purſuant to the powers they had received, made an abſolute treaty with the king, who immediately ſent before him the famous *Cyneas*, with three thouſand men,

ent to divert the *Tarentines* from their moſt important deliberations. They made a ring, and called out to *Meton* to ſing, and to the woman to play; but when they, expecting to be entertained with a ſong, were all ſilent, the wiſe citizen, aſſuming an air of great ſerioufneſs, You do well, *Tarentines*, ſaid he, not to hinder thoſe from diverting themſelves, who are diſpoſed to mirth; and, if you are wiſe, you will yourſelves take advantage of the preſent liberty you enjoy to do the ſame. When *Pyrrhus* comes, you muſt change your way of life; your mirth and joy will be at an end. Theſe words made an impreſſion upon the multitude, and a murmur went about, that he had ſpoken well; but thoſe who had ſome reaſon to fear that they ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*, in caſe of an accommodation, being inraged at what he had ſaid, reviled the aſſembly for ſuffering themſelves to be ſo mocked and affronted; and crouding together thruſt *Meton* out of the aſſembly (20).

(20) *Plut. in Pyrrho.*

Cyneas *arrives at* Tarentum

to take poſſeſſion of the citadel of *Tarentum*. This eloquent miniſter, whoſe character we have given in our hiſtory of *Epirus*[k], ſoon found means to depoſe *Agis*, whom the *Tarentines* had choſen to be their general and the governor of the city, tho' a ſincere friend to the *Romans*. He likewiſe prevailed upon the *Tarentines* to deliver up the citadel into his hands; which he no ſooner got poſſeſſion of, than he diſpatched meſſengers to *Pyrrhus*, ſoliciting him to haſten his departure for *Italy*. In the mean time, the conſul *Æmilius* finding that he could not attempt any thing with ſucceſs againſt the *Tarentines* this campaign, reſolved to put his troops into winter-quarters in *Apulia*, which was not far from the territory of *Tarentum*, that was ſoon to become the ſeat of the war. As he was obliged to paſs through certain defiles, with the ſea on one ſide and high hills on the other, he was there attacked by the *Tarentines* and *Epirots*, from great numbers of barks, fraught with *balliſtæ*, that is, *engines for throwing ſtones of a vaſt weight*, and from the hills, on which were poſted a great many archers and ſlingers. Hereupon *Æmilius* placed the *Tarentine* priſoners between him and the enemy; which the *Tarentines* perceiving, ſoon left off moleſting the *Romans*, out of compaſſion to their own countrymen; ſo that the *Romans* arrived ſafe in *Apulia*, and there took up their winter-quarters. As for the conſul, he repaired to *Rome*, where his collegue *Marcius* had a triumph on the calends of *April*, for having vanquiſhed the *Hetrurians*[l].

The next year *P. Valerius Lævinus*, and *Tib. Coruncanius* were choſen conſuls. The latter was raiſed to the conſulate purely for his merit; for he was of a mean deſcent, and not even a *Roman* by birth, but a native of *Camerium*, a *Roman municipium* in *Latium*. It fell to his lot to carry on the war in *Hetruria*, and to his collegue's to conduct that againſt the *Tarentines*. *Æmilius*, who had acted againſt the *Tarentines* the laſt year, was continued in the command of his own troops with the title of proconſul, and ordered to make war upon the *Salentines*, who had declared for the *Tarentines*. The preſent exigence of affairs obliged the *Romans* to inliſt the *proletarii*, who were the meaneſt of the people, and therefore, by way of contempt, called *proletarii*; as being thought incapable of doing the ſtate any other ſervice than that of *peopling* the city, and *ſtocking* the republic with ſubjects. Hitherto they had never been ſuffered to bear arms, but were now, to their great ſatisfaction, inrolled as well as

[k] Vide Vol. IX. p. 399, & ſeq. [l] Fast. Capit. Frontin in ſtratag. Zonar. l. viii.

others.

others. In the mean time, *Pyrrhus* arrived at *Tarentum*, having narrowly escaped shipwreck; and being conducted into the city by his faithful *Cyneas*, was received there with loud acclamations. Thus began the memorable war between the *Romans* and that famous commander, the first foreigner they had to deal with. It was carried on with great vigour on both sides for the space of six years, during which time the following consuls were at the head of the *Roman* armies; the first year *P. Valerius Lævinus*, and *T. Coruncanius*; the second *P. Sulpicius Saverrio* and *P. Decius Mus*, whose father and grandfather were both famous for their devotements; the third *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius*, two men of the most distinguished merit; the fourth *Cornelius Ruffinus* and *C. Junius Brutus*, the former a man extremely covetous and self-interested, but nevertheless promoted by the interest of *Fabricius*, because he was a much abler commander than any of his competitors; the fifth *Q. Fabius Gurges* and *C. Genucius*; and lastly the sixth the famous *Curius Dentatus* and *L. Cornelius Lentulus*. But as, in our history of *Epirus*, we have given a very particular account of this war, and the various events which attended it, from the landing of *Pyrrhus* in *Italy* to his return into his own dominions [m], we shall here only relate what happened after the latter period, referring the reader for an account of the war itself to the above-mentioned history.

The arrival of Pyrrhus.

Pyrrhus having thought it advisable to leave *Italy*, after the last battle, in which he was defeated by *Curius Dentatus* with the loss of twenty three thousand men, *Curius* returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, it being the most magnificent one that had ever yet been seen; great quantities of rich spoil, vessels of gold, purple carpets, statues, pictures, and, in short, all the fineries of the *Greek* cities, were carried before him. Among the captives were *Epirots*, *Thessalians*, and *Macedonians*, not to mention the *Lucanians*, *Brutians*, *Tarentines*, and other *Greek* nations. The appearance and dress of so many foreigners gave the spectators great pleasure; but nothing so much raised their admiration, as the elephants with towers on their backs, animals which had never before been seen in *Rome*. As for the triumphant victor, he rode in a chariot, and the acclamations the people gave him were very sincere; they thought they could never give him sufficient proofs of their gratitude. The senate impowered him to appropriate to himself fifty acres of the conquered lands;

The triumph of Curius.

[m] Vide Vol. IX. p. 401, & seq.

but

but he declined this favour, saying, That he ought to be looked upon as a dangerous subject, who could not live upon the produce of seven acres. Of all the spoils he reserved only a little vessel of beech for his domestic sacrifices. This magnificent triumph of *Curius* was followed by that of his collegue *Lentulus*, who had made a successful campaign in *Lucania*, and taken from the *Samnites* the famous city of *Caudium*. This happy consulate ended with a census and a lustrum. The virtuous *Fabricius* and his constant collegue *Æmilius Papus* being censors, they made a new list of senators, and struck out the names of all those who led dissolute lives; nay, *Cornelius Ruffinus*, who had been consul and dictator, was excluded, only for having ten pounds weight of silver in plate. Happy times for the republic, when riches and luxury were branded with ignominy! By the census there appeared to be in *Rome* two hundred seventy one thousand two hundred and twenty four citizens fit to bear arms [n].

The *Romans*, apprehending that the king of *Epirus* would soon appear in *Italy* again, with a more numerous army than ever, continued *Curius Dentatus* in the consulate for the next year, giving him for his collegue *Cornelius Merenda*. In the mean time, the *Tarentines*, being now well apprised, that *Pyrrhus*, under pretence of going to fetch new supplies, had intirely deserted them, obliged *Milo*, whom the king had left in the city with a strong garison, to confine himself to the citadel. These divisions made *Curius* believe, that the *Tarentines* and *Epirots* would destroy each other; and upon this belief he neglected to besiege *Tarentum*, and turned his arms against the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, who retired for refuge to their mountains; but they appeared again in the field the next year, when *C. Fabius Dorso* and *C. Claudius Carina* were consuls. The latter defeated them, once at least, in a pitched battle; for we read in the *Fasti Capitolini*, that *Claudius Carina* triumphed over the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Brutians* on the day of the *Quirinalia*, or the festival of *Romulus*, that is, on the seventeenth day of *February*. And now the reputation of the *Romans* being spread into foreign countries, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, king of *Ægypt*, sent embassadors to congratulate the republic on her success, and to ask the friendship of the *Roman* people. The *Romans*, not to be outdone in civility, sent four embassadors to *Egypt*, chosen, with the utmost circumspection, by a senate studious to preserve their reputation abroad intire. *Fabius Gurges* was at the head of this embassy, and with him were joined three curule ædiles, two of them

Embassadors from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

[n] Plut. in Sylla. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 4.

brothers

brothers of the *Fabian* family, and the third *Q. Ogulnius*. Their reception was equal to their merit, and worthy of so magnificent a prince. He invited them to his table, and presented each of them with a crown of gold; which they accepted, being unwilling to disoblige the king by a refusal; but placed them the next morning on the heads of the king statues, that were erected in the public places of the city. This contempt of riches gained the *Romans* great reputation in *Egypt*; however, the king would not suffer them to depart without new presents, both for themselves and their republic; which they, upon their return to *Rome*, deposited in the public treasury; but the senate and people ordered the quæstors to restore to the embassadors what had been given them for their own use.

THE next year, the *Romans*, still under the apprehension that *Pyrrhus* would once more return into *Italy*, raised to the consulate two great men, who had already bore that office, and commanded with great reputation the armies of the republic. These were *L. Papirius Cursor*, the worthy son of an illustrious father, and *Sp. Corvillus*, surnamed *Maximus*. These generals had scarce entered *Samnium* with two armies, when a certain account came of the death of *Pyrrhus*. This news threw the *Samnites* into despair; they now looked upon their liberty as lost, and, like men in that unhappy situation, put all to the hazard of a battle, in which they were intirely defeated. An historian, in speaking of this victory, says it was so complete, that *Samnium* itself was no more[o]. And thus ended this bloody war, which had lasted seventy two years, and procured the *Roman* generals thirty one triumphs. After the intire reduction of *Samnium*, the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* gave way in their turn, and submitted to the yoke; so that only *Tarentum* remained unpunished; which the consuls soon invested. There was a kind of civil war between *Milo* in the citadel and the *Tarentines* in the city; and the latter, it is thought, had implored the assistance of the *Carthaginians*, who lay with a fleet before the town, pretending to have no design but against the *Epirots* and the citadel. The *Romans*, on the other hand, attacked the city, taking care to prevent the *Carthaginians* from reducing the citadel. With this view *Papirius* privately signified to *Milo*, that, if he would surrender the citadel to him, he and his garison should not only have their lives spared, but be safely transported, with all their baggage and effects, into *Epirus*. *Milo* readily listened to this offer, and even undertook to put the city as well as the

The Samnites, Lucanians, *and* Brutians *subdued.*

[o] FLOR. l. i. c. 18.

citadel

citadel into the conſul's hands. Accordingly he aſſembled the *Tarentines*, and prevailed upon them to depute him to the conſul, promiſing to make ſuch advantageous terms for them, that they ſhould neither loſe their lives nor their goods. *Milo* was as good as his word; for *Papirius*, in order to hinder the *Carthaginians* from getting any footing in *Italy*, promiſed him all he asked. The *Romans*, being ſoon after admitted into the city, did no violence to the inhabitants. As for the *Carthaginians*, when they found themſelves diſappointed, they retired with their fleet, leaving the *Romans* under juſt ſuſpicions, that, notwithſtanding their ancient alliance, they intended to rob the republic of a city, which, by right of conqueſt, belonged to them. The *Tarentines* were all diſarmed, their ſhips taken from them, and their city diſmantled and made tributary to *Rome* [p].

Tarentum *ſurrenders.*

Year of the flood 2732. Before Chriſt 267. Of *Rome* 481.

And now the *Sabines*, *Volſci*, *Campanians*, *Hetrurians*, and *Sammites* being utterly ſubdued, the republic was at leiſure to wipe off the diſhonour thrown upon her by a *Campanian* legion, ſoon after the arrival of *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*. While that prince was at *Tarentum*, and the *Carthaginians* infeſted all the *Ionian* ſea, the inhabitants of *Rhegium*, ſituated in the ſouthern extremity of *Italy* near *Sicily*, applied to the republic for a *Roman* gariſon to defend them from an invaſion. A legion was raiſed in *Campania* for that purpoſe, and ſent to them under the command of one *Decius Jubellus*. Theſe ſoldiers, having been uſed to a laborious life, began ſoon to envy the inhabitants the pleaſures and eaſe in which they lived; and it was not long before they formed and executed a ſcheme to make thoſe advantages their own. They forged letters from the *Rhegians* to *Pyrrhus*, importing an offer to put the place into his hands; and under this pretence they maſſacred all the chief men of the city at a banquet, and then falling upon the reſt, either put them to the ſword, or drove them out of the place. As for the women, they obliged them to marry the murderers of their fathers and huſbands. This news was brought to *Rome* at a time when the affairs of the republic would not allow her to take vengeance of the perfidious legion; but the republic, having now no enemies to fear, as ſoon as the new conſuls *C. Quinctius Claudius* and *L. Genucius Clepſina* entered upon their office, ordered the latter to turn his arms againſt *Rhegium* and beſiege it. The uſurpers not only called to their aſſiſtance the *Mamertines*, who were originally *Campanians*, and had acted the ſame part at *Meſſina*, as

[p] Flor. epit. 15. Oros. l. iv.

we

we have related in the hiſtory of *Sicily*, but opened an aſylum for all the profligate wretches of the country, who flocked to the city in great crouds from all the neighbouring countries. The *Campanians*, being thus reinforced, made a vigorous defence, and held out, till, proviſions beginning to fail in the camp of the *Romans*, *Genucius* was obliged to have recourſe to *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe*, who, by ſupplying him not only with the corn he wanted, but with a reinforcement of ſome *Sicilian* troops, enabled him at laſt to make himſelf maſter of the place. Of about four thouſand men, of which the guilty legion had at firſt conſiſted, only three hundred remained now alive, the reſt having been killed in the ſeveral attacks made upon the city. Theſe, as the *Campanians* enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens, were ſent priſoners to *Rome* to be tried there. The ſenate condemned them all to be firſt beaten with rods and then beheaded; but, in order to prevent a mutiny, which ſo bloody an execution might raiſe among the populace, the criminals were put to death on different days in the forum, by fifty at a time. By this means *Rome* cleared herſelf of the ſuſpicion of having ſent the *Rhegians* ſuccours, with no other view but to ſeize their city. Such of the inhabitants, as had eſcaped the cruelty of the *Campanian* legion, were, by a decree of the ſenate, reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates, liberties and laws [q].

The perfidious legion at Rhegium *puniſhed.*

THE following year, *C. Genucius* and *Cn. Cornelius* were raiſed to the conſulate. The former gained a victory over the *Sarcinates*, a people of *Umbria*, and was on that account honoured with a triumph [r]. The ſucceeding conſuls, *Q. Ogulnius Gallus* and *C. Fabius Pictor*, were ſent againſt one *Lollius* a *Samnite*, who, having made his eſcape from *Rome*, where he was kept as an hoſtage, had ſeized a ſtrong place in *Samnium*, and, being joined by the *Caricini*, a people of that country, laid the neighbouring provinces under contribution. The conſuls beſieged the city of the *Caricini*, which made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that they were very near failing in the enterprize; however, being at length privately admitted into the city by ſome deſerters, they made themſelves maſters of it; but not without the loſs of many legionaries, the beſieged defending themſelves to the laſt with incredible bravery. Under the ſame conſuls, the *Romans*, who had hitherto uſed no money in commerce, except pieces of braſs, ſtamped with the figures of a bull, a ram, and a boar, began to coin ſilver, and introduce it into commerce. The place appointed for the

The Sarcinates *defeated.*

Silver money coined at Rome.

[q] POLYB. l. ii. c. 2. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 3. [r] FAST. CAPIT.

mint was the temple of *Juno Moneta*, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere; and hence came the word *money* [r].

THE following conſuls, *P. Sempronius Sophus* and *Appius Claudius Craſſus*, ſon to the famous *Appius Claudius*, entered *Picenum* jointly; but new commotions in *Umbria* obliging them to ſeparate, *Appius* entered that country; and having made himſelf maſter of *Camerinum*, ſold all the inhabitants for ſlaves, contrary to his agreement with them, depoſited the money accruing from the ſale in the public treaſury, and ſeized all their lands. But the ſenate had too much equity to authorize ſo wicked a fraud; they cauſed all thoſe unhappy wretches to be carefully ſought out, allowed them the privileges of *Roman* citizens, granted them a place upon mount *Aventine* for their habitation, and allotted each of them as much land in property as they had loſt in *Umbria*. In the mean time, the other conſul, *Sempronius Sophus*, carried on the war againſt the *Picentes* with great ſucceſs. He gained a complete victory over them, which, however, coſt him very dear; for he loſt the greater part of his troops in the action (D). *Aſculum*, the capital of *Picenum*, ſubmitted to the conqueror, and the whole nation gave themſelves up to *Rome*; a great increaſe of power to the republic, this country alone being able to ſupply her armies with three hundred and ſixty thouſand men. After this the *Romans*, the better to ſecure their new conqueſts, and keep the conquered nations in awe, ſent out two colonies, one to *Ariminum* in the country of the *Picentes*, and another to *Beneventum* in that of the *Samnites*. This ſame year the *Sabines*, who had hitherto had no other privilege but that of being incorporated in the legions, inſtead of ſerving as auxiliaries, were admitted to the right of ſuffrage in the city, which made them intirely *Romans* [s].

Picenum *conquered.*

THE conſuls of the following year, *L. Julius* and *M. Attilius Regulus*, began a war with the *Salentines*. Their pre-

[r] PLIN. l. xxxv. c. 3. SUIDAS in voce Μονητα. [s] VELL. PATERC. l. i.

(D) We are told, that while the two armies were in ſight of each other, and ready to engage, a ſudden earthquake greatly terrified the *Romans*, and damped their ardour for fighting; but *Sempronius Sophus*, not ſurprized at a natural effect, encouraged them, ſaying, That the earth ſhook only for fear of changing its maſters; and then vowing a temple to the goddeſs *Tellus*, they quickly recovered their former ardour, and fell upon the *Picentes* with their uſual intrepidity (21).

(21) *Frontin. ſtrat. l.* i *c.* 12. *Flor. l.* i. *c.* 19. *Oroſ. l.* iv. *c.* 4.

tence

tence was, that this nation had favoured the deſcent of *Pyrrhus*, and eſpouſed the cauſe of the *Tarentines*, a pretence invented by the ambitious republic to rob her neighbours of their liberty. The chief cities of the *Salentines* were *Hydruntum*, *Aletium*, and *Brunduſium*. This laſt port was what the *Romans* chiefly coveted. It was ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that, by being maſters of it, they were in a condition to contend with the nations beyond ſea, and to carry war into *Africa*, *Aſia*, and *Greece*. The *Salentines* diſputed their country inch by inch; and tho' *Attilius Regulus* took *Brunduſium*, yet neither he nor his collegue had the glory of ſubduing that gallant nation. Their ſucceſſors, *Numerius Fabius* and *D. Junius Pera*, took *Aletium* and *Hydruntum*, with other cities, and by that means obliged the *Salentines* to ſubmit to the yoke. The ſame campaign they ſubdued the *Sarcinates* in *Umbria*; and, on their return to *Rome*, were honoured each with two triumphs for the reduction of two nations, a thing unheard-of before in the republic [t]. *The* Salentines *ſubdued.*

AND now the republic was miſtreſs of all the countries in *Italy*, from the remoteſt part of *Hetruria* to the *Ionian* ſea, and from the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, to the *Adriatic*. But theſe nations did not all enjoy the ſame privileges; ſome were intirely ſubject to *Rome*, and had no laws but what they received from thence; others retained their old laws and cuſtoms, but in ſubjection to the republic; ſome were tributary, and others allies, and were obliged to furniſh the *Roman* army with troops, and maintain them at their own expence. Some had the privilege of *Roman* citizenſhip, their ſoldiers were incorporated in the legions; others had likewiſe a right of ſuffrage in the elections made by the centuries in the *campus Martius*. Theſe different degrees of honour, privileges, and liberty, were founded on the different terms granted to the conquered upon their ſurrender, and were afterwards increaſed, according to their fidelity, and the ſervices they did the republic. *The extent of the* Roman *dominions.*

THE fame of the *Roman* name being, after this great increaſe of power and dominion, ſpread into foreign countries, their friendſhip was courted by free cities, and whole nations on the other ſide the ſea. *Apollonia*, ſituated over-againſt *Brunduſium*, was the firſt city of *Macedon* that ſent embaſſadors, to deſire the protection of *Rome*. The embaſſadors were kindly received by the ſenate; but, upon ſome occaſion not mentioned in hiſtory, inſulted by *Fabricius* and *Apronius*, two young patricians, and at this time ædiles. The republic would not ſuffer this breach of the law of nations to go un- *The* Apolloniates *court the friendſhip of the republic.*

[t] FAST. CAPIT.

puniſhed; they were both tried, and the ſentence paſſed upon them was, that they ſhould be put into the hands of the *Apolloniates*, carried into *Macedon*, and there puniſhed at the pleaſure of the people, whom they had offended in the perſons of their embaſſadors. The republic obliged the offenders to abdicate the ædileſhip, before they ſet out from *Rome*; and left the embaſſadors ſhould be inſulted on the road by the friends and relations of *Fabricius* and *Apronius*, they were conducted to *Brunduſium*, together with the priſoners, by a detachment of troops under the command of a quæſtor. This was ſhewing the *Apolloniates* great regard; and they, in their turn, ſhewed a prudent reſpect for the republic. The priſoners were hoſpitably received, and then ſent back to *Rome*. This event gave riſe to a law, which laſted as long as the republic, whereby it was enacted, that, if any citizen, of what quality ſoever, inſulted an embaſſador, he ſhould be delivered up to the injured nation [u].

Provincial quæſtors created.

THE republic enjoying now a profound tranquillity both at home and abroad, the new conſuls, *Q. Fabius Gurges* and *L. Mamilius Vitulus*, applied themſelves wholly to the regulating of the public revenues. Theſe aroſe from the tributes each nation was to pay from the rents of certain arable and paſture lands, which the republic reſerved for herſelf as her demeſnes, whenever ſhe diſtributed any conquered lands among the citizens; from the tenth of the produce of all lands which were dependent upon her; and laſtly, from the impoſts upon all merchandize imported into her dominions. The four quæſtors, already appointed to receive and pay the public monies, were hardly ſufficient to go through the buſineſs, even before the late conqueſts. It being now therefore abſolutely neceſſary to augment the number of theſe officers, four new ones were created, with the title of *provincial quæſtors*, to take charge of the four provinces, into which the republic had divided her conqueſts. The quæſtor of the firſt province reſided at *Oſtia*, and his quæſtorſhip reached from the ſprings of the *Tiber* and the *Arnus* to the mouth of the *Liris*, and comprehended *Hetruria*, *Latium*, *Sabinia*, *Umbria*, and in ſhort all the coaſts of the *Tuſcan* ſea, and all the lands between that ſea and the *Apennines*. The quæſtor of the ſecond province reſided at *Cale* in *Campania*, and had under his juriſdiction all the country between the *Liris* and the gulf of *Tarentum*; that is, *Campania*, *Samnium*, *Lucania*, the country of the *Brutii* and *Oenotria*. The third province

[u] FLOR. epit. 15. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 6. DIO. PARAG. de legat.

reached

reached from the *Apennines* to the shore of the *Adriatic* sea, and was called the *Gallic* quæstorship. It contained the countries formerly conquered by the *Gauls*, especially the *Senones*, from the *Rubicon* to the *Æsis*; and also *Picenum*, the country of the *Frentani*, and all the other countries as far as *Apulia*. The fourth quæstorship, of which we have not so distinct an account as of the other three; could only comprize *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the territories of the *Salentines*, *Messapians*, and *Tarentines*. For these four provinces *Rome* created four new quæstors; and it was then settled, that all the eight quæstors should for the future be chosen in the comitia by tribes. After the elections, which were renewed every year, the eight quæstors drew lots in the presence of the people, to decide who should have the *Roman*, who the military, and who the provincial, quæstorships. The military quæstors attended the consuls in their expeditions, kept the military chest, paid the troops, and sold the prisoners and spoils taken from the enemy. The *Roman* quæstors had care of the public treasury. The provincial quæstorships were mostly desired by the ambitious, before *Rome* had extended her conquests beyond *Italy*; but little coveted after the republic had brought the east and west under subjection, and great kingdoms were become so many provinces under her dominion.

WE have often observed, that it was the fate of the *Romans* to be afflicted with domestic misfortunes, when they were not engaged in any war; and this was the case at present: a contagion broke out, which made a dreadful havock both in the city and country. Hereupon recourse being had to the *Sibylline* books, according to custom, it was there supposed to be found, that some secret crimes had drawn down the wrath of heaven upon the republic. A vestal, named *Caparania*, was found, upon diligent inquiry, guilty of incontinence, and condemned to be buried alive without the gate *Collina*. The guilty vestal, to avoid so cruel a death, strangled herself; but the same ceremonies of interment were performed over the dead body, as if she had been living [w]. Notwithstanding the havock made by the plague, we are told, that, by a census taken this year, the number of citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred ninety two thousand two hundred and twenty four. Either the plague did not make great ravages in *Rome*, or in this enumeration the *Sabines* were comprehended, to whom the right of suffrage had been lately granted; for the number of citizens in this census was greater than ever [x]. With this census, and the

[w] OROS. l. iv. c. 5. [x] FLOR. epit. & EUTROP. l. ii.

lustrum

luſtrum which followed it, ended the magiſtracy of the two cenſors, *C. Martius Rutilus* and *Cn. Cornelius Blaſio*, who had been now five years in their office, and were both men of great probity. The former had been, on account of his extraordinary merit, elected, contrary to cuſtom and his own earneſt remonſtrances, a ſecond time to this high ſtation; and hence he acquired in all likelihood the ſurname of *Cenſorinus*, which was perpetuated in his family. But, in order to put a ſtop to ſo dangerous a practice, *Marcius* got a law paſſed, forbidding any perſon to hold the cenſorſhip a ſecond time[y].

A war with the freed-men of Volſinii.

While the two conſuls, *Fabius Gurges* and *Mamilius Vitulus*, were employed at home in works of peace, an unexpected war ſprung up in the very bowels of the republic. *Volſinii*, one of the capital cities of the twelve *Hetrurian* leucumonies, had been allowed by the *Romans* to enjoy her antient laws and form of government; but as the inhabitants no longer conſidered themſelves as a free and independent people, they deſpiſed the public offices, and ſuffered their freed-men to uſurp them, giving themſelves wholly up to their pleaſures. Theſe freed-men became by degrees tyrants in that little republic, and made it their whole buſineſs to humble their old maſters. They took away their wives from them by force, and carried their inſolence and licentiouſneſs ſo far, that they paſſed a law, that no virgin daughter of a man free-born ſhould be married to a huſband of the like condition, till ſhe had ſubmitted to the paſſion of a freed-man. To theſe indignities they added the baniſhments and proſcriptions of the moſt worthy citizens. The *Volſinienſes*, deſpairing of being able to redreſs their grievances themſelves, ſent deputies to *Rome*, to implore the aſſiſtance of the republic. The deputies ſet out privately, and carried on their negotiations with great ſecrecy; but nevertheleſs the freed-men, getting notice of the whole, put the deputies to death at their return; and when the conſul *Fabius*, who was ſent againſt them with a ſmall army of voluntiers, appeared before their city, they even ventured to face him in the field and give him battle. *Fabius* put them to the rout; but as he was entering the town with the runaways, he received a mortal wound from an unknown hand. Thus fell a great man, who had been honoured with triumphs, embaſſies, and three conſulates, and who, contrary to the expectation of the great *Fabius* his father, did no-ways degenerate from the virtue of his anceſtors. The conſul was no ſooner carried out of the

The conſul Fabius Gurges *killed.*

[x] Plut. in Coriolano. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1.

crowd,

croud, than the freed-men facing about fell upon the *Romans* with ſuch fury, that they obliged them to retire. Then *Decius Mus*, lieutenant to *Fabius*, inveſted *Volſinii*, and began to beſiege it in form; but it was not taken till the arrival of *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, one of the conſuls for the next year, who forced the freed-men to ſurrender at diſcretion, and put all thoſe who had acted any part in this ſcene of villainy to death. The antient citizens, and thoſe who had not been concerned in the revolt, were tranſplanted to another place, and their city razed. This conduct of *Flaccus* was ſo agreeable to the republic, that ſhe granted him the honours of a triumph. He entered *Rome* in ſtate on the calends of *February* in the year ſucceeding this, which was the year of his conſulate. We have anticipated this later part of hiſtory, to avoid blending an affair of ſo little importance with the great events we are going to relate in the following chapter, namely, thoſe of the firſt *Punic* or *Carthaginian* war.

Volſinii *taken and razed.*

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A N

Univerſal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

VOL. XII.

Ἰσορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καταγνόει, ἐν ἀυταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀιόπως, ὅπως ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Baſil Imp. ad Leon. fil.



DUBLIN:
Printed by EDWARD BATE, for the EDITORS:
M,DCC,XLVI.

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AN Universal History.

CHAP. V.

The history of Rome, *from the first* Carthaginian *war to the second.*

THE *Carthaginians*, when the war first broke out between their republic and that of *Rome*, were poſſeſſed of extenſive dominions in *Africa*, had made conſiderable acquiſitions in *Spain*, were maſters of *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and all the iſlands on the coaſts of *Italy*, and had extended their conqueſts to a great part of *Sicily*. The occaſion of the firſt rupture between the two republics was as follows: The *Mamertines*, of whom we have ſpoken at length in the hiſtory of *Sicily* [x], being vanquiſhed in battle, and reduced to great ſtraits by *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe*, had reſolved to deliver up *Meſſana*, the only city which they now poſſeſſed, to that prince, with whoſe mild government and ſtrict probity they were well acquainted. Accordingly *Hiero* was advancing, at the head of his troops, to take poſſeſſion of that important place, when *Hannibal*, who at that time commanded the *Carthaginian* army in *Sicily*, prevented him by a ſtratagem. The cunning *African* came to meet *Hiero*, as it were, to congratulate him on his victory, and amuſed him, while ſome of the *Carthaginian* troops filed off towards *Meſſana*. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, ſeeing their city ſupported

The occaſion of the firſt rupture between Rome *and* Carthage.

Year of the Flood, 2740. Before Chriſt, 259. *Of* Rome 489.

[x] Vide Vol. VII. p. 231.

by a new reinforcement, were divided into ſeveral opinions. Some were for accepting the protection *Carthage* offered them, others were ſtill for ſurrendering to the king of *Syracuſe*; but the greater part were for calling the *Romans* to the aſſiſtance of a city, whoſe inhabitants were originally *Italians*; for the *Mamertines* were a party of *Campanian* mercenaries, who having ſerved under *Agathocles* king of *Sicily*, on their return home, ſeized on the city of *Meſſana*, into which they had been admitted, and entertained as friends, maſſacred the inhabitants, and took poſſeſſion of their lands, houſes, and wives. The arrival of their deputies at *Rome* occaſioned great debates in the ſenate; the conſcript fathers thought it would caſt no ſmall blemiſh on their reputation to protect a company of villains, who had formerly got poſſeſſion of *Meſſana* by the ſame treachery and cruelty, as the perfidious *Campanian* legion had made themſelves maſters of *Rhegium*. Shall we, ſaid they, countenance the ſame actions in ſome, which we have, with the utmoſt ſeverity, puniſhed in others? But, on the other hand, looking upon the *Carthaginians* with an eye of jealouſy, and being well appriſed, that they undertook the defence of that important place, only with a view to ſeize it for themſelves, they were long deliberating what to determine in ſo nice a point. *Meſſana*, ſaid they, will be ſoon ſubject to the *Carthaginians*; and if we tamely ſuffer them to get poſſeſſion of a place, which is divided from *Italy* only by a narrow ſtreight of the ſea, we ſhall ſoon be obliged to engage in a war with them for the defence of our own continent. This ſelfiſh conſideration made moſt of the ſenators forget the regard they had hitherto ſhewn for rigid probity, and come into the meaſures of the people, who, from the very beginning, were eagerly bent upon driving the *Carthaginians* out of *Meſſana*. Accordingly it was decreed, that *Appius Claudius*, ſurnamed *Caudex*, who was then conſul with *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, ſhould be ſent over into *Sicily* to attempt the deliverance of *Meſſana*. The conſul nevertheleſs continued at *Rome*, and diſpatched in his ſtead one *Claudius*, a legionary tribune, a man of great boldneſs and experience in military affairs. The tribune, not thinking it adviſeable to expoſe the few triremes he could get together to the inſults of the *Carthaginian* fleet, which infeſted the ſtreights, went over to *Meſſana* in a fiſher-boat, in order to diſcover the diſpoſition of the inhabitants. Upon his arrival, he convened the *Mamertines* in the uſual place of their aſſemblies, and acquainted them, that he came as a deputy from the *Romans*, to offer them the aſſiſtance which they had deſired, and aſſured them that the forces of his republic ſhould be withdrawn, as ſoon

Claudius, *a legionary tribune, goes over to* Meſſina.

ſoon as their city and eſtates were in ſafety. The *Mamertines*, intimidated by the preſence of the *Carthaginians*, who were already in poſſeſſion of the citadel, made anſwer, That his offers were come too late; and that every free city had a right to call whom ſhe pleaſed to her aſſiſtance. A free city! replied *Claudius* with a ſneer; are you then in poſſeſſion of your liberty? What do I ſee here but foreign troops, who begin to make you feel the weight of that ſlavery, which you cannot avoid without our aſſiſtance? The *Mamertines* being ſtruck dumb at theſe words, *Claudius*, with great intrepidity, declared, that he looked upon their ſilence as a tacit conſent; and, quitting the aſſembly, returned ſtrait to *Rhegium*, and from thence to *Rome*, where the ſenate, upon his report, judged, that the *Mamertines* were diſpoſed to receive ſuccours from the republic. The ſame tribune was therefore ordered to ſet ſail, and ſteer with the *Roman* fleet to *Meſſana* (E).

But

(E) *Polybius* tells us (22), that the *Romans* were utter ſtrangers to naval affairs, and quite ignorant of the art of building ſhips, before the firſt *Punic* war. He adds, that it would have been impoſſible for them to build and equip a fleet, had not fortune, who always eſpouſed their cauſe, by a mere accident, inſtructed them in the method; for a *Carthaginian* galley, which was out a cruiſing, venturing too near the ſhore, chanced to be ſtranded, and was taken by the *Romans* before the mariners could get her off. This galley ſerved them for a model; for they built by it, ſays he, a fleet of a hundred and twenty gallies. The equipment of this fleet ſeemed to him a prodigy, and made him reſolve to write the hiſtory of the firſt *Punic* war. But that author was certainly miſtaken, when he wrote, that the *Romans* had no ſhips at ſea before the firſt *Punic* war; nay, it is no eaſy matter to reconcile him with himſelf on this ſubject; for when he elſewhere (23) ſpeaks of the articles of a treaty agreed on by the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, in the conſulſhip of *Brutus* and *Horatius*, immediately after the expulſion of the *Tarquins*, he tells us, that one of the articles was to this effect, that the *Romans*, and the allies of the *Romans*, ſhould not ſail beyond *the Fair Promontory*, unleſs conſtrained by weather, or by an enemy. In two other treaties, of which he gives us the tranſcripts, there are ſeveral clauſes to the ſame effect. Theſe precautions on the ſide of the *Carthaginians* manifeſtly ſuppoſe, that the *Romans* had at that time ſhips, traded to *Africa*, and were not ſo utterly unacquainted with naval affairs, as *Polybius* repreſents them to have been at the beginning of the firſt *Punic* war. Neither can *Polybius* be underſtood as ſpeaking only of ſhips of war, it being plain from the reaſons of the *Tarentine* war agreed on by all hiſtorians, that

(22 *Polyb. l. i.* (23) *Idem. l. iii.*

But how weak and inconſiderable was this fleet, in compariſon of that which the *Carthaginians* had brought into the ſtreights! How ignorant were the *Romans* at that time of ſea affairs! Nevertheleſs the bold tribune weighed anchor; but, being attacked by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* admiral, and having at the ſame time a ſtorm to ſtruggle with, moſt of his ſhips were taken, others daſhed in pieces, and he obliged to return to *Rhegium*. While *Claudius* was buſy in refitting his fleet, *Hanno* ſent back the ſhips he had taken from him, with a view either to pique the *Romans* in point of honour, or to divert them from ſending ſuccours to *Meſſana*; but as the deputies, who came to reſtore the ſhips, reproached the *Romans* with having firſt infringed the treaties of friendſhip between the two nations, and declared, that the *Carthaginians* would never ſuffer the *Romans* to be maſters of the ſtreights between *Italy* and *Sicily*, nay, not even to waſh their hands in them, *Claudius* rejected the preſent with the utmoſt indignation, and carried on his preparations with great vigour. Having refitted his ſmall fleet in the beſt manner he could, he put to ſea again, and timed his enterprize ſo well, that he eluded the vigilance of the *Carthaginians*, and got ſafe into the port of *Meſſana*. *Hanno*, who was now become commander of the land forces, upon the arrival of *Claudius* abandoned the city to the *Romans*, and retired into the citadel. *Claudius*, ſeeing himſelf in poſſeſſion of the city, deſired the *Mamertines* to ſummon an aſſembly, and to invite *Hanno* to it. The *Carthaginian*, for fear of ſhewing a diſtruſt of thoſe whom he pretended to protect, complied with the ſummons, and appeared in the aſſembly. The two generals reproached each other in bitter terms, till at length *Claudius* was ſo provoked, that he ordered ſome brave legionaries, who attended him, to arreſt *Hanno*, and keep him priſoner. The *Mamertines* applauding

The Roman *fleet deſtroyed.*

Claudius *puts to ſea again, and gets into* Meſſana.

the *Romans* had at that time a fleet of ten gallies; nay, we are told by all the ancients, that, long before the *Tarentine* war, the conſul *Mænius*, having ruined the port of *Antium*, carried part of the fleet of the *Antiates*, which conſiſted of twenty gallies, to *Rome*, and laid them up in the place appointed for building ſhips. It is no leſs certain, that many years before the firſt *Punic* war, the *Roman* people appointed the *duumviri navales*, whoſe province was confined to the inſpection and repairing of the ſhips of the republic. It is therefore falſe, that the firſt time the *Romans* had a fleet, or ventured to ſea, was in the time of the firſt *Punic* war; however, it is certain, that the *Romans*, wholly intent upon the reducing of the neighbouring ſtates, were but little acquainted with naval affairs, till they began to make war out of their own continent.

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the reſolution of the *Roman*, *Claudius* made good uſe of this declaration in his favour. What by menaces, and what by perſuaſions, he prevailed on the *Carthaginians* to ſurrender up the citadel to him; a piece of cowardice which coſt the unhappy *Hanno* dear; for he was, on his return home, crucified by order of the ſenate. The *Carthaginians*, reſolved at all events to drive the *Romans* out of *Meſſana*, raiſed both ſea and land forces, and diſpatched them into *Sicily*, under the command of another *Hanno*, who, arriving with his fleet at *Lilybæum*, prevailed upon *Hiero*, king of *Syracuſe*, to enter into an alliance with his republic, and to inveſt *Meſſana* jointly with him. Hitherto the conſul *Appius* had not appeared in the diſpute, ſo that had the *Carthaginians* ſtopt their proceedings, all the ſteps, taken only by a tribune of the army, might have been diſowned. But a monſtrous piece of cruelty, committed by *Hanno*, determined *Rome* to keep no longer any meaſures with her rival. That general, upon the refuſal of *Claudius* to ſurrender up *Meſſana* to him, cauſed all the *Italians* who ſerved in his army to be inhumanly maſſacred; which was no ſooner heard at *Rome*, than the conſul *Appius* haſtened his departure from thence and came to *Rhegium*. As he apprehended both danger and diſhonour in the enterprize, he ſent from *Rhegium* deputies to king *Hiero*, conjuring him, by the ancient friendſhip between the *Romans* and him, to deſiſt from the ſiege he had undertaken. *Hiero* in anſwer reproached the *Romans* not only with ingratitude to him, but with deviating from their pretended equity, in protecting the treacherous tyrants of *Meſſana*, eminently guilty of the ſame crime which *Rome* had ſeverely puniſhed in the *Campanian* legion at *Rhegium*. *Appius*, having received this anſwer, reſolved to paſs over into *Sicily*, purſuant to the orders of the ſenate; but, to conceal his deſign, he gave out, that he could not venture upon that enterpriſe before he conſulted the ſenate. This report reaching the *Carthaginian* fleet made them watch the ſtreights with leſs care and vigilance. In the mean time, *Appius*, going on board a galley, built unſkilfully and in great haſte, pretended only to coaſt along the ſhore in his way to *Rome*; but as ſoon as he was out of ſight he tacked about, and, being favoured by a dark night, reached with ſome tranſports the neareſt ſhore of *Sicily*, and landed his forces, without being perceived by the enemy either at ſea or land. For this bold enterpriſe he got the ſurname of *Candex*, which then ſignified *a boat ill-built*. *Claudius*, encouraged by this ſucceſs, advanced in all haſte with his legions againſt the king of *Syracuſe*, who blocked up *Meſſana* on the ſide of mount *Chalcis*, and having ſurpriſed and defeated him, entered triumphantly

Appius the conſul paſſes into Sicily, *and defeats* Hiero *and the* Carthaginians

umphantly into *Meſſana*, highly delighted with gaining the firſt victory the *Romans* had ever obtained out of their continent. After this defeat, *Hiero*, thinking himſelf betrayed by the *Carthaginians*, who had ſuffered him to be ſurpriſed by not guarding the ſtreights, decamped haſtily in the night, and, giving way to his diſtruſts, returned to *Syracuſe*. *Claudius*, receiving next morning intelligence of his retreat, reſolved to loſe no time, but forthwith to attack the *Carthaginians*. Purſuant to this reſolution, he made a briſk ſally, and routed them with great ſlaughter. Having thus raiſed the ſiege of *Meſſana*, he over-ran the lands of the *Syracuſans* like a torrent, pillaged and laid waſte the whole country, and, having no enemy in the field to contend with, advanced to the very gates of *Syracuſe*. But the year being already far ſpent, he ſoon returned with his troops to *Meſſana*, and, having left a ſtrong gariſon in that city, paſſed over to *Rhegium*, and from thence purſued his journey to *Rome*[y]. *Eutropius*[z] and *Silius Italicus*[a] tell us, that he received the honours of a triumph for his *Sicilian* expedition; but we find no mention made of it in the triumphal tables.

The ſucceeding conſuls, *Manius Octacilius Craſſus* and *Manius Valerius Flaccus*, were ordered to tranſport into *Sicily* two conſular armies, conſiſting each of eight thouſand legionaries, and twelve hundred horſe, with a great number of auxiliaries. Upon their arrival moſt of the towns, that had ſubmitted to the *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſans*, delivered themſelves up to the *Romans*; inſomuch, that in a few months they ſaw themſelves maſters of ſixty ſeven places, among which were *Tauromínium* and *Catana*, two cities of great importance. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, they reſolved to undertake the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, the capital of the iſland, and at that time one of the greateſt cities in the world. They had no ſooner inveſted it, than *Hiero*, being now ſenſible that he had formed a wrong judgment touching the iſſue of the war, and that the hopes of the *Romans* were founded on better meaſures than thoſe of the *Carthaginians*, ſent out deputies to treat with the former of a peace. The conſuls readily embraced the overture knowing, that, by entering into an alliance with *Syracuſe*, they ſhould be plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, for want of which they had been the laſt year reduced to great ſtraits by the *Carthaginians*, who were maſters at ſea. They therefore agreed to a treaty with

The Romans *make an alliance with* Hiero.

[y] Polyb. l. ii. c. 11. Diodor. in eclog. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 7. Zonar. l. viii. c. 9 Frontin. ſtratag. l. i. c. 4.
[z] Eutrop. l. ii. [a] Silius Italic. l. vi.

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the king on the following conditions; that *Hiero* ſhould releaſe all the *Roman* priſoners without ranſom, and pay the republic a hundred talents of ſilver. Upon theſe conditions, which were approved of by the *Roman* ſenate and people, *Rome* promiſed to acknowledge *Hiero* as a friend to their republic, and to protect his dominions from all hoſtilities [b].

THE *Romans*, having now no enemies to contend with but the *Carthaginians*, and being ſupplied with all manner of proviſions by *Hiero*, now their friend and ally, made themſelves maſters of all the places on the weſtern coaſt of *Sicily*. The inhabitants of *Segeſta* and *Aliena* maſſacred the *African* gariſon, and opened their gates to the conſuls. The cities of *Hilara*, *Tyrita*, and *Aſcela* were beſieged in form, taken by aſſault, and treated with great rigour. The campaign being ended, the two conſuls carried back moſt of their troops with them, and, putting them in winter-quarters on the coaſt of *Italy*, returned to *Rome*, where *Valerius* was decreed a triumph, which he enjoyed on the ſixteenth of the calends of *April*. His ſurname of *Meſſala*, and this mark of diſtinction, which he alone received, plainly ſhew, that he had ſignalized himſelf above his collegue in the defence of *Meſſana*, and the wars with *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* [c]. This year *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* was created dictator, who choſe *Q. Marcius Philippus* for his general of the horſe. But their only buſineſs was to drive a nail into the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, to ſtop a plague which raged at *Rome*.

THE new conſuls, *L. Poſthumius Megellus* and *Q. Manilius Vetulus*, were both ordered into *Sicily*. But the republic, depending on the alliance of king *Hiero*, thought it adviſeable to leſſen the number of troops in that ſervice, and therefore appointed them two legions only. They ſet out from *Rome*, and, imbarquing at *Rhegium*, landed at *Meſſana*, without meeting with any oppoſition in their paſſage. They no ſooner came aſhore, than they aſſembled the reinforcements they were to receive in the country, and with them marched ſtrait to *Agrigentum*, which the *Carthaginians* had made their magazine of arms and proviſions. The place was very ſtrong by nature, and had been rendered almoſt impregnable by the new works, with which the *Carthaginians* had ſecured it during the winter, with a view to make it their aſylum or

[b] POLYB. l. i. c 16. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. [c] POLYB. ibid. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 9. FRONTIN. ſtratag. l. iv. c 1. Fab triumph.

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place of refuge, in caſe of any miſcarriage or diſaſter. Beſides, it was defended by a very numerous gariſon under the command of *Hannibal*, a general of known valour, and great experience in war. However, the *Romans* came and incamped before the place, blocking it up on all ſides. As it was then harveſt time, and the fruitful fields of *Sicily* were covered with corn, the conſuls gave their ſoldiers leave to go and reap it in ſmall parties, in order to provide againſt the wants which uſually attend long ſieges. *Hannibal* reſolved to take advantage of this relaxation of military diſcipline, and made two ſallies at the ſame time, one upon the reapers, and the other upon the *Roman* camp. The reapers, not being able to rally ſoon enough, were overpowered by the *Carthaginians*, and for the moſt part cut in pieces. But the *Romans* in the camp repulſed the enemy with great ſlaughter, and purſued them to the very gates of the city. After this action the *Carthaginians* were more cautious in their ſallies, and the conſuls took care not to ſuffer their men to go out and forage in ſmall parties. And now, the *Carthaginians* making no more ſallies, the *Romans* thought it adviſeable to divide their army into two bodies. With one they encamped near the temple of *Æſculapius*, at ſome diſtance from the city, with the other on the road to *Heraclea*. A large ditch was thrown up round the city to guard the camps againſt the ſallies of the beſieged, and a ſecond line beyond the two camps to ſecure them from any ſurprize from without, and to prevent proviſions from being conveyed into the city. The *Romans* were plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſaries from *Erbeſſa*, a city not far from *Agrigentum*, whither they were brought from all parts of *Sicily*, and ſafely conveyed from thence to the camps. Thus the *Romans* continued before the place five months, hoping to reduce it by famine. And indeed, as there were no fewer than fifty thouſand ſouls in *Agrigentum*, the city was ſoon reduced to great ſtraits. But *Hannibal* kept up their courage with promiſes, and from time to time diſpatched, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the *Romans*, meſſengers to *Carthage* to ſolicit ſpeedy ſuccours. Hereupon the *Carthaginians*, having levied what troops they could in *Africa*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, put on board a fleet, under the command of *Hanno*, fifty thouſand choſen foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and ſixty elephants, ordering them to ſail to *Sicily*, and attempt at all adventures the relief of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno*, without loſs of time, ſet ſail, and, landing his forces at *Lilybæum*, marched from thence to *Heraclea*, within twenty miles of *Agrigentum*. There he received a deputation

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army being diſcompoſed, the *Carthaginians*, quitting their ranks, betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight, the *Romans* purſuing them with great ſlaughter. *Hannibal* attempted to make a ſally, and bring his forces to the aſſiſtance of *Hanno*; but was repulſed by the troops which the conſuls had poſted at all the avenues to the city, and obliged to return, after he had loſt a great number of his men. In this battle the *Romans* took eleven elephants, wounded three, and killed thirty. As to the number of men killed in the action and purſuit, it is not exactly known. The enemy after the defeat retired to *Heraclea*, which they gained with much difficulty, the plain being all covered with dead bodies [d].

Hannibal, perceiving that the *Romans* after the fatigues of ſo glorious a day were leſs upon their guard, ſallied out at midnight with the greateſt part of his troops, and, filling up the *Roman* trenches with faggots, made his eſcape, and retired with his forces to a place of ſafety. The *Agrigentines*, to revenge themſelves for being thus abandoned, and at the ſame time to make their court to the conſuls, maſſacred the *Carthaginians* who were left in the city. But ſuch cruelties not being agreeable to the *Romans*, the conſuls gave up the city, after it had ſurrendered at diſcretion, to be plundered; and above twenty five thouſand perſons of free condition were made ſlaves. Such was the ſucceſs of a ſiege, which had laſted at leaſt ſeven months, and was the moſt remarkable and difficult the *Romans* had ever yet undertaken. The conqueſt was both an important and a glorious one: but it coſt the beſiegers dear; for they are ſaid to have loſt, what in the battle and in the frequent ſkirmiſhes, and what by famine and other hardſhips, about thirty thouſand men, *Romans* and allies [e]. The campaign being ended with the taking of *Agrigentum*, the conſuls returned to *Meſſana*, and from thence to *Rome*. *Eutropius* tells us, that they both triumphed; but the ſilence of all other writers, eſpecially of the triumphal tables, inclines us to believe, that the ſenate and people did not grant them that mark of diſtinction for reaſons unknown to us. Perhaps they intended by this refuſal to puniſh them for ſuffering *Hannibal* to make his eſcape, which was intirely owing to their neglect in keeping the guards with the uſual vigilance.

Agrigentum *taken.*

[d] Polyb. ibid. c. 19. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Zonar. l. viii. c. 10. [e] Eutrop. l. viii. Zonar l. viii. c. 10.

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THE reduction of *Agrigentum* inſpired the *Romans* with hopes of conquering all *Sicily*. The only difficulty was how to make themſelves maſters of the maritime cities without the aſſiſtance of a fleet, equal at leaſt to that of *Carthage*. Hitherto they had tranſported their troops on board of veſſels borrowed of their neighbours, the *Tarentines*, *Locrians*, *Neapolitans*, &c. But now the republic formed a deſign of being as formidable at ſea as ſhe was by land, and ordered a hundred and twenty veſſels to be built after the model of a *Carthaginian* galley, which, venturing too near the ſhore, had been ſtranded and taken. The *Romans* immediately ſet about this laborious piece of work, cut down trees in their foreſts, and conveyed them to the ſea-ſide, with an expedition peculiar to themſelves. This fleet was equipped, as *Polybius* informs us, in two months time, reckoning from the day the trees began to be cut in the foreſts, and conſiſted of a hundred galleys with five benches of rowers, and twenty with three. While ſome were employed in building the galleys, others aſſembling thoſe who were to ſerve in the fleet, inſtructed them in the uſe of the oar after the following manner, which at firſt ſeemed ſomewhat ridiculous: They contrived benches on the ſhore in the ſame faſhion and order as they were to be in the galleys, and placing their ſeamen with their oars in like manner upon the benches, an officer, by ſigns with his hand, inſtructed them how to dip their oars all at the ſame time, and how to recover them out of the water. By this means they became acquainted with the management of the oar; and as ſoon as the veſſels were built and equipped, they ſpent ſome time in practiſing on the water what they had learnt aſhore †.

The Romans *equip a fleet.*

BUT while the galleys were yet on the ſtocks, the new conſuls, *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *T. Octacilius*, brother to *M. Octacilius*, who had been conſul two years before, ſet out for *Sicily*, where they eaſily reduced all the cities that were at any diſtance from the ſea. But while they were ſubduing the inland countries, the *Carthaginians* either kept ſteady in their intereſt, or brought under ſubjection, all the places on the coaſt. So that both parties were equally ſucceſsful.

IN the beginning of the conſulate of *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Duilius*, the fleet being equipped and all things ready for their departure, the two conſuls choſe their different commands by lot. The command of the fleet fell to *Cornelius*,

† POLYB. ibid. c. 20.

and that of the land-forces to *Duilius*. The latter immediately ſet out with two legions, and paſſed the ſtreights. *Cornelius* followed him with ſeventeen of the new-built galleys, ſteering his courſe along the coaſt to *Meſſana*, to give directions there for the reception and ſecurity of the fleet. Upon his arrival at that port, he was informed, ſome ſay by men hired for that purpoſe by *Hannibal*, that the iſland and city of *Lipara*, would ſurrender to the *Romans* upon the firſt ſummons. *Cornelius*, giving credit to this report, immediately ſet ſail with his ſquadron for *Lipara*, and entered that port. But at break of day he found himſelf blocked up by a greater number of *Carthaginian* veſſels, under the command of one *Boodes* a ſenator. In this ſurprize, *Cornelius* ſaw no remedy but to ſubmit, and accordingly yielded up himſelf and his ſquadron to the enemy. Thus far *Polybius* [f]. But *Livy* [g] tells us, that the *Carthaginian* invited *Cornelius* and his tribunes, that is, the commanders of his galleys, on board his ſhip, to confer about the differences between the two republics in an amicable manner; and that the conſul, being weak enough to truſt to the honour of *Boodes*, was ſeized by him with all his officers, and ſent to *Carthage*: this author adds, that the ſquadron, being thus deprived of all its commanders, ſurrendered without fighting. Thus the firſt attempt of the new fleet proved very diſadvantageous and unſucceſsful. In the mean time, the hundred and three *Roman* galleys, which had remained in the ports, ſet ſail according to the orders *Cornelius* had given, and, coaſting along *Italy*, made the beſt of their way towards the mouth of the ſtreights. *Hannibal*, upon advice that the *Roman* fleet was at ſea, ſailed out with a ſquadron of fifty galleys, to take a view of their new-faſhioned veſſels. But his curioſity coſt him dear. For the *Roman* fleet appearing, when he leaſt expected it, immediately attacked his ſquadron, which was diſperſed about, with great vigour, and either ſunk or took the greateſt part of his galleys, *Hannibal* himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty, when his whole fleet believed him loſt. Thus the *Carthaginian* admiral, upon the firſt trial he made in perſon of the ſkill of the *Romans* at ſea, was obliged to quit the action with ſhame, and retire, after having been in great danger himſelf. The *Romans*, after this victory, purſued their courſe to *Sicily*, and being informed of the defeat and captivity of *Cornelius*, who was to have commanded them, they ſent an expreſs forthwith for *Duilius*, who had the command of the land-forces in the iſland. *Duilius*, being now left ſole commander both at ſea

The conſul Cornelius *and his ſquadron taken by the enemy.*

The Romans *gain a victory by ſea.*

[f] Polyb. l. i. c. 21. [g] In epitome l. xxvii.

and

and land, went immediately, without hesitation, on board the fleet. But the reflection he made on the heaviness of his galleys did not a little abate his confidence. For the *Romans* plainly saw, even in the battle, wherein they had all the advantage, that their vessels were not built with great art, but were very unwieldy in working, and wanted the lightness of those they were to engage with. But while he was ruminating on this matter, an engineer in the fleet found means to make amends for this defect, by devising that machine, which was afterwards called *corvus*. All historians agree, that the use of this contrivance was to stop the enemy's ships as soon as the *Romans* came up with them, and thereby give them an opportunity of boarding them. But it is no easy matter to find out how these machines were built. *Polybius* gives us the following description of them: They erected, says he, on the prow of their vessels a round piece of timber about a foot and a half diameter, and about twelve foot long, on the top whereof they had a block or pully. Round this piece of timber they laid a stage or platform of boards, four foot broad, and about eighteen foot long, which was well framed and fastened with iron. The entrance was longways, and it moved about the aboveſaid upright piece of timber, as on a spindle, and could be hoisted up within six foot of the top. About this was a sort of parapet knee high, which was defended with upright bars of iron sharpened at the end, towards the top whereof there was a ring, through which fastening a rope, by the help of the pully, they hoisted and lowered the engine at pleasure. With this they attacked the enemy's vessels, sometimes on their bow, and sometimes on their broad-side, as occasion best served. When they had grappled the enemy with those iron spikes, if they happened to swing broadside to broadside, then they entered from all parts; but in case they attacked them on the bow, they entered two and two by the help of this engine, the foremost defending the forepart, and those who followed the flanks, keeping the boss of their bucklers level with the top of the parapet. Thus *Polybius* describes the *corvus* [h].

The corvus *invented.*

THE invention of this machine, of which a trial was made, giving the consul more confidence, he left the command of the land-forces to his subalterns, and, going on board the fleet, set sail for *Mylæ* to encounter the enemy, who had made a descent on that coast. The *Carthaginians*, who despised the *Romans* as quite ignorant of sea-affairs, were overjoyed when they first descried their fleet. They did not

[h] POLYB. ibid.

so

ſo much as give themſelves the trouble to draw up their ſhips in line of battle, but advanced with a ſquadron in diſorder up to the unwieldy triremes of the *Romans*, dreaming of nothing but certain victory. As they approached, they were at firſt ſurpriſed at the ſight of the engine we have deſcribed above, and ſtood ſome time in ſuſpence, not knowing the uſe of it. But the boldeſt of the *Carthaginians*, looking upon thoſe machines as ſome fooliſh invention of perſons not acquainted with the ſea, rowed up with confidence to the *Roman* galleys, and by the boldneſs with which they attacked them, ſhewed how little account they made of their engines. But the *Romans* grappling with them by the help of their *corvi*, and boarding their ſhips with great eaſe, fought hand to hand with them upon deck as on firm ground. As the *Romans* were more expert in this kind of fight than the *Carthaginians*, and better armed, they ſoon gained the aſcendant over them, and took thirty ſhips, with all thoſe who were on board of them. Among theſe was the admiral's own galley, which was a *ſeptiremis* taken formerly by the *Carthaginians* from king *Pyrrhus*. *Hannibal* himſelf was on board of it; but when he ſaw the *Romans* entering his galley, he leaped into a ſmall boat and eſcaped, when he was by all given for loſt. At length the reſt of the *Carthaginian* fleet, conſiſting of a hundred and twenty galleys, came up, and fell upon the *Roman* fleet. As they had greatly the advantage in the lightneſs of their veſſels, they nimbly rowed round the *Roman* galleys, in order to avoid the *corvi*. But the *Romans* having learnt the art of working their ſhips, ſo as to preſent their machines to the enemy, which way ſoever they approached them, they took fifty more of the *Carthaginian* ſhips, and obliged the reſt to retire into the neighbouring ports of *Sicily*. In theſe two engagements the *Romans* took ſeven thouſand priſoners, killed ſeven thouſand men, ſunk thirteen ſhips, and took eighty. After this victory *Duilius*, going aſhore, put himſelf at the head of the land-forces, relieved *Segeſta* beſieged by *Hamilcar*, and made himſelf maſter of *Macella*, though defended by a numerous gariſon. The campaign being ended, *Duilius* returned to *Rome*, but left his legions in *Sicily*. During his abſence, a diſpute aroſe between them and the *Sicilian* auxiliaries. The *Sicilians* complained that the *Romans* were always placed in the moſt honourable poſts, that is, in the moſt dangerous. The difference came to ſuch a height, that the *Sicilians* ſeparated from the *Romans*, and encamped by themſelves. *Hamilcar*, who was too vigilant not to draw advantages from this miſunderſtanding, attacked the *Sicilians* in their intrenchments, and

The conſul Duilius gains a complete victory at ſea.

The Carthaginians gain ſome advantages over the Romans.

put

put four thouſand of them to the ſword. He then drove the *Romans* from their poſts, took ſeveral cities from them, and over-ran great part of the country. In the mean time, *Hannibal*, after having been overcome in the ſea engagement by the *Romans*, leaving *Sicily*, ſailed with the remains of his ſhattered fleet to *Carthage*. But, in order to ſecure himſelf from puniſhment, ſent one of his friends with all ſpeed, before the battle was known there, to acquaint the ſenate, that the *Romans* had put to ſea with a great number of heavy ill-built veſſels, carrying ſome machines, which the *Carthaginians* had never ſeen before, and conſequently knew not the uſe of them. After the meſſenger had given the ſenate this account of the *Roman* fleet, he aſked them whether it was their opinion, that *Hannibal* ſhould attack them? The anſwer was unanimous; Let our admiral, they cried out with one voice, fight the *Romans*, and puniſh them for daring to brave us on our element. Then *Hannibal*'s friends acquainted them with what had happened. What you now command, ſaid he, *Hannibal* has ventured to do. Fortune indeed has not favoured him; but who can be anſwerable for the event of things? *Hannibal* thought as you do. And ſhall the uncertainty of fortune be deemed a crime? As the ſenators could not condemn him without condemning themſelves, they ſpared his life, but deprived him of the command of the fleet [i].

WHILE the *Carthaginians* were thus diſgracing their unfortunate admiral, the *Romans* were heaping honours on the brave *Duilius*. A victory gained by ſea was more valued at this juncture, than all the conqueſts their conſuls and dictators had formerly made by land. The conſul entered the city in triumph, attended with the acclamations of all *Rome*. A mark of diſtinction was granted him, which had never been heard of before. Whenever he returned from ſupper, he was attended with muſic and flambeaux. This honour was granted for once only to thoſe who triumphed; and this was when they returned home in the evening from the ſolemn feaſt, which was prepared at the expence of the public for the cloſe of the triumph. But to *Duilius* this diſtinction was continued as long as he lived. *Cicero* [k] and *Florus* [l] ſeem to inſinuate, that *Duilius* aſſumed this uncommon mark of diſtinction without the conſent of the ſenate and people. But it is not probable, that either the patricians or plebeians, who cal-

[i] POLYB. DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. VAL. MAX. l. vii. c. 3. Auth. vir. illuſtr. ZONAR. ibid. [k] CIC. de ſeneCtute. [l] FLOR. l iii.

led

led the leaſt ſtep towards an independency a ſtate crime; would have ſuffered a private perſon to aſſume this ſingular privilege. It is more probable, that *Duilius* demanded it as a reward for his ſervices. To perpetuate the memory of his triumph, medals were ſtruck, and a pillar of white marble was erected to his honour in the *Forum Romanum* (F).

THE conſuls for the next year were *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Aquillius Florus*. The command of the fleet fell by lot to the former, and that of the land-forces to the latter. They were both ordered into *Sicily*, but *Cornelius* had leave to make an attempt upon the iſlands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*;

(F) This pillar, called *Columna Roſtrata*, from *the beaks of ſhips*, in *Latin*, *roſtra*, that were faſtened to it, was ſtill ſtanding in the forum in *Pliny*'s time. *Silius Italicus* (24) ſpeaks of it in the following lines:

Æquoreum juxta decus, & navale tropæum,
Roſtra gerens, niveâ ſurgebat mole Columna.
Exuvias Marti donumque Duilius alto
Ante omnes, merſa Panormum claſſe, dicabat;
Cui nocturnus honos, funalia clara, ſacerque
Poſt epulas tibicen adeſt, caſtoſque penates
Inſignis læti repetebat murmure cantus.

Silius ſpeaks more like an hiſtorian that a poet in this place. The *Columna Roſtrata* was accidentally recovered in 1560, and placed by the care of cardinal *Alexander Farneſe* in the capitol. *Juſtus Lipſius* and *Ciaconius* have endeavoured to fill up the chaſms of the inſcription on the pedeſtal, which is in old *Latin*. The ſubſtance of it, according to their interpretation, is as follows: Caius Duilius *conſul, the ſon of* Marcus, *general by the* Roman *army in* Sicily *againſt the* Carthaginians, *forced* Hamilcar *to raiſe the ſiege of* Segeſta, *a city in friendſhip and alliance with the* Roman *people, and obliged him to return on board his fleet, after he had left his camp and nine elephants, to the mercy of the enemy. Then he took* Macella, *one of the ſtrongeſt places in* Sicily. *He fitted out a fleet in the ſpace of ſixty days, defeated the* Carthaginians, *commanded by* Hannibal, *at ſea, took from them thirty ſhips, with all their rigging, and the ſeptiremis which carried the admiral himſelf; ſunk thirty; and took ſeveral priſoners of diſtinction, who walked before his chariot, and added to the glory of his triumph. In memory of which exploits, the* Roman *ſenate and people erected this pillar.* This inſcription on the baſis of the pillar, which every curious ſtranger viſits at *Rome*, ſhews us the way of writing in the early times of the republic.

24) *Sil. Italic. l.* vi.

if

if an opportunity offered. While he was getting ready the fleet in the different ports of *Italy*, his collegue was detained at *Rome* to ſuppreſs a dangerous conſpiracy. The republic had cauſed a great number of men to be brought to *Rome*, from all the provinces ſubject to her, to ſerve as rowers on board her galleys. Among theſe were four thouſand *Samnites*, who, being unwilling to enter into the ſea ſervice, and finding a plot already formed by the diſcontented ſlaves to burn and plunder the city, readily entered into the conſpiracy, and joined the ſlaves, who were three thouſand in number. As they wanted a head, they pitched upon one *Errius Potitius*, who commanded the auxiliaries, and was a man of known experience. *Errius* ſeemed to go heartily into their meaſures, till he had learnt the whole ſecret, and then he diſcovered it to the ſenate. All the ſlaves were put in irons by their maſters, and the *Samnites* impriſoned.

A dangerous conſpiracy at Rome.

DURING theſe diſtractions at *Rome*, *Cornelius* had weighed anchor, and was already on the coaſts of *Corſica*. As men are generally fond of new undertakings, the conſul thought the two iſlands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia* worthy of a campaign. And indeed, no conqueſt, next to that of *Sicily*, could ſo well anſwer the end the republic then had in view, which was to gain the empire of the ſea. The *Carthaginians*, who were then maſters of them, had fortified ſome cities there, in order to be nearer to *Italy*, and make themſelves formidable to the maritime cities. The firſt the conſul attacked was *Corſica*, which he eaſily reduced, after he had made himſelf maſter of *Aleria*, the only ſtrong place in the iſland. From *Corſica* he ſailed to *Sardinia*, and appeared with his fleet off *Olbia*, a large city on the eaſt ſide of the iſland. But as the place was defended by a numerous gariſon, and the conſul wanted land-forces, he ſailed back to *Italy*, took on board his fleet as many troops as he could conveniently carry, and returning to *Sardinia*, made a deſcent, and laid ſiege to *Olbia*. *Hanno*, who had behaved ſo well in *Sicily*, defended the place with incredible bravery; but, he being killed in one of the attacks, the *Carthaginians* were obliged to ſurrender the place to the conqueror, who gave the *Africans* an inſtance of humanity, to which they were utter ſtrangers. He honoured the dead body of their general with magnificent obſequies, and attended it in perſon to the place of burial[1]. The conſul did not ſuffer the ardor of his troops to cool; but beſieged and took moſt of the maritime cities, driving the *Carthaginians* every-where before him.

The Romans *conquer* Corſica *and* Sardinia.

[1] OROS. l. iv. c. 7. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 7.

In the mean time, *Aquilius*, arriving in *Sicily*, repaired the loſſes the republic had ſuſtained there ſince the departure of *Duilius*. *Hamilcar* had taken from the *Romans* the cities of *Enna* and *Camerina*, and fortified *Drepanum*, a place of great importance on account of its harbour. As the conſul *Aquilius* had been detained at *Rome* to ſuppreſs the conſpiracy, and did not arrive in *Sicily* till the campaign was near ended, the republic recalled his collegue *Cornelius* to preſide at the election of the new conſuls; when *A. Attilius Collatinus*, and *C. Sulpicius Paterculus* were choſen. The command of the fleet fell to the latter, and that of the land-forces to *Attilius*. As for *Aquilius*, he was continued in the command of the army in *Sicily* with the title of proconſul, till the arrival of *Attilius*; during which ſhort time he drove *Hamilcar* quite out of the field, and laying ſiege to *Myſiſtratum*, a city of great ſtrength, which the *Romans* had often endeavoured in vain to reduce, brought it ſuch ſtraits, that it ſurrendered to his ſucceſſor *Attilius* ſoon after his arrival. The proconſul upon his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, as was his collegue *Cornelius* for the conqueſts he had made in *Sicily* and *Sardinia* [m]. From *Myſiſtratum*, *Attilius* led his army to *Camerina*, but on his way was all on a ſudden ſurrounded in a deep valley by the *Carthaginians*, who, under the command of *Hamilcar*, lay concealed on the hills all round it, ſo that, all the avenues being blocked up, he could neither advance nor retire. In this extremity a legionary tribune, called by ſome writers *Cæditius*, by others *Laberius*, but by the greateſt number *M. Calpurnius Flamma*, deſired the conſul to give him three hundred choſen men, promiſing to find the enemy ſo much employment with this ſmall company, as ſhould oblige them to leave a paſſage open for the *Roman* army. He performed his promiſe with a bravery truly heroic; for having ſeized, in ſpite of all oppoſition, an eminence, and intrenched himſelf on it, the *Carthaginians*, jealous of his deſign, flocked from all quarters to drive him from his poſt. But the brave tribune kept their whole army in play, till the conſul, taking advantage of the diverſion, drew his army out of the bad ſituation, into which he had imprudently brought it. When the legions were out of danger, they haſtened to the relief of their brave companions; but all they could do was only to ſave their bodies from the inſults of the enemy, for they found them all dead in the place, on which they had poſted themſelves, except

Myſiſtratum in Sicily taken.

The Roman army ſaved by the bravery of a legionary tribune.

[m] Tab. triumph.

Calpurnius,

Calpurnius, who lay under a heap of dead bodies, covered all over with wounds, but ſtill breathing. His wounds were immediately dreſſed, and it fortunately happened, that none of them proved mortal. The brave officer recovered, and for this glorious enterpriſe was rewarded with a crown of *gramen*, which was in thoſe happy days a greater encouragement to the *Romans* to ſerve their country, than the hopes of more ſubſtantial rewards [n].

Attilius, being thus reſcued from the *Caudine Forks*, we may ſay, in *Sicily*, purſued his march to *Camerina*, which he took by the help of engines ſent him by *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe*, and ſold all the *Carthaginians* in the place for ſlaves. He then marched to *Enna*, the inhabitants of which place opened the gates to him, delivering the *Carthaginians* up to the *Romans*, who put them all to the ſword. *Sittana* was taken by aſſault, and the army, which came to relieve it, put to flight. From thence the conſul led his army into the country of the *Agrigentines*, and, by making himſelf maſter of *Camicus* and *Erbeſſa*, drove the enemy quite out of that fruitful territory. *Attilius*, flushed with this ſucceſs, raſhly laid ſiege to *Lipara*, expecting it would ſurrender upon the firſt ſummons. But *Hamilcar*, having conveyed himſelf privately into the city with ſome choſen troops, made a ſally, when the *Romans* were beginning to ſcale the walls, and repulſed them with great loſs [o].

The Romans *take ſeveral cities in* Sicily.

As for *Sulpicius*, who commanded the fleet, he completed the conqueſt of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, and aſſiſted his collegue in the reduction of the maritime cities of *Sicily*. But this was not enough for the brave conſul. He was ambitious of ſignalizing his campaign by a naval victory; but as no *Carthaginian* fleet appeared at ſea, he ſpread a report, that he intended to go in queſt of it, and burn the ſhips of the *African* republic in their harbours. This news alarmed the *Carthaginians*, who thereupon truſted *Hannibal* once more with the command of a conſiderable fleet. He immediately put to ſea, and met *Sulpicius* not far from the coaſt of *Africa*. But while both fleets were preparing for an engagement, a ſudden ſtorm parted them, and drove the *Roman*, as well as the *Carthaginian*, veſſels into the ports of *Sardinia*. The ſtorm no ſooner began to abate, than *Sulpicius* putting to ſea ſurpriſed *Hannibal* in the harbour, and either ſunk or took moſt

The Carthaginian *fleet ſurpriſed by the* Roman.

[n] ZONAR. l. viii. c. 12. LIV. epit. l. xvii Auth. vir. illuſtr.
[o] POLYB. ibid. c. 24. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. FLOR. l ii. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 12.

of his ſhips. This misfortune occaſioned a mutiny among the ſeamen of his fleet, who ſeizing on the perſon of their commander, crucified him in the city of *Sulci* in *Sardinia*, where he had taken refuge. Such was the end of old *Hannibal*, as he is called by the hiſtorians to diſtinguiſh him from the ſecond *Hannibal*, who proved ſo fatal to the *Romans*. *Sulpicius* after this victory returned to *Rome*, where he received the honours of a triumph.

THE conſuls of the following year, *C. Attilius Regulus* and *Cn. Cornelius Blaſio*, having, according to cuſtom, drawn lots for their commands, that of the fleet fell to *Regulus*, and the leading of the land-forces to *Cornelius*. *A. Attilius* was continued in the command of the army in *Sicily* with the title of proconſul. *Regulus*, who commanded the *Roman* fleet, being at *Tyndaris*, deſcried that of the *Carthaginians* lying along the coaſt in diſorder. Whereupon, at the head of a ſquadron of ten gallies only, he advanced to obſerve their number and ſtrength, ordering the reſt of his fleet to follow with all poſſible expedition. But as he drew too near the enemy, he was on a ſudden inveſted by a far greater number of *Carthaginian* galleys. The *Romans* fought with their uſual bravery, but, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to yield. However, the conſul found means to make his eſcape, and join the fleet, which was following the unfortunate ſquadron in line of battle. He then had his full revenge on the enemy, who were put in diſorder at the firſt onſet, and obliged to ſave themſelves in the port of *Lipara*, after having loſt eighteen ſhips, ten of which were taken, with all their crews, and eight ſunk. For this victory *C. Attilius Regulus*, on his return to *Rome*, received the honours of a triumph, as did alſo *A. Attilius* for his exploits at land, during his conſulſhip and proconſulſhip. As for the conſul *Cornelius*, he had no opportunity to ſignalize himſelf: he is ſaid only to have pillaged ſome open villages, and laid waſte the iſland of *Melita*, which were too inconſiderable exploits to deſerve a triumph. *Rome* was terrified with ſeveral prodigies during this campaign; whereupon the ſenate thought themſelves obliged to renew the *Feriæ Latinæ*, which had been for ſome time neglected. *Q. Ogulnius* was created dictator to preſide at them, and he appointed *M. Lætorius* for his general of the horſe.

The Carthaginians defeated at ſea.

THE war with *Carthage* had already laſted eight years. The *Carthaginians* had loſt *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, and all their

POLYB. ibid, c. 25. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 12.

dominions

dominions in *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum*, *Panormus*, and a few places in that neighbourhood. *Sicily* had long ſeemed to be the utmoſt limits of the ambition of the *Romans*. But now they thought of nothing leſs than reducing *Carthage* itſelf. With this view the new conſuls, *L. Manlius Vulſo* and *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, whoſe name is famous in hiſtory, were ordered to paſs into *Africa*, and to make that country the ſeat of the war for the future. Their fleet for this expedition conſiſted of three hundred and thirty galleys of different ſizes, and aboard of each galley were a hundred and twenty ſoldiers and three hundred rowers. The enemy's fleet, under the command of *Hanno* and *Hamilcar*, was yet more formidable; for it conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty ſail, and was far better manned than that of the *Romans*. With this fleet the *Carthaginian* admirals ſet ſail, and arrived at the port of *Heraclea* in *Sicily*, in order to watch the motions of the *Romans*, and oppoſe at all events their deſcent upon the coaſt of *Africa*. The conſuls nevertheleſs purſued their courſe, and, appearing off *Heraclea* with their fleet, drew up in line of battle. *Hanno* and *Hamilcar* accepted the challenge; whereupon a bloody engagement enſued, which laſted the greater part of the day with equal ſucceſs, the ſoldiers and commanders on both ſides diſtinguiſhing themſelves on this occaſion in a moſt eminent manner. But at length fortune, which from the beginning of this war had eſpouſed the cauſe of the *Romans*, declared in their favour. The *Carthaginians* were intirely routed; thirty of their ſhips were deſtroyed; threeſcore and three taken with their crews; and the reſt obliged to take ſhelter in the ports of *Sicily* and *Africa*. In the whole action the *Romans* loſt but twenty four galleys, which were all ſunk [q].

The battle of Heraclea.

IN purſuance of this complete victory, the conſuls, returning into the ports of *Sicily*, equipped with all poſſible expedition the ſhips they had taken from the enemy, embarqued new troops, and took in freſh proviſions, in order to make the intended deſcent upon *Africa*. *Hanno* endeavoured to amuſe them by conferences about a peace, in hopes of receiving in the mean time ſupplies from *Carthage*, in order to venture a ſecond engagement. Nay, he had the boldneſs to come in perſon to confer with the conſuls, as a deputy from his republic. He no ſooner arrived, than the multitude cried out, that he ſhould be detained priſoner by way of repriſal, for the treachery practiſed five years before on the perſon of

[q] POLYB. ibid. c. 26——28. OROS. l. iv. c. 8.

the

the conſul *Cornelius Aſina*. *Hanno*, alarmed at theſe clamours, with an air of confidence put this flattering and artful queſtion to the conſuls: What advantage can it be to you, O conſuls, to imitate our perfidiouſneſs? It will only be ſaid, that *Rome* produces as bad men as *Carthage*. The conſuls, piqued in honour at theſe words, replied, that though the perfidious *Carthaginians* had violated the law of nations, it became the probity of the *Romans* to obſerve it even with traitors, and ſuffered him to return untouched[r]. But as for peace, there being no diſpoſition to it on either ſide, *Hanno* made the beſt of his way to *Carthage*, to give notice of the approaching invaſion. At length the conſuls ſet ſail, and, the weather proving favourable, had a fortunate paſſage. The firſt land in *Africa* they ſet their eyes on was cape *Hermea*; and there the fleet lay at anchor ſome time, waiting till all the galleys and tranſports came up. From thence they coaſted along till they arrived before *Clupea*, a city to the eaſt of *Carthage*, and there they made their firſt deſcent. *Clupea*, or, as the *Greek* writers call it, *Aſpis*, was very conveniently ſituated for a magazine of arms and proviſions, and had near it ſeveral ports for ſheltering ſuch ſhips as ſhould come from *Italy*. The *Romans*, therefore, having laid up their fleet in one of theſe ports, and ſecured it on the land-ſide with a rampart and a large ditch, ſummoned the city to ſurrender. Some writers tell us, that this important place ſubmitted upon terms; others, that it was abandoned by its inhabitants. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the conſuls ſoon became maſters of it, and fortified it after the *Roman* manner, in order to make it the general rendezvous of the *Italian* fleets, and a key to *Africa*. From *Clupea* they diſpatched a meſſenger to *Rome*, to acquaint the ſenate and people with their ſucceſs, and to receive freſh inſtructions as to their proceedings. For at this time the conſuls did little more than execute the orders of the conſcript fathers, who, being for the moſt part able and experienced commanders, were capable of directing the conduct of their new, and often unexperienced, generals. While the conſuls waited for the return of the meſſenger, they marched up into the country, and ravaging the fruitful plains of *Africa*, where no enemy had long appeared, returned to the coaſt with an immenſe booty. We are told, that in theſe incurſions they took above twenty thouſand priſoners. While they were thus living at diſcretion in the enemy's country, the meſſenger returned from *Rome*,

The Romans *make a deſcent upon* Africa.

[r] Zonar. l viii. c. 12.

with

A MAP OF AFRICA PROPRIA AND NUMIDIA.

THE SEA OF AFRICA

THE SEA OF LIBYA

MAURITANIA

NUMIDIA

GETULIA

ZEUGITANA

BYZACIUM

TRIPOLITANA

THE LITTLE SYRTIS

SICILY

Ægades Isles

Isle of Malta

Lopadusa I.

Egusa I

Cossyra I.

Gaulos I.

Melita or Malta

Tretum Promontory

The Fair Promontory

Galata I.

Hippo Royal Colony

Cirta Col.

Sicca Col.

Adrumetum Col.

Tubuibis

Musu

Sufes

Capsa Colony

Telepte Col.

Thenæ

Macomades

Leptis Magna

Sabrita Colony

Oea Colony

Tripoli

Lambesa

Zama Colony

Thapsa

Thysdrum Col.

Thermæ Colony

Heraclea Col.

Agrigentum Col.

Enna

Selinus

Panormus Col.

Mount Eryx

Solus

Himera

Thermæ Himeræ Colony

Cephaloedis

Alæsa

Drepanum

Maritim.

Promontory Lilybæum

Centuripæ

Gela

Utica Colony

Carthage

Clupea

Neapolis Colony

Tisdrus

Leptis Colony

Hadrumetum

Thapsus

Sublecti

Hannibals Tower

Cercinitis I

Cercina Island and City

Longitudes

Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each.

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

North

West

East

South

35

30

26

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

AFRICA PROPER

THE SYRTIC GULF

THE DESERT OF LIBYA

INFERIOR

TRIPOLIS or TRIPOLITANA

Aegatus

Dracontia

Hippi Point

Mercury Point

Carthage

Massyli

Numidiae

Gætuli a Mario locati

Byzacium

Byzacena

Cercina I.

Little Syrtis

Great Syrtis

Lotophagi occidentales

Lotophagi

Astacures

Deserta Regio

Eropæi

Dolopes

Mampsari

Muturgures

Muchthusii

Vzaræ

Ozuri

Sigiploni

Mimaces

Macæ Cynypsii or Macæi Syrtitæ

Cinyps

Nasamones

Psylli

Garamantes

Melitis

Cossura

Lotophagitis

Ammonis

Phycus point

Borion R.

Tritonis Lake

Philænorum Aræ

Automata

Charax

Great Leptis

Sabrata

Oea

Abrotonum

Auxigua

Auxia

Pisinda

Sumuci

Tacape

Thenæ

Macomades or Nasamones

Zuchis

Ponterzinta

Villa Magna

Casæ or Villæ Anicianorum

Cinithii

Gichthis

Zeugis

Celle

Byzacia

Byzacina

Tuenia

Tulurbo majus

Bullaminsa

Carbeæ

Sabrata

Thabba

Tichasa

Negeta

Timica

Muscæ

Bunthum

Thamesia

Nerisa

Tichia

Varua

Aquæ Calidæ

Zigira

Gazacaipada

Vcibi

Isinus

Tucca

Cirtæ Mountes

Dabar

Nuroli

Bendoma

Sasura

Ptolemaï

Telepte

Capsa

Sicca

Vcubi

Thabraca or Theuesta

Tusca R.

Bagradas R.

Mampsarus Mount

Vsalensis Mount

Thambi Mount

Libyæ palus

Philon R.

Pellas

Palus

Putar

Gilma

Assura

Zella

Vacca

Ruspina

Leptis parva

Hippon Regius

Hippon Diarrhytus

Vtica

Thapsus

Thapsitana

Maschoma

Sufetula

Vthina

Sarsura

Tusdrus

Tusdris

Ruspe

Villa

Taptinura

Leptis

Adrumetum

Thapsus Annibalis

Acholla

Sinicca Mare

Subursicum

Tusca R.

Rubricatus R.

Cathon

Appolinis Templum

Aegamora Ara or Aegimurus

Hippi Regii Sinus

Carthaginis Portus

Hippon Diarrhytus

Tunes

Tunes Euphrantæ

Aspis portus

Azuis

Gurza

Escina

Sitapha

Gabybe

Vdidim

Busta

Acabe palus

Tage

Myrmecis Insulæ

Neapolis

Tuchira

Apluchi sinus

Turris Hercules

Charax

Automata

Philænorum Aræ

Barathia

Ammonis

Pisinda

Sumuci

Auxigua

Auxia

Great Leptis

Sabrata

Oea

Abrotonum

Garapha port

Tritonis Lake

Tacape

Thenæ

Macomades or Nasamones

Zuchis

Ponterzinta

Villa Magna

Casæ or Villæ Anicianorum

Cinithii

Gichthis

Zeugis

Celle

Byzacia

Byzacina

Tuenia

Tulurbo majus

Bullaminsa

Carbeæ

Sabrata

with orders for *Manlius* to repair to *Italy* with the fleet, and for *Regulus* to purſue the war in *Africa*, with as many troops and ſhips as he thought proper for that ſervice. But *Regulus*, either out of ſome ſecret foreboding of the misfortunes that were to befal him, or becauſe he was impatient to receive the honours of a triumph for his late naval victory, appeared greatly diſſatisfied with the province aſſigned him, and deſired to be recalled. His pretence, which would be now thought a very trifling one, ſhews the character and manners of the *Romans* in thoſe times. He repreſented to the ſenate, that upon the death of the huſbandman, who had the care of his little farm of ſeven acres of ground, he had been obliged to intruſt a day-labourer with the manuring of it, who had ſtolen his cattle, and carried off all his ſtock; ſo that his preſence was neceſſary at home to provide for the ſubſiſtence of his wife and children. Upon this the ſenate ordered his wife and children to be maintained at the expence of the public, but directed him to continue in *Africa*, and to command the army there with the title of proconſul, when the year of his conſulate ſhould expire [f]. Purſuant to theſe orders, *Attilius* remained in *Africa* with forty ſhips, fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, while his collegue returned to *Rome* with the reſt of the army, carrying aboard his fleet twenty ſeven thouſand priſoners.

THE following year, the republic raiſed *Ser. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *M. Æmilius Paulus*, to the conſulate; but all the attention of the republic was upon *Regulus*, who now, as proconſul, puſhed on his conqueſts with incredible rapidity. To oppoſe his progreſs, *Hamilcar* was recalled from *Sicily*, and to him were joined *Boſtar* and *Aſdrubal*. *Hamilcar* commanded an army juſt equal to that of *Regulus*; the other two headed ſeparate bodies, which were to join him, or act apart, as occaſion required. But, before they were in a condition to take the field, *Regulus*, purſuing his conqueſts, arrived on the banks of the *Bagrada*, which empties itſelf into the ſea at a ſmall diſtance from *Carthage*. There he had a monſter to contend with, in the deſcription of which the *Latin* hiſtorians have employed ſo much art and eloquence, that we cannot help thinking they have exaggerated their accounts beyond all meaſure. This monſter, ſay they, was a ſerpent of an immenſe ſize, which infected the waters of the river, poiſoned the air, and killed all other animals with its breath alone. When the *Romans* went to fetch water, this huge dragon attacked them, and twiſting itſelf round their bodies, either ſqueezed them to death, or ſwallowed them alive; ſo that

The Romans *kill a ſerpent of an immenſe ſize on the banks of the* Bagrada.

[f] POLYB. ibid. c. 29. VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 4.

it

it was neceſſary to fight this furious monſter in form. As its hard and thick ſcales were proof againſt their darts and arrows, they were forced to have recourſe to the *balliſtæ*, which they made uſe of in ſieges to throw great ſtones, and beat down the walls of the beſieged cities. With theſe machines, they diſcharged ſhowers of huge ſtones againſt this new enemy, and had the good luck with one of them to break his back-bone, which diſabled him from twiſting and winding his immenſe body, and by that means gave the *Romans* an opportunity of accoſting and diſpatching him with their darts and javelins. But his dead body corrupted the air and the water of the river, and ſpread ſo great an infection all over the country, that the *Romans* were obliged to decamp. We are told, that *Regulus* ſent the ſkin of this frightful monſter to *Rome*, which was a hundred and twenty foot long, and that it was hung up in a temple, where it was preſerved to the time of the *Numantine* war. This ſtory has been totally omitted by *Polybius*, and by other *Greek* writers ſo qualified, as to have ſome appearance of truth. Upon the whole, this dreadful monſter ſeems to have been a crocodile, an animal common in *Africa*, but never before ſeen by the *Romans*, who, ſurpriſed at the ſight of it, and frightened at the miſchief it might have done them, tranſmitted hyperbolic accounts of the whole to *Rome*, which were copied by the *Latin* hiſtorians [t].

Attilius, having paſſed the *Bagrada*, beſieged *Adis*, or *Adda*, not far from *Carthage*, which the enemy attempted to relieve; but as they encamped among the hills and rocks, where their elephants, in which the main ſtrengh of their army lay, could be of no uſe to them, *Regulus* attacked them in their camp, killed ſeventeen thouſand of them, took five thouſand priſoners, and eighteen elephants. Upon the fame of this victory, which was ſoon ſpread all over *Africa*, deputies came from all quarters to ſubmit in the name of their reſpective cities and ſtates to the conqueror; inſomuch, that *Regulus* in a few days became maſter of fourſcore towns, among which were the city and port of *Utica*. This increaſed the alarm at *Carthage*, which was reduced to deſpair, when *Regulus* laid ſiege to *Tunis*, a great city about nine miles from that capital. The place was taken in the ſight of the *Carthaginians*, who from their walls beheld all the operations of the ſiege, and ſuffered the *Romans* to carry on their attacks and batter the place, without offering to relieve it. And to

Gets poſſeſſion of eighty cities

[t] Vide Flor. l. ii. Zonar. l. viii. c. 13. Oros. l. iv. Val. Max. l. i. c. 8. Gell. l. vi. c. 3. Plin. l. viii. c. 14.

complete

complete their misfortunes, the *Numidians*, their neighbours and irreconcileable enemies, took up arms, entered their territory, laid waſte their fields, and committed every-where moſt dreadful devaſtations, which ſoon occaſioned a great ſcarcity of proviſions in the city. The public magazines were ſoon exhauſted; and, as the city was full of ſelfiſh merchants, who took advantage of the public diſtreſs to ſell their proviſions at an exceſſive price, a famine enſued with all the evils which attend it. In this extremity *Regulus* advanced to the very gates of the city, and, having encamped under the walls, ſent deputies to treat of a peace with the ſenate. It may ſeem ſtrange, that the conſul ſhould ſhew ſo much indulgence for a republic, which rivalled his own, at a time, when one ſingle ſtroke more would, in all probability, have brought her under ſubjection. But it muſt be owned, that though the proconſul loved his country, he likewiſe loved his own glory and reputation. He conſidered, that his proconſulate was ready to expire; that at the end of the year *Rome* would appoint him a ſucceſſor, who would rob him of the glory of a conqueſt, the beginnings of which had coſt him a great deal of labour and fatigue, and that at *Rome* thoſe, who put the laſt hand to great conqueſts, were much more regarded than the generals, who had happily begun them. Upon theſe conſiderations, he reſolved to conclude the war to his own glory, and the benefit of his republic, by ſuch an advantageous peace, as ſhould ever do honour to his memory. With theſe views he reſolved to ſpend the reſt of the campaign, which he thought was not ſufficient to accompliſh the reduction of *Carthage*, in treaties and negotiations. The deputies ſent by the proconſul were received at *Carthage* with unexpreſſible joy; but the conditions they propoſed were ſuch, that the ſenate could not hear them without the utmoſt indignation; and *Regulus*, as if he had made a complete conqueſt of *Carthage*, would abate nothing of his firſt demands. The conditions were; 1. That the *Carthaginians* ſhould relinquiſh all claims to *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and *Sicily*. 2. That they ſhould reſtore to the *Romans* all the priſoners they had taken from them ever ſince the beginning of the war. 3. That if they cared to redeem any of their own priſoners, they ſhould pay ſo much a head for them, as *Rome* ſhould judge reaſonable. 4. That they ſhould for ever pay the *Romans* an annual tribute. 5. That for the future they ſhould fit out but one man of war for their own uſe, and fifty triremes to ſerve in the *Roman* fleet at the expence of *Carthage*, when required by any of the future conſuls. Theſe extravagant demands

Sends propoſals of peace to Carthage, *which are rejected.*

provoked the ſenators, who loudly and unanimouſly rejected them, proteſting, that they would rather die a thouſand times, than ſubmit to ſo ſhameful a ſlavery. The *Roman* deputies, in leaving the aſſembly, told the ſenate, that the *Roman* proconſul would not alter a ſingle letter in the propoſals, and that they muſt either conquer the *Romans*, or obey them. After this formal declaration, the *Carthaginians* had nothing left but to ſell their lives dear, and die with honour, in defence of their country [u].

Before this negotiation, the *Carthaginian* republic had ſent to hire mercenaries in *Greece*, and this reinforcement arrived juſt in the height of her diſtreſs. Among theſe mercenaries was a *Lacedæmonian*, by name *Xantippus*, a man of great bravery and experience in war. We do not find, that he had any conſiderable poſt in the troops of his own country. He was one of thoſe ſubalterns, who are often more able ſoldiers than their generals, and only want an opportunity of exerting themſelves. The *Lacedæmonian*, having informed himſelf of the circumſtances of the late battle, declared publicly, that their overthrow was owing more to their own miſconduct, than to the ſuperiority of the enemy. His diſcourſe, being ſpread among the people and ſoldiery, came to the knowledge of the ſenate; and the ſenators immediately commanded him to be brought before them. Being introduced to them, he explained himſelf ſo clearly, and talked ſo judiciouſly, that the *Carthaginian* generals, as well as the reſt, were for putting him at the head of the army; and a decree was made for that purpoſe. *Xantippus*, being thus inveſted with the ſupreme command, applied himſelf in the firſt place to the diſciplining of his troops; and having taught them how to march, incamp, widen, and cloſe their ranks, and rally after the *Lacedæmonian* manner under their proper colours, he took the field with twelve thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and about an hundred elephants. The *Romans* were ſurpriſed at the ſudden change they obſerved in the enemy's conduct. However *Regulus*, elated with his late ſucceſs, came and incamped at a ſmall diſtance from the *Carthaginian* army, in a vaſt plain, where the enemy's elephants and horſe had room to act. The two armies were parted by a river, which *Regulus* boldly paſſed, and by that means left his troops no way to retreat in caſe of a misfortune. This was what *Xantippus* wanted, who immediately cried out, *The gods favour us*, and drew up his men in order of battle. In the firſt

Xantippus *appointed general of the* Carthaginian *army.*

[u] Polyb. ibid. c. 30. Oros. l. iv. c. 8. Eutrop. l. ii. Zonar. l. viii. c. 13. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt.

linc

line he placed his dart-men, with orders to retire into the ſpaces between the battalions, as ſoon as they had made their diſcharge. Behind them, but at ſome diſtance, were placed the elephants in a long front, carrying wooden towers filled with men. Behind the elephants was the *Carthaginian* phalanx, conſiſting of the beſt infantry of the army; and theſe were the main body. As for the wings, *Xantippus* poſted his light-armed troops in the left, and the mercenaries in the right. Theſe two wings were ſupported by the *African* cavalry. *Regulus*, on the other hand, drew up his troops after the *Roman* manner; but was guilty of one great fault: to prevent the elephants from breaking in upon him, he made his main body too narrow and too deep, which expoſed it to the danger of being ſurrounded [w].

Xantippus began the attack, ordering the leaders of the elephants to advance, and attempt the breaking of the enemy's firſt line. The *Romans* ſtood the ſhock of thoſe dreadful animals with great bravery. But, in the mean time, the *Roman* cavalry in the wings, being charged by the *Carthaginian*, which was greatly ſuperior in number, were overpowered, put into confuſion, and obliged to fly. On the other hand, *Regulus*'s left wing falling upon the mercenaries, whom *Xantippus* had poſted in his right, broke them, and purſued them to their camp, whither they retired in diſorder. But, in the mean time, the main body of the *Romans*, which *Regulus* commanded in perſon, being attacked in front by the elephants, and in the rear by the *African* cavalry, was put into diſorder; the elephants bore all down before them, and ſuch of the *Romans* as attempted to make their eſcape to avoid the fury of thoſe monſtrous animals, fell in among the horſe, and were cut in pieces. The main body being thus broke and caſt into confuſion, the whole army was put to the rout, and the ſlaughter was univerſal. Of all the *Roman* army, only two thouſand, who purſued the mercenaries, eſcaped, and arrived ſafe at *Clupea*. *Regulus* himſelf, with five hundred choſen men, who kept conſtantly about him, was ſurounded by the enemy and taken. The reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand men, were cut in pieces, either in the battle, or the purſuit. The loſs of the *Carthaginians* was ſcarce above eight hundred men, moſt of them mercenaries in the right wing, which was routed. The victorious army returned to the capital of *Africa*, which *Xantippus* entered, as it were in triumph, leading the *Roman* conſul with him among the reſt of the priſoners. All the people of *Carthage*

The Romans *defeated, and* Regulus *taken priſoner.*

[w] POLYB. c. 33. FRONTIN. l. ii. c. 8.

ran to meet their deliverer, and could ſcarce believe their own eyes. They beheld with unſpeakable pleaſure the proud *Roman*, in a ſtate to implore that compaſſion, which he had refuſed them. As for *Xantippus*, they looked upon him as a hero ſent by the gods, to reſcue a miſerable people from deſpair and oppreſſion, and beſtowed on him all the honours which a ſincere gratitude could ſuggeſt. But the wiſe *Lacedæmonian*, foreſeeing that the ſervice he had done them, which was too great for a reward, would create him both envy and danger, reſolved to content himſelf with the glory of ſo noble a victory, and, without waiting for any other reward, to return to *Lacedæmon*. His departure is differently related, but all accounts reflect an eternal ſhame and diſhonour on the *Carthaginian* nation. Some ſay, that the *Carthaginians*, jealous of his glory, put privately on board with him aſſaſſines, who murdered him, and threw his dead body into the ſea [x]. Others tell us, that a leaky veſſel was got ready for him; but that the artful *Greek*, being appriſed of their wicked deſign, went on board another galley, and arrived ſafe in his own country [y]. However that be, neither *Xantippus*'s victory, nor the monſtrous ingratitude of the *Carthaginians*, will ever be forgot. As for *Regulus*, he was treated with all the cruelty revenge could dictate. After they had made him the ſport of the multitude, and expoſed him to the inſults of an inraged and cruel populace, they ſhut him up in a public priſon, affording him no more food than was barely ſufficient to prolong his life, and in all other reſpects treating him as the criminals, who were under the ſame confinement.

The defeat and captivity of *Regulus* cauſed as much grief at *Rome*, as joy at *Carthage*. The ſenate no ſooner received an account of the poſture of their affairs in *Africa*, ſo contrary to their expectation, but they ordered the conſuls for the year, *Fulvius* and *Æmilius*, who had hitherto continued at *Rome* inactive, to take proper meaſures for the ſecuring of the coaſts of *Italy* from an invaſion, to haſten into *Sicily*, and from thence, if they thought it adviſeable, to paſs over into *Africa*, and ſave the remains of *Regulus*'s army and conqueſts. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians* ſat down before *Clupea*, but the gariſon made ſo brave and obſtinate a defence, that the enemy, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, were obliged to raiſe the ſiege. From *Clupea* they marched to *Utica*, which they likewiſe beſieged, but abandoned the enterpriſe, upon the news they received, that the *Romans* were equipping a

[x] Appian. in Punicis. [y] Zonar. l. viii. c. 13.

fleet

fleet of three hundred and fifty ſail. And indeed this formidable armament was ready before the end of the ſummer; ſo that the conſuls from *Sicily*, where they left ſome land-forces, ſet ſail for *Africa*, in order to make a ſecond deſcent. The *Carthaginians*, who had, with incredible expedition, refitted their old veſſels, and built a good number of new ones, met the *Roman* fleet off cape *Hermea*, or cape *Mercury*, and gave them battle. But the loſs they ſuſtained was much greater, than the advantage they had gained over *Zegulus*. An hundred and four of their ſhips were ſunk, thirty taken, and fifteen thouſand of their ſoldiers, or rowers, killed in the action. After this the *Romans* purſued their courſe to *Clupea*, where they had no ſooner landed, than they were attacked by the *Carthaginian* army under the command of the two *Hannos*, father and ſon. But as the brave *Lacedæmonian* was no longer with them, notwithſtanding the new diſcipline he had taken great care to teach them, they were routed at the very firſt onſet, in which they loſt nine thouſand men, and among them many of their chief lords. After theſe two glorious victories, the one by ſea and the other by land, the *Romans* found themſelves obliged, for want of proviſions, to drop their *African* expedition, and to evacuate both *Clupea* and *Utica*. In their way home they were deſirous of ſignalizing the end of their conſulate by ſome important conqueſts on the coaſt of *Sicily*, where ſome cities ſtill adhered to the *Carthaginians*. They thought, that the ſudden appearance of a victorious fleet with a formidable army would awe them into ſubjection. Inſtead therefore of returning home, they ſteered their courſe to the northern coaſt of *Sicily*, contrary to the opinion of all the pilots in the fleet, who adviſed them, as the ſeaſon was far advanced, to ſail ſtrait for *Italy*. Their obſtinacy proved the deſtruction of the fleet; for, a more violent ſtorm ariſing than had been known in the memory of man, the fleet was almoſt entirely deſtroyed; for of three hundred and ſeventy veſſels, which compoſed it, fourſcore only eſcaped ſhipwreck, the reſt being either ſwallowed by the ſea, or daſhed againſt the ſhore. This was by far the greateſt loſs *Rome* had ever ſuſtained; for, beſides the great number of ſhips that were caſt away with their crews, a numerous army was deſtroyed with all the riches of *Africa*, which had been by *Regulus* amaſſed and depoſited in *Clupea*, and were now tranſporting from thence to *Rome*. The whole coaſt from *Pachynum* to *Camerina* was covered with dead bodies, and ſtrewn with the wrecks of the ſhips; inſomuch, that hiſtory can ſcarce afford an example of the like dreadful diſaſter. The *Romans* on this occaſion experienced the conſtant

The Carthaginians *defeated both by ſea and land.*

The Roman *fleet deſtroyed by a ſtorm.*

ſtant friendſhip of good king *Hiero*, who ſupplied ſuch as eſcaped the common calamity, with cloaths, proviſions, and ſhips to convey them to *Meſſana*. This misfortune, however, was not imputed to the conſuls, who were continued each in the command of an army the next year, with the title of proconſul. The new conſuls were *Cn. Cornelius Aſina* and *A. Attilius Calatinus*. The former had been treacherouſly taken priſoner by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, as we have related above, and kept in captivity till the firſt deſcent of the *Romans* in *Africa*, when he was delivered from ſlavery, during which he had been obliged to drive a plough [z].

They fit out a new fleet.

The *Carthaginians*, upon advice of the misfortune which had befallen the *Romans* at ſea, renewed the war in *Sicily* with freſh fury, hoping the whole iſland, which was now left defenceleſs, would ſoon fall into their hands. But the *Romans*, having in the ſpace of three months launched a hundred and twenty new gallies, which with the old ones that were refitted made a fleet of two hundred and fifty ſail, both the conſuls and proconſuls were ordered to paſs over into *Sicily*, the former to command at ſea, and the latter on land. As they beſieged only maritime cities, they acted jointly, the land-forces inveſting them on one ſide, and the fleet on the other.

Cephalœdium

Their firſt attempt was on the city of *Cephalœdium*, on the north coaſt, not far from the mouth of the *Himera*, which was betrayed to them by ſome of the inhabitants. From thence they ſailed to *Panormus*, the capital of the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Sicily*, and, having ſeized the port, ſummoned the town to ſurrender. But the inhabitants and gariſon being determined to ſtand a ſiege, the conſuls landed all their troops, and began to batter the walls with their engines, by which a tower ſtanding near the ſea was quickly ruined. At this breach the *Romans* entered, and made themſelves maſters of the quarter called *The new City*, thoſe who defended it retiring into *The Old City*, whither they carried with them terror and famine; ſo that the inhabitants ſoon ſent a deputation to the conſuls, offering to ſurrender, upon condition that their lives, liberties, and effects were ſpared. But the conſuls, not ignorant of the extremity to which they were reduced, would not even grant them their lives and liberties, unleſs they paid ſo much a head by way of ranſom. The unhappy people were obliged to ſubmit, and forty thouſand of them paid two minæ each, that is, 6 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.* for their ranſom. Thoſe who could not advance that ſum were made

And Panormus *taken by the* Romans.

[z] Polyb. Zonar. Oros & Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

ſlaves,

ſlaves, to the number of about thirty thouſand, and ſold to the beſt bidder. After this conſiderable conqueſt, the conſuls ſet ſail for *Rome*; but in their paſſage the tranſports, on which they had put the money and ſpoils brought from *Panormus*, were taken by the *Carthaginian* fleet [a]. The two proconſuls entered *Rome* in triumph, for the victory gained over the *Carthaginians* at ſea during their conſulate.

THE conſuls for the new year, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Sempronius Blæſus*, with a fleet of two hundred and ſixty galleys, ſet ſail for *Sicily*, and appeared off *Lilybæum*; but, finding this place too ſtrong and too well gariſoned for them to attempt the ſiege of it, they ſteered from thence to the eaſtern coaſt of *Africa*, where they made ſeveral deſcents, ſurprized ſome cities, and plundered ſeveral towns and villages. But, as they were returning with the ſpoils of that rich country, they narrowly eſcaped loſing their whole fleet on the flats of *The Leſſer Syrtis*, near the iſland of the *Lotophagi*; where by coaſting too near the ſhore, their veſſels grounded and ſtuck on the ſand-banks, till the flood brought them off again; and then they made off ſo faſt, that the *Africans* took their departure for a flight. They arrived ſafe at *Panormus*, and from thence after a few days ſet ſail for *Italy*, having a fair wind till they came off cape *Palinurus*, where ſo violent a ſtorm overtook them, that a hundred and ſixty of their gallies and a great number of tranſports were loſt. And now the republic, conſidering the two tempeſts, which had deſtroyed her two fleets, as a declaration of the will of the gods againſt her deſign of depriving the *Carthaginians* of the empire of the ſea, made a decree, that for the future no more than fifty veſſels ſhould be equipped, and that theſe ſhould be employed only in guarding the coaſt of *Italy*, and tranſporting troops into *Sicily*. The proconſul *Cornelius* commanded this campaign the land-forces in *Sicily*, and though hiſtorians give us no account of his exploits, there is no room to doubt, but they were very conſiderable, ſince he was, on his return to *Rome*, decreed a triumph, as was alſo the conſul *Sempronius Blæſus*, but not his collegue *Servilius Cæpio*; which is ſomewhat ſurprizing, ſince he ſeems to have had a ſhare in all the exploits of this campaign. Both the triumphal tables and ſeveral medals, which have reached our times, confirm the triumphs of *Cornelius* and *Sempronius* [b].

The Roman *fleet deſtroyed by another ſtorm.*

[a] POLYB. l. i. c. 38. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. [b] Tab. triumph. Vid. VAILLANT. fam. conſular.

C. Aurelius

C. Aurelius Cotta and *P. Servilius Geminus*, being the enſuing year raiſed to the conſulate, paſſed over into *Sicily* to command the land-forces there, and made themſelves maſters of *Himera*, a city ſtanding at the mouth of a river bearing the ſame name. *Aurelius*, animated with this important conqueſt, which put his republic in poſſeſſion of a fruitful territory, formed a deſign upon the iſland and city of *Lipara*; and being ſupplied with ſhips by that ever faithful friend to the republic, king *Hiero*, he tranſported ſome of his choſen troops into the iſland, and ſat down before *Lipara* the metropolis. But being ſeized with ſome unaccountable ſcruple touching the auſpices, he returned to *Meſſana* to conſult the auguries anew. During his abſence, *Q. Caſſius* and *P. Aurelius Pecuniola* his relation, both legionary tribunes, being intruſted with the command of the army, made an attempt upon the city, contrary to their general's expreſs command. But the beſieged made ſo vigorous a ſally, that they repulſed the aggreſſors, and, purſuing them with great warmth, burnt their paliſades, and had like to have taken their camp. The conſul, upon his return to the camp, deprived *Caſſius* of his employment, and reduced *Aurelius*, after he had cauſed him to be beaten with rods, to the ſtate of a private ſoldier, obliging him to go through the ſervile drudgeries of a common centinel. After this the conſul applied himſelf wholly to the ſiege of the place, took it by aſſault, and put almoſt all the inhabitants to the ſword [c]. The conſul, having finiſhed this conqueſt, returned to *Sicily*, and, with an army of forty thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, laid ſiege to *Ereta*, a ſtrong-hold of great importance; but, as ſoon as the *Carthaginian* army appeared, they abandoned the enterprize, the *Romans* being too much diſheartened ever ſince the defeat of *Regulus*, and too much afraid of the elephants, to hazard a battle in the open country. They would fain have drawn the enemy up to the eminences, thereby to render their elephants uſeleſs. But neither party coming into the meaſures of the other, the campaign ended without any conſiderable action [d]. As for the conſul *Servilius*, he probably acted ſeparately; but did not ſignalize himſelf by any great exploit.

Lipara taken by the Romans.

This year a plebeian, by name *Tib. Coruncanius*, by ſome unknown revolution was raiſed to the dignity of *pontifex maximus*. As he was a man of eminent probity, he concurred

[c] Frontin. l. iv. c. 1. Val. Max. l. i. c. 7. Zonar. l. viii. c. 14. [d] Polyb. l. i. c. 39. Diodor. in excerpt.

with

with the conſul *Aurelius*, who was naturally ſevere, and the cenſors, to puniſh thoſe who neglected the worſhip of the gods, led irregular lives, or tranſgreſſed the laws of military diſcipline. Thirteen ſenators were ignominiouſly ſtruck out of the liſt; and, at the motion of *Aurelius*, four hundred knights, who had refuſed to obey his orders in the iſland of *Lipara*, were degraded. Their horſes were taken from them, and they deprived of the right of ſuffrage in their centuries, without being exempted from the taxes. The pay likewiſe, which the republic owed them for their paſt ſervices, was declared forfeited. *Aurelius*, who had taken *Himera* and *Lipara*, was honoured with a triumph, which he obtained on the ides of *April*[e]. By a cenſus taken this year, there appeared to be in *Rome* 297797 men fit to bear arms. The *Carthaginians*, ſeeing themſelves now maſters of the ſea, and their hopes of reconquering *Sicily* increaſing in proportion as they found their rivals reduced to act upon the defenſive, began to make new levies in *Africa*, to hire troops in *Gaul* and *Spain*, and to equip a new fleet. But, their treaſures being exhauſted, they ſent an embaſſy to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, intreating him to lend them two thouſand talents. That prince being reſolved to ſtand neuter, refuſed to aſſiſt them againſt the *Romans*, telling them, that he could not, without breach of fidelity, aſſiſt one friend againſt another. However, the *Carthaginian* republic made an effort, and, exerting herſelf, equipped a fleet of two hundred ſail, and raiſed an army of thirty thouſand men, horſe and foot, and an hundred and forty elephants, appointing *Aſdrubal* commander in chief both of the fleet and army.

The Carthaginians *fit out a new fleet.*

WHILE *Carthage* was making theſe great preparations, *Rome* raiſed *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *C. Furius Pacilus* to the conſulate. They both went into *Sicily*, and there acted only upon the defenſive, purſuant to their inſtructions from the ſenate. But though the conſcript fathers approved of the obedience of their generals, yet they began to reflect, that ſo much caution and circumſpection diſhonoured the commanders, and greatly abated the courage of the ſoldiers. They reſumed therefore their former vigour, and, forgetting their ſhipwrecks, reſolved to put a new fleet to ſea, there being no other means to preſerve *Sicily*. While the veſſels were building, the comitia choſe two conſuls, who were both men of great valour and experience, viz. *L. Manlius Vulſo* and *C. Attilius Regulus*, couſin-german to the famous captive. The

The Romans *put a new fleet to ſea.*

[e] Tab. triumph. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 9.

late conſul *Furius* was recalled from *Sicily*; but his collegue *Metellus* continued there, with the title of proconſul, to oppoſe the formidable army under the command of *Aſdrubal*. *Metellus*, who was an able commander, being allowed by the ſenate to act according to his own judgment, ſoon recovered the former reputation of the *Romans* in *Sicily*. For, by pretending fear, he drew *Aſdrubal* into a diſadvantageous ſpot of ground near *Panormus*, and, then ſallying out upon him, gave him a terrible overthrow, and obtained one of the moſt ſignal victories mentioned in the *Roman* hiſtory. Twenty thouſand of the enemy were killed, and many elephants, of theſe latter a great number were alſo taken with their leaders, and ſent afterwards to *Rome*, where they ſwelled the pomp of the conqueror's triumph. *Aſdrubal* after this defeat fled to *Lilybæum*, which he reached with great difficulty; and the proconſul, having no more enemies to contend with in the field, returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph on the ſeventh of the ides of *September*. The *Romans* had never ſeen a more magnificent entry. The elephants to the number of a hundred and four, marched through the city in proceſſion. The air rung with acclamations at the ſight of thoſe animals, and of the great number of priſoners in chains, among whom were thirteen officers of diſtinction. As the *Romans* had reſolved never to make uſe of elephants in war, and did not care to be at the expence of feeding them, they ordered them to be hunted, and put to death in the circus by their *athletæ* or *wreſtlers*; ſo that the people were at the ſame time diverted, and taught to deſpiſe the animals they had hitherto ſo much dreaded. As for the unhappy *Aſdrubal*, he was condemned in his abſence, and on his return home crucified, one ſingle misfortune blotting out the remembrance of his many former important ſervices [f].

Metellus *gains a ſignal victory in* Sicily.

And now the two conſuls, with the new fleet of two hundred and forty galleys, and ſixty ſmaller veſſels, paſſing over into *Sicily*, reſolved, by a noble emulation, to ſurpaſs, if poſſible, their predeceſſor *Metellus*, and to drive the *Carthaginians* quite out of the iſland. With this view they laid ſiege to *Lilybæum*, a city deemed impregnable, and the only place of retreat for the *Carthaginian* armies. But *Lilybæum* proved a ſecond *Troy*; the ſiege laſted ten years, the forces of the two republics being exhauſted, within and without the walls of one ſingle city. The people of *Carthage*, upon the news of this enterpriſe, were ſo diſcouraged, that they began to

[f] Zonar. l. viii. c. 14. Polyb. c. 41. Oros. l. iv. c. 9.

think

think of a peace. The war had already laſted fourteen years; they had loſt their beſt commanders; their elephants had been taken from them; their fleets had been deſtroyed as faſt as they had put them to ſea; their finances were as much exhauſted as their armies were diminiſhed; the only towns they had now left in *Sicily* were *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, the one inveſted, and the other expoſed to the inſults of the enemy's new fleet. Theſe conſiderations induced them to think of putting an end to ſo deſtructive a war by a ſpeedy peace. With this view they began to ſoften the rigors of *Regulus*'s confinement, and endeavoured to engage him to go to *Rome* with their embaſſadors, and uſe his intereſt there to bring about a peace upon moderate terms, or at leaſt an exchange of priſoners. *Regulus* obeyed his maſters, and imbarqued for *Rome*, after having bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to return to his chains, if the negotiation did not ſucceed. The *Carthaginian* ſhip arrived ſafe in *Italy*; but when *Regulus* came to the gates of the city, he refuſed to enter them; My misfortunes, ſaid he, have made me a ſlave to the *Carthaginians*; I am no longer a *Roman* citizen; the ſenate gives always audience to foreigners without the gates. His wife *Marcia* went out to meet him, and preſented to him his two young children. But he, only caſting a kind of wild look on them, fixed his eyes on the ground, as if he thought himſelf unworthy of the embraces of his wife, and the careſſes of his children. When the ſenators aſſembled in the ſuburbs, he was introduced to them with the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors, and together with them made the two propoſals with which he was charged: Conſcript fathers, ſaid he, being now a ſlave to the *Carthaginians*, I am come on the part of my maſters to treat with you, concerning a peace and an exchange of priſoners. Having uttered theſe words, he began to withdraw, and follow the embaſſadors, who were not allowed to be preſent at the deliberations and diſputes of the conſcript fathers. In vain the ſenate preſſed him to ſtay, and give his opinion as an old ſenator and conſul. He refuſed to continue in the aſſembly, till his *African* maſters ordered him, and then the illuſtrious ſlave took his place among the fathers; but continued ſilent with his eyes fixed on the ground, while the more ancient ſenators ſpoke. When it came to his turn to deliver his opinion, he addreſſed himſelf to the conſcript fathers thus; Though I am a ſlave at *Carthage*, yet I am free at *Rome*, and will therefore declare my ſentiments with freedom. *Romans*, it is not for your intereſt either to grant the *Carthaginians* a peace, or to make an exchange of priſoners with them. *Carthage* is extremely exhauſted, and the only reaſon why ſhe ſues for peace is, be-

The Carthaginians *ſend* Regulus *to* Rome *to treat of a peace.*

His ſpeech in the ſenate.

cauſe ſhe is not in a condition to continue the war. You have been vanquiſhed but once, and that by my fault; a fault which *Metellus* has repaired by a ſignal victory. But the *Carthaginians* have been ſo often overcome, that they have not the courage to look a *Roman* in the face. Your allies continue peaceable, and ſerve you with zeal. But your enemy's troops conſiſt only of mercenaries, who have no other tie but that of intereſt, and will ſoon be diſobliged by the republic they ſerve, *Carthage* being already quite deſtitute of money to pay them. No, *Romans*, a peace with *Carthage* does not by any means ſuit your intereſt, conſidering the condition to which the *Carthaginians* are reduced. I therefore adviſe you to purſue the war with greater vigour than ever. As for the exchange of priſoners, you have among the *Carthaginian* captives ſeveral officers of diſtinction, who are young, and may one day command the enemy's armies. But as for me, I am advanced in years, and my misfortunes have made me uſeleſs. Beſides, what can you expect from ſoldiers, who have been vanquiſhed and made ſlaves? Such men, like timorous deer, that have eſcaped out of the hunter's toils, will ever be upon the alarm, and ready to fly. The ſenate, greatly affected with his diſintereſtedneſs, magnanimity, and contempt of life, would willingly have preſerved him, and continued the war in *Africa*. Some were of opinion, that in *Rome* he was not obliged to keep an oath, which had been extorted from him in an enemy's country. The *pontifex maximus* himſelf being conſulted in the caſe declared, that *Regulus* might continue at *Rome*, without being guilty of perjury. But the noble captive, highly offended at this deciſion, as if his honour and courage were called in queſtion, declared to the ſenate, who trembled to hear him ſpeak, that he well knew what torments were reſerved for him at *Carthage*; but that he had ſo much of the true ſpirit of a *Roman*, as to dread leſs the tortures of a cruel rack, than the ſhame of a diſhonourable action, which would follow him to his grave. It is my duty, ſaid he, to return to *Carthage*. Let the gods take care of the reſt. This intrepidity made the ſenate ſtill more deſirous of ſaving ſuch an hero. All means were made uſe of to make him ſtay, both by the people and ſenate. He would not even ſee his wife *Marcia*, nor ſuffer his young children to take their leave of him. Amidſt the lamentations and tears of the whole city, he imbarqued with the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors to return to the place of his ſlavery, with as ſerene and chearful a countenance, as if he had been going to a country ſeat for his diverſion. The *Carthaginians* were ſo inraged againſt him, that they invented new torments to ſatisfy their revenge. Firſt, they cut off his eye-lids,

Returns to Carthage, and is put to a cruel death.

eye-lids, keeping him for a while in a dark dungeon, and then bringing him out, and expoſing him to the ſun at noon-day. After this they ſhut him up in a kind of cheſt ſtuck with nails, having their points inwards, ſo that he could neither ſit nor lean without great torment; and there they ſuffered him to die with hunger, anguiſh, and want of ſleep [g] (G).

WHEN the news of theſe cruelties reached *Rome*, the ſenate, by way of retaliation, gave up the chief of the *Carthaginian* captives to the revenge of *Marcia* the wife of *Regulus*, who, venting her rage upon thoſe unhappy wretches, cauſed them to be ſhut up two and two in great cheſts thick ſtuck with nails, and there to ſuffer the ſame torments which her huſband had endured at *Carthage*. *Boſtar* died the fifth day; but *Hamilcar*, notwithſtanding the ſtench and corruption of the dead body of his companion, lived ten days, having as much food allowed him as was ſufficient to prolong his life in miſery. At length the ſenate put a ſtop to this cruel uſage, and commanded *Boſtar*'s aſhes to be ſent home, and the reſt of the priſoners, who had ſurvived their tortures, to be uſed with more humanity [h].

IN the mean time, the two conſuls, *Manlius* and *Attilius*, carried on the ſiege of *Lilybæum* with great vigour. *Himilco*, a general of great experience and perſonal valour, commanded in the place, which was ſtrong both by nature and

The Romans *carry on the ſiege of* Lilybæum.

[g] APPIAN. in punic. VAL. MAX. l. i. c i. CIC. de off. AUL. GELL. noctes Atticæ, &c [h] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxiv. AUL. GELL. ibid.

(G) It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that *Hoffman* ſhould look upon a fact, atteſted by a cloud of credible witneſſes, as a fable. It is true, that *Polybius*, in other caſes a moſt exact hiſtorian, does not mention the cruel death of *Regulus*. But is the ſilence of one ſingle author, who is wholly taken up in deſcribing battles and ſieges, ſufficient to weigh down the expreſs teſtimonies of *Cicero*, *Livy*, *Appian*, *Zonaras*, *Valerius Maximus*, and eſpecially of *Tuditanus*, who lived in the ſame age with *Polybius*? All theſe writers agree, that *Regulus* died in the midſt of moſt exquiſite torments; though it muſt be owned, that they relate the circumſtances of his death very differently. Some ſay, that he was crucified; others, that he died of the miſeries of a long impriſonment: but the moſt common opinion is that which we have inſerted in the text. *Regulus* was not the only perſon the *Carthaginians* ſacrificed to their revenge. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that with unparallelled cruelty they cruſhed great numbers of the *Roman* priſoners to death, with the weight of the galleys that were upon the ſtocks.

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art, and defended by a very numerous gariſon, conſiſting of ten thouſand mercenary *Gauls* and *Greeks*, beſides a prodigious number of *Carthaginian* and *African* troops. The conſuls divided the attacks between them, the one inveſting the city on the ſide of the ſea, the other of the land. Their camps had a communication by a deep ditch, covered with a rampart and a wall, ſo that they could mutually aſſiſt each other. The firſt attack was made at the point of cape *Lilybæum*, where it jets out moſt into the ſea, and where there were ſeven towers, which had a communication with each other, and reached in a direct line to the town. Theſe towers being taken one after another, the conſuls prepared to batter the wall of the city; but were obliged firſt to fill up a ditch ſixty cubits broad and forty deep, in order to bring their machines up to the wall. This proved a laborious piece of work, the beſieged drawing up the earth into the city by certain engines, as faſt as the beſiegers threw it into the ditch. But the *Romans*, by the ſuperior number of their workmen, gained their point. Then *Himilco*, with incredible expedition, threw up a rampart, and built a new wall to cover the wall of the city. The *Romans* endeavoured to undermine it; but the enemy, countermining them, attacked the *Roman* miners underground, and prevented them from carrying on their work. The beſieged, however, were reduced to great ſtraits, numbers of them being killed in the frequent ſallies they made, and the reſt haraſſed day and night in defending their works againſt two conſular armies. The town muſt have ſoon fallen into the enemy's hands, had it not received a ſeaſonable reinforcement. The *Romans* had ſhut up the port ſo cloſely, that *Himilco* could not find means to acquaint the ſenate of *Carthage* with the unhappy condition to which he was reduced. But, nevertheleſs, it was concluded there, that, after ſo long and ſtrait a ſiege, the place muſt ſtand in need both of men and proviſions. A ſupply was therefore decreed them of proviſions, and as many men as could be tranſported in a ſquadron of fifty galleys; which were accordingly diſpatched under the command of *Hannibal* the ſon of *Hamilcar*. That brave commander arriving ſafe at the iſland of *Æguſa*, at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt of *Sicily*, ſheltered himſelf there, waiting for a proper time to force his way through the enemy's fleet, which lay at the mouth of the harbour. As ſoon as a brisk ſouth wind blew, he crouded all his ſails, and ordering his rowers to ply their oars, paſſed through the midſt of the *Roman* fleet, and arrived ſafe in the port with a reinforcement of ten thouſand men, and a great quantity of proviſions,

The beſieged receive a ſupply of men and proviſions.

viſions. The ſudden appearance of the *African* ſquadron, and the fear of being forced into the port with the enemy by the violence of the wind, prevented the *Romans* from attacking *Hannibal*, ſo that he got into *Lilybæum* without the loſs of a ſingle man. *Himilco*, encouraged by this new reinforcement, made the very next day a brisk ſally at the head of twenty thouſand men, in hopes of deſtroying the engines of the *Romans*. Never was action begun or carried on with more bravery; but at length the beſieged were repulſed with great loſs, without being able to ſet fire to the engines as they intended [1].

THE night after this obſtinate fight, *Hannibal*, finding himſelf to be of no uſe in *Lilybæum*, put all the *Carthaginian* cavalry on board his galleys, ſailed boldly through the *Roman* fleet, and got ſafe to *Drepanum*, whence he made incurſions into the territories of the allies of the *Romans*, and intercepted the proviſions which were deſigned for the conſular armies. This occaſioned a great ſcarcity in the two camps, which obliged one of the conſuls to retire with his two legions from the reſt of the army. In the mean time, his collegue endeavoured to ſhut up the harbour with a bar, made of ſtrong beams, faſtened together with iron braces. But this work was ſoon deſtroyed by the winds and ſtrong currents. However, the report being ſpread at *Carthage* that the harbour was quite ſhut up, no veſſel would venture out for ſome time to bring them from *Lilybæum* an account of the ſiege. At length a *Rhodian*, by name *Hannibal*, undertook to get into the place, and bring them intelligence how their affairs ſtood there, provided the harbour was not yet quite barred up. His undertaking was well received, but little dependence was had upon it, in regard the *Roman* fleet rid at anchor before the mouth of the harbour. Nevertheleſs the *Rhodian* with a veſſel of his own put to ſea, and getting ſafe to one of thoſe iſlands, which lie oppoſite to *Lilybæum*, the next morning with a fair wind and a freſh gale he paſſed through the enemy's fleet, and to their great ſurprize entered the port. The conſul gave ſtrict orders to have a more careful eye on the entrance of the haven, and ordered ten of his lighteſt veſſels to be placed there, with their oars, like ſo many wings, diſplayed, and ready to fly after the prey they expected. But the *Rhodian*, depending upon his skill in ſea affairs, and the lightneſs of his veſſel, not only eſcaped ſafely, but in contempt of the *Romans* who purſued him, would often lie up-

Bold undertaking of Hannibal *the* Rhodian.

[1] POLYB. c. xlv. DIODOR. SICUL. ibid.

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on his oars, till they got near him, and then row quite round their veſſels. He thus paſſed and repaſſed ſeveral times, carrying to *Carthage* an account of the ſiege, and to *Lilybæum* the orders of the ſenate, the *Romans* being inraged and confounded to ſee one ſingle galley triumph as it were over their whole fleet. The ſucceſsful temerity of the *Rhodian* encouraged ſeveral *Carthaginians* to make the like attempt. But one of theſe adventurers, leſs ſkilful than *Hannibal*, in the knowledge of the currents between the rocks and the flats, grounded; and was taken by the *Romans*. The conſul immediately put on board this light galley the beſt crew he had, and waited with impatience for a freſh inſult from the *Rhodian*. It was not long before the *Rhodian* entered the port again in the night-time, according to his cuſtom, and was preparing to ſail out in broad day, not knowing that the *Romans* were now maſters of a galley, which was as good a ſailor as his own. He weighed anchor with great confidence; and ſailed out of the port in ſight of the enemy's fleet; but was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the *Romans* purſue him cloſe, and at length come up with him notwithſtanding the lightneſs of his veſſel. He had now no way left but to engage them, which he did with an undaunted bravery; but the *Romans*, who were all choſen men, ſoon put an end to the diſpute. The *Rhodian* veſſel was boarded, and taken with all her crew. The *Romans*, being now in poſſeſſion of two light galleys, ſhut up the port ſo effectually, that no *Carthaginian* ever after attempted to enter it [k].

He is taken by the Romans.

The beſieged were not diſcouraged by being deprived of this advantage; they boldly reſiſted two general attacks of the beſiegers, and obliged them to retire with great ſlaughter, after they had got poſſeſſion of the firſt rampart. The advantage they gained in theſe attacks was followed by another, which had like to have reduced the *Romans* to deſpair. A ſudden ſtorm ariſing, and the wind blowing from the land with ſuch violence, as almoſt to overturn the machines of the *Romans*, the *Carthaginians*, by the advice of ſome mercenary *Greeks* in their ſervice, took advantage of this accident, and ſallying out ſet fire to the galleries, platforms, towers, and baliſtæ of the beſiegers. As the ſtorm blew full in the faces of the *Romans*, they were ſo blinded with the ſmoak, that they could only throw their darts at a venture, while the flame, which ſpread very faſt, gave light to the enemy. So that the work of ſeveral months was conſumed in a few hours.

The works before Lilybæum *deſtroyed.*

[k] Polyb. c. 45—48. Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Zonar. l. viii. c. 15.

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The boasted constancy of the *Romans* would not have been able to bear up under this terrible disaster, had not their generous friend *Hiero* raised their drooping spirits, by sending them convoys of provisions, and exhorting them not to abandon the enterprize [l].

AFTER this shock, the consul, not finding himself in a condition to take *Lilybæum* by force, turned the siege into a blockade. At *Rome* the news of this disaster made different impressions on the people and the senate. The people were more animated by it to continue the siege. Nay, ten thousand of them, entering into an association to serve in the army before *Lilybæum*, passed over to *Messana*, and from thence marched on foot to the *Roman* camp. But in the senate many were for concluding a peace, and the dispute arose to such a height, that from words they came to blows, and one senator was killed for appearing too zealous for a peace [m]. The next year, when *P. Claudius Pulcher* and *L. Junius Pullus* were consuls, proved still more unfortunate for *Rome*. The former, who had the command of the land-forces, and had inherited all the pride and rashness of the *Claudian* family, no sooner arrived at the camp, but he began to defame his predecessors, and reproach the soldiery with indolence and cowardice. Though he had but little knowledge in the art of war, his fiery temper put him upon projects, which required great skill in military affairs; and he was too proud to take advice. He had scarce taken upon him the command of the army, when, without consulting the other officers, he formed a design of surprising *Drepanum*, where *Adherbal*, an able captain, commanded for the *Carthaginians*. With this view he put to sea in the dead of the night, with a fleet of a hundred and twenty galleys that lay before *Lilybæum*, having on board the flower of his land-forces. *Adherbal* was greatly surprised, when at break of day he discovered the enemy's fleet; but recollecting, that if he suffered the harbour to be blocked up, he must endure all the calamities incident to a siege, he resolved to venture an engagement; and accordingly sailed out of the port with a squadron of ninety galleys, and concealed himself behind some rocks, till the *Roman* fleet began to enter the mouth of the haven. He then appeared all on a sudden, and, falling upon the enemy's squadron before they could draw up in line of battle, put them into great confusion. All the *Roman* officers advised *Claudius* not to engage the enemy, but to return before *Lily-*

[l] POLYB. & DIODOR. ibid. [m] ZONAR. l. viii. c. 15.

bæum, which he might eaſily have done. But the conſul, obſtinate to venture an engagement, tacked about, and made a ſignal to the headmoſt galleys to do the ſame. It was with the utmoſt difficulty, that he drew them up in line of battle along the coaſt. His ſituation was highly diſadvantageous; for in caſe his veſſels ſhould be obliged to give way in the leaſt, they could not avoid running aground on the flats, or ſplitting againſt the rocks. Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, *Claudius* perſiſted in his former deſign of engaging the enemy, not only contrary to the opinion of his officers, but in defiance of the auſpices, which it was then thought highly impious to deſpiſe. For when the ſacred chickens were conſulted in his preſence, and refuſed to feed, he threw them coop and all into the ſea: *If they won't eat, let them drink*, ſaid he, not reflecting that ſuch a contempt of religion would diſcourage his troops. And indeed the *Romans* ſeemed to have forgot themſelves in the action which enſued. They made but a faint reſiſtance, and ſuffered themſelves, like mere cowards, to be boarded by the enemy, and driven either upon the ſhore or againſt the rocks. As for *Claudius*, who had been ſo forward to hazard a battle, he no ſooner ſaw the victory incline to *Adherbal*'s ſide, than he made off as faſt as he could with thirty galleys, leaving the reſt to ſtruggle with the waves, the rocks, and the enemy. The *Romans* loſt ninety galleys in this ill-conducted action. Eight thouſand of their men were either killed or drowned, and twenty thouſand taken and ſent priſoners to *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* gained this ſignal victory, without loſing a ſingle man, or one galley [n].

Claudius Pulcher *defeated at ſea by the* Carthaginians.

The news of this fatal action no ſooner reached *Rome*, than *Claudius* was recalled, and ordered to name a dictator. The proud conſul, to inſult the ſenate, and in deriſion of the laws, nominated to that ſupreme dignity one of his own clients, named *Claudius Glycias*, a man of the meaneſt of the people, who had no other office in the city but that of *viator*, or, as we may call him, *tipſtaff* to *Claudius* during his conſulate. This unſeaſonable jeſt highly provoked all orders of men againſt *Claudius*. The mock-dictator was forced to abdicate, but the ſenate allowed him to wear the robe bordered with purple, called *prætexta*, in the theatre and circus the reſt of his life, for having reſigned his dictatorſhip with a good grace. *M. Attilius Calatinus* ſucceeded him, who appointed the famous *Cæcilius Metellus* for his general of the horſe.

[n] Polyb. c. 49. Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Oros. l. iv. c. 10. Val. Max. l. i. c. 4.

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As for *Claudius*, he was, after his depoſition, tried before the people for his miſdemeanors. Some writers ſay, he was condemned; others tell us, that the people was prevented from condemning him, and driven from the forum by a ſudden ſtorm, which they looked upon as a tacit abſolution given him by the gods, and therefore did not call him to judgment again [o]. But this has the air of a fable, invented to wipe off the ſtain from the *Claudian* family, which was in great power at *Rome*. *Polybius* ſays, he was tried, and loaded with a very rigorous ſentence [p]. Claudius *depoſed and tried.*

As for the other conſul, *Junius Pullus*, he ſailed with a fleet of a hundred and twenty galleys, and eight hundred other veſſels, to *Syracuſe*, in order to take in proviſions there for the camp before *Lilybæum*. From *Syracuſe* he ſent the quæſtors before him with a ſquadron to ſupply the preſent wants of the army, while he followed with the reſt of the fleet. *Adherbal*, who carefully watched all the motions of the *Roman* fleet, no ſooner heard that the conſul was at ſea, than he detached *Carthalo* from *Drepanum* with a hundred galleys, ordering him to cruiſe off of *Heraclea*, and there wait for the *Roman* fleet and convoys. He had no ſooner put to ſea, than news was brought him, that a *Roman* ſquadron, which was that of the quæſtors, appeared at ſome diſtance. Hereupon, as he had the *Romans* in great contempt ſince their laſt defeat, he prepared to engage them, promiſing himſelf a ſure victory. But the quæſtors, diffident of their own ſtrength, ſheltered themſelves among certain rocks near *Phintia*; a city ſubject to the *Romans*, where *Carthalo* attacked them, but was not attended with the ſucceſs he expected, the *Romans* defending their veſſels with baliſtæ and other engines, which they had brought in great haſte from the town, and planted on the ſhore; ſo that *Carthalo*, after having taken only a few tranſports, retired to a harbour in a neighbouring river, where he came to an anchor, and kept a vigilant eye on the motions of the *Roman* fleet. While he was thus waiting for the quæſtors, he was informed by the veſſels he had ſent out to make diſcoveries, that the conſul *Junius* had with a numerous fleet doubled cape *Pachynum*, and was ſteering his courſe for *Lilybæum*. Upon this important piece of news he immediately weighed anchor, reſolved to give the conſul battle before he could join the quæſtors ſquadron. He crouded all the ſail he could, and came in ſight of the conſul's fleet off of *Camerina*. But *Junius*, not ca-

[o] CIC. de nat. Deor. l ii. & de divin. VALER. MAX. l. viii, c. 1, [p] POLYB. l. 1. c. 52.

ring to hazard a battle, chose to act the same part his quæstors had done, though he did not know it. For he turned to the coast, and took sanctuary among the rocks that were next at hand, thinking it more adviseable to run some hazard, than expose by the loss of the fleet, which might be the consequence of a battle, the land-forces to the mercy of the enemy. *Carthalo* forbore attacking them in so dangerous a post, but retiring to a place between the two fleets, kept that station, carefully observing their motions. While matters stood thus, the *Carthaginian* pilots, who were well skilled in the weather, and acquainted with those seas and coasts, foreseeing by certain signs that a storm would soon arise, advised *Carthalo* to weigh anchor, double cape *Pachynum*, and shelter himself under the opposite shore. *Carthalo* followed their advice, and with great difficulty doubled the cape, and secured his fleet, while the *Roman* ships were either dashed against the rocks, or driven upon the coast. Never was there a more complete shipwreck. We are told, that of the consul's fleet and the quæstors squadron, which consisted of a hundred and twenty galleys and eight hundred transports, laden with all sorts of provisions and military stores, not one vessel, nay, not a plank, was saved, which could be used again [q]. Thus *Rome* was deprived once more of all her naval force, and once more renounced the empire of the sea. But neither did this dejection last long, their ambition getting the better of all difficulties.

The Roman *fleet intirely destroyed.*

As the *Romans*, notwithstanding these losses, were still stronger by land, the blockade of *Lilybæum* was continued. The consul *Junius*, to repair his misfortune, made an attempt upon *Eryx*, a place of great strength, and situated on the declivity of a mountain bearing the same name, and the highest in *Sicily*, except mount *Ætna*. He succeeded in his attempt, and surprised the place in the night by the help of some soldiers, who betrayed it to him. To secure this conquest, he built a fort at the foot of the mountain, and placed a garison in it of eight hundred men. But *Carthalo* soon after made a descent, took the fort by assault, and put the garison to the sword [r]. Some writers say, that *Junius* was taken prisoner in defending the place [s]; others, that he laid violent hands on himself, for fear of being condemned at *Rome* for his ill conduct, or out of melancholy for so fatal a campaign [t].

Eryx surprised by the consul Junius.

[q] Polyb. c. 54. [r] Polyb. c. 55. [s] Zonar. l. viii. c. 15. [t] Cic. de nat. Deor. l ii.

One

ONE of the conſuls being dead and the other depoſed, the dictator's preſence became neceſſary in *Sicily*. As from the foundation of *Rome* no dictator had appeared out of *Italy*, great things were expected from him. But *Attilius* performed no remarkable exploits. He gained ſome ſmall advantages before *Lilybæum*, and then returned to preſide at the elections for the enſuing year; when two were promoted to the conſulate, who had enjoyed that dignity once before, *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Geminus*. The *Romans* had now no fleet, and therefore both the conſuls were ordered to purſue the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, and to prevent the *Carthaginians* from carrying ſuccours or proviſions into that place, or into *Drepanum*. *Carthalo* attempted both, but finding the *Romans* every-where upon their guard, he endeavoured to draw one of the conſuls out of *Sicily*, by making a deſcent upon *Italy*, and ravaging the provinces belonging to the republic. But upon the firſt advice, that he had landed in *Lucania*, the prætor of *Rome* putting himſelf at the head of an army, which was immediately raiſed in the city, forced him to reimbarque, and return to *Sicily*. And now his mercenary troops began to murmur for want of pay, no money having been ſent to them for ſome time from *Carthage*, which was almoſt quite exhauſted with ſo long and expenſive a war. To put a ſtop to the mutiny, he puniſhed the moſt ſeditious with great rigour: ſome were tranſported to deſert iſlands, and there left to periſh; others were ſent to *Carthage*, and there executed. This provoked even thoſe who were the moſt peaceably inclined; inſomuch, that, the rebellion becoming general, *Carthalo* was ſeaſonably recalled, and a commander ſent in his room, who became afterwards famous for his implacable hatred to the *Romans*, which he did not ſuffer to die with him, but tranſmitted to his poſterity. This great man was *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcas*, the father of the famous *Hannibal*, the greateſt officer *Carthage* ever produced. *Hamilcar*, having appeaſed the ſedition which his predeceſſor had raiſed by his unſeaſonable rigour, ſailed to *Italy*, and, more ſucceſsful than *Carthalo*, laid waſte the territories of the *Locrians* and *Brutians*, and returned to *Sicily* with an immenſe booty. Having landed his troops, he incamped on a ſteep rock between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, both belonging to the *Romans*; and from thence, making incurſions into the lands of the allies of *Rome*, ſo haraſſed the conſuls, that they could make but little progreſs in the ſiege of *Lilybæum*. *Hamilcar*'s campaign was looked upon at *Carthage* as a maſterly piece of conduct. He had ſubſiſted, in ſpite of the *Romans*, and at

Hamilcar Barcas *ſent into* Sicily.

the expence of their allies, between two of their cities, and at a great distance from any place allied to *Carthage*, and at the same time disconcerted all the measures of the consuls †.

The new consuls, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Fabius Buteo*, were both ordered to *Sicily*; the former, who had been consul once before, and was so famous for his magnificent triumph, was appointed to carry on the siege of *Lilybæum*, and his collegue to besiege *Drepanum*. But *Hamilcar*, by innumerable sallies from his eminence, kept both the consuls in play, and by his masterly conduct prevented them from gaining any considerable advantage during the campaign. According to the best historian of those times, the brave *Hamilcar* seemed to be every-where; his foresight extended to all particulars, and his valour was sufficient for any attempt [u].

While affairs were in this situation in *Sicily*, the *Romans* pillaged the coasts of *Africa* with a fleet built and equipped at the expence of private persons; for the republic had laid aside all thoughts of building new galleys, after the losses she had sustained by sea. However, she passed a decree, empowering all her subjects to build, equip, and arm ships at their own charges, to pillage the coast of *Africa*, and apply all the plunder to their own use. Nay, the republic lent the gallies she had left to private persons *gratis*, with this proviso only, that they should return them in as good a condition as they had received them. This fleet of privateers committed great devastations on the coast of *Africa*, entered the port of *Hippo*, set fire to the ships and houses, and put to sea again loaded with a rich booty. On their return to *Sicily* they met off *Panormus* a *Carthaginian* fleet carrying provisions to *Hamilcar*, and gained a considerable advantage over it. However, the pride of the *Romans* being now in a good measure abated by their many late misfortunes, they consented at last to an exchange of prisoners; and they were accordingly exchanged man for man. As the *Carthaginians* had more captives to redeem than the *Romans*, the latter received money for the overplus, which recruited their exhausted treasury. The number of the *Roman* citizens appeared, by a census taken this year, to be no more than 251220, which was less by 86575 than the number at the last census. A very considerable diminution, which can only be ascribed to the war, and the many shipwrecks which the republic had suffered [w].

A fleet of Roman *privateers defeats a* Carthaginian *fleet.*

† Polyb. c. 56. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. [u] Polyb. c. 57. [w] Zonar. l. viii. c. 16.

The

THE following year, *M. Otacilius Craſſus* and *M. Fabius Licinus* were created conſuls; but they made little or no progreſs in the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, which was the province allotted to them, being daily haraſſed by parties ſent out by *Hamilcar*. As they did not return before the time of their conſulate expired, *Tib. Coruncanius* was appointed dictator to preſide at the election of new magiſtrates, when *M. Fabius Buteo* and *C. Attilius Bulbus* were choſen conſuls. At this time a woman of the firſt rank was ſeverely puniſhed, only for dropping ſome words, which betrayed a want of affection for the public. *Claudia*, the ſiſter of the late *Claudius Pulcher*, a woman thoroughly tinctured with all the vices of her family, returning in a chariot from a public ſhew, happened to be preſſed in the throng. Upon this ſhe cried out in a tranſport of rage; *I wiſh my brother* Claudius *were alive again, that he might rid* Rome, *as formerly, of this ſcoundrel mob, with which the city is crouded.* For theſe words ſhe was cited by the two ædiles to appear before the tribes; and, notwithſtanding all the whole body of the nobility could ſay or do in her favour, ſhe was forced to appear before the tribunal of the *Roman* people, which had never before happened to any woman, and was condemned to pay a fine of twenty five thouſand aſſes of braſs, that is, 80*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* which the ædile *Sempronius* employed in building a little chapel on the hill *Aventinus*, dedicated to *Liberty* [z].

Claudia *puniſhed for treaſonable words againſt the people.*

THE two new conſuls had no ſooner entered upon their office, than they ſet out for *Sicily*. The *Romans* hoped to reduce *Lilybæum* at length by famine, and therefore perſiſted in carrying on the ſiege. But, in ſpite of all the care and vigilance of the two conſuls, the brave *Hamilcar* found means to ſupply the place with freſh proviſions. He ſailed with his ſmall fleet from the port of *Epirecte*, near which place he lay encamped, and in the night ordered a good number of tranſports, loaded with proviſions, to advance behind the iſlands *Ægates*, which covered the port of *Lilybæum*. In the morning, he himſelf appeared out at ſea with the ſmall remains of his galleys, bidding, as it were, the enemy defiance. The *Roman* gallies, which guarded the port, made what haſte they could to attack him. But when they had got a great way from the port, the *Carthaginian* ſhips, which lay concealed behind the iſlands, entered it, unloaded their proviſions, landed ſome freſh troops, and got out to ſea again

Hamilcar *ſupplies* Lilybæum *with proviſions.*

[z] AUL. GELL. l. i. c. 6. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 1. SUETON. in Tiberio.

before

before the *Romans* returned from their vain purſuit [y]. This ſame year the *Roman* privateers gained a conſiderable victory over a *Carthaginian* fleet within ſight of the iſland *Ægimur* near *Africa*; but were afterwards daſhed in pieces by a ſtorm, which drove them againſt the rocks on the coaſt of *Africa* [z].

The Roman *privateers deſtroyed by a ſtorm.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe misfortunes, the *Romans* with an unaccountable ſteadineſs continued the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, and diſpatched their two new conſuls, *A. Manlius Torquatus* and *C. Sempronius Blæſus*, into *Sicily*, with orders to uſe their utmoſt efforts againſt the place. As it was well ſtored with proviſions, *Hamilcar* gave himſelf no farther trouble about relieving it, or ſending in new ſtores. His mind was wholly bent upon a more noble deſign, which was to recover the city of *Eryx*, taken formerly by the conſul *Junius*. This was a difficult and dangerous enterprize. The city of *Eryx* ſtood about the middle of the mountain of that name, and was fortified by art as well as by nature. The *Romans* were in poſſeſſion of the temple of *Venus Erycina* on the ſummit of the mountain, and had a fort at the bottom of it defended by a good gariſon. But nothing could diſcourage the *Carthaginian* general. He ſet out from his camp in the dead of the night, and, winding round the mountain in a profound ſilence, arrived undiſcovered at the gates of the city, which he eaſily forced open in that ſurprize, and made himſelf maſter of the place. All thoſe who were found under arms he put to the ſword, and ſent the reſt priſoners to *Drepanum*. The war now took another turn: the *Romans* made it their whole buſineſs to diſpoſſeſs *Hamilcar* of this advantageous poſt, and the *Carthaginian* did all that lay in his power to maintain himſelf in it. The *Romans*, who were maſters of a fort at the foot of the mountain, beſieged him; and he at the ſame time beſieged the *Romans*, who were poſted at the top of it in the temple of *Venus*. In this poſt, between two garriſons of the enemy, *Hamilcar* maintained himſelf, and amuſed the *Romans* two whole years. And this diverſion was of great ſervice to his country; for, in the mean time, the ſiege of *Lilybæum* advanced but ſlowly, and that of *Drepanum* was raiſed. Of ſo great a weight in the ſcale was the valour and addreſs of one ſingle man. The new conſuls, *C. Fundanius* and *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, endeavoured in vain to drive *Hamilcar* from his poſt. The beſieged and the beſiegers ſuffered, each in their turn, all the miſeries of war and famine. Never was fury more uninterrupt-

Hamilcar takes Eryx by ſurprize.

[y] Oros. l. iv. c. 10. [z] Flor. l. ii.

ed,

ed, or battles more frequent. No day paſſed without ſome rencounter. Both parties ſeemed, as *Polybius* expreſſes it, quite inſenſible of pains and fatigues, fought as if they had been invulnerable, and bore the inconveniencies of hunger and watching, as if their bodies had been proof againſt all pains and hardſhips. After the conſuls had by a thouſand ſtratagems attempted in vain to make themſelves maſters of the diſputed city of *Eryx*, the *Gauls*, who made up the beſt part of *Hamilcar*'s garriſon, being at length tired out with continual fighting, and not receiving their pay, plotted together to put the place into the hands of the *Romans*. But *Hamilcar*, too vigilant to be ſurprized, diſcovered and defeated their deſign. However, they delivered up to the conſuls an advanced poſt, which they guarded, and entered into their ſervice. This is the firſt time we read of foreign forces in the pay of the republic, whoſe armies had hitherto conſiſted either of *Roman* citizens, who were paid by the public, or of *Italian* allies, who were maintained by their reſpective ſtates.

BUT now the ſenate being thoroughly convinced, that the republic could never eſtabliſh her dominion in *Sicily*, ſo long as the *Carthaginians* were maſters of the ſea, turned their thoughts anew to the building of a fleet, reſolving to try fortune a third time, how adverſe ſoever ſhe had hitherto been. They propoſed to man their veſſels with hired troops from foreign countries, that, in caſe of new misfortunes, *Rome* might not ſuffer ſo great a loſs of her own citizens as ſhe had done formerly. The great difficulty was, how to find money for ſuch an undertaking, the public treaſury being quite exhauſted. On this occaſion the ſenators gave to the reſt of the citizens an example of zeal for the ſervice of their country. The moſt wealthy among them built, each a quinqueremis, at his own expence. Others taxed themſelves at ſo much a head, and a galley was fitted out at the joint expences of three or four. In ſhort, a fleet of two hundred quinqueremes was put to ſea by private perſons, without any other burden on the republic, than that of reimburſing the private perſons, when ſhe ſhould be in a condition to do it. This new armament far excelled any of the former ones, all the gallies that compoſed it having been built upon the model of that light galley, which was taken from *Hannibal* the *Rhodian* *.

A new Roman fleet built at the expence of private citizens.

* POLYB. c. 59. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 6.

The conſuls choſen for the new year, were *C. Lutatius Catulus* and *A. Poſthumius*; but the latter being at the ſame time high-prieſt of *Mars*, *Cæcilius Metellus*, at this time *pontifex maximus*, would not ſuffer him to exerciſe any military function; ſo that he had the bare name of conſul. But the republic, not thinking it adviſeable to truſt the command of her armies to one general, and being well appriſed of the inconveniencies which would ariſe from the too long abſence of the prætor, to whom it naturally fell to ſupply the place of the conſul, created a ſecond prætor, that one might be at the head of the army, and the other reſide at *Rome*, and adminiſter juſtice there. This new inſtitution continued even when both conſuls took the field. One of theſe prætors was to hear cauſes between citizen and citizen, and the other between citizens and foreigners, whence the former was called *prætor urbanus*, and the latter *prætor peregrinus*. The two prætors choſe their provinces by lot, and were themſelves choſen, as the conſuls, in the comitia by centuries[a]. *Valerius Falto* was the firſt *prætor peregrinus*. He embarqued on board the new fleet to make war, together with the conſul *Lutatius*, in *Sicily*. They began the campaign with the ſiege of *Drepanum*, and ſoon made a breach in the wall with their engines, which battered the place day and night. But as the conſul was mounting the breach at the head of his men, he received a dangerous wound in the thigh. As he was greatly beloved by the ſoldiers, they all haſtened to his relief, and giving over the attack, carried him back to the camp. After this he did not puſh on the ſiege with great vigour; but, being perſuaded that the *Carthaginian* fleet would ſoon appear, and that a victory at ſea would contribute much more, than the taking of a ſingle town, towards the intire conqueſt of *Sicily*, he turned all his thoughts to the diſciplining of his men, and preparing them for a naval engagement. He was not yet cured of his wound, when news was brought him, that a *Carthaginian* fleet of four hundred ſhips, under the command of *Hanno*, had been ſeen at ſea. This terrible armament was the laſt effort of the *African* republic. *Hanno* had on board new levies, arms, money, proviſions, and all ſorts of ſtores; and his deſign was to touch at the port of *Eryx* before the *Romans* could have account of his motions, and to ſail from thence in queſt of the enemy's fleet, after he had unloaded his veſſels, and taken on board the flower of the troops there, together with *Hamilcar*, whoſe

A prætor peregrinus created.

[a] Liv. in epit. l. xix.

name

name he thought was enough to fill the *Romans* with terror. But *Lutatius*, indiſpoſed as he was, having cauſed himſelf to be carried on board the *Prætorian* galley, immediately ordered the fleet to join the ſquadron before *Lilybæum*, and ſteer their courſe directly from thence to the iſlands called *Ægades*, the place of rendezvous for the enemy's fleet. He had ſcarce left *Lilybæum*, when he deſcried the *Carthaginian* fleet off *Hiera*, ſhaping their courſe to *Eryx*. Hereupon he ordered the commanders of his veſſels to prepare for a battle. The wind was then favourable for the *Romans*; but it changed all on a ſudden, and at the ſame time the ſea began to run very high. However, the conſul, after having been ſome time in ſuſpenſe, and undetermined what to do, reſolved in the end not to defer the engagement one moment. After all, ſaid he, we ſhall have a greater advantage in fighting with ſhips that are heavy laden, than diſadvantage in the roughneſs of the ſea. If *Hanno* carries his fleet to *Eryx*, takes *Hamilcar* on board, imbarques his brave mercenaries, and gets rid of theſe new recruits, the ſucceſs will be more doubtful, and the victory longer diſputed. Upon theſe conſiderations *Lutatius* drew up his fleet in line of battle, and made directly towards the enemy. As the *Carthaginians* were on this occaſion inferior to the *Romans* in every thing, except the number of their ſhips, the diſpute was ſoon decided. The *Romans* routed them at the firſt onſet. Fifty of the *Carthaginian* veſſels were ſunk, and ſeventy taken, with all the mariners and ſoldiers they had on board. The reſt, by an uncommon inſtance of good fortune, made their eſcape. For the wind, which had hitherto been favourable to the *Carthaginians* in their voyage to *Sicily*, changed all on a ſudden, and favoured their eſcape. After the battle the conſul ſteered his courſe to *Lilybæum*, to diſpoſe of the money, arms, proviſions, and above all of the priſoners he had taken, who were at leaſt ten thouſand in number. Such was the battle of the *Ægades*, which determined the fate of *Sicily* [b].

The Romans *gain a complete victory.*

Hamilcar was the firſt who felt the effects of this terrible defeat. The conſul *Lutatius* had no ſooner diſpoſed of his booty and captives, than he marched againſt him, and in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes killed above two thouſand of his men. Hereupon that gallant commander, having no longer any hopes of ſuccours, was forced to capitulate. The *Romans*, elated with their late victory, inſiſted upon his paſſing under

[b] POLYB. c. 60. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 17. EUTROP. l. i.

the yoke with his garison. But he rejected the proposal with the utmost indignation, protesting, that he would rather suffer all extremities, than submit to such an indignity, or abandon a place with disgrace, which he had so long defended with honour. While he was treating with the consul, he received full powers from his republic, to do whatever he judged to be most for her interest. Being thus appointed mediator between *Carthage* and *Rome*, he considered, that *Carthage* was too much exhausted to maintain her conquests in *Sicily*, and therefore thought it more adviseable to yield the island by a treaty of peace, than to be driven shamefully out of it, and at the same time expose *Africa* to the ravages of a victorious fleet. For this purpose therefore he sent deputies to *Lutatius*, who received them with great joy, being desirous to put an end to the war before his consulship expired, that his successors might not have the glory of finishing a work, which had cost him so much blood and labour. Both parties being thus disposed to pursue the same end, after some slight difficulties, the consul drew up the following articles, while he lay before *Eryx*, as the terms of a peace between the two republics.

Conditions of peace between Rome *and* Carthage.

There shall be peace and friendship between *Rome* and *Carthage* upon the following conditions, if the people of *Rome* approve thereof: 1. The *Carthaginians* shall evacuate all the places which they have in *Sicily*, and intirely quit the island. 2. They shall in twenty years pay the *Romans*, at equal payments every year, two thousand two hundred talents of silver, that is, 437250 *l.* sterling. 3. They shall restore the *Roman* captives and deserters without ransom, and redeem their own prisoners with money. 4. They shall not make war upon *Hiero* king of *Syracuse*, or his allies. These articles being agreed on, *Hamilcar* surrendered *Eryx*, upon condition, that all his soldiers should march out with him, upon his paying for each of them eighteen *Roman denarii*. Hostages were given on both sides, and this long war concluded with a truce [c]. The only thing now remaining was, to get these articles confirmed by the *Roman* people assembled in the comitia, they being the sole arbiters of peace and war. For this purpose both *Lutatius* and *Hamilcar* sent deputies to *Rome*. The republic, though overjoyed at the consul's success, was dissatisfied with the too easy terms he had granted the *Carthaginians*, and therefore appointed ten commissioners to treat personally with *Hamilcar*, and demand farther advantages. These, after having thoroughly informed themselves of the state of

[c] Polyb. c. 62. Zonar. l. viii. c. 17. Oros. l. iv. c. 11.

affairs,

affairs, added to the former articles two more; *viz.* That a thouſand talents ſhould be paid immediately, and the two thouſand two hundred in the ſpace of ten years at equal payments. 2. That the *Carthaginians* ſhould quit all the little iſlands about *Italy* and *Sicily*, and never more come near them with ſhips of war, or raiſe mercenaries in thoſe places. Neceſſity obliged *Hamilcar* to conſent to theſe new terms; but he returned to *Carthage* with a hatred to the *Romans*, which he did not ſuffer even to die with him, but left an inheritance to his ſon, the famous *Hannibal*. He had no ſooner given his conſent to theſe articles, than he ſet out for *Lilybæum*, and from thence ſailed to *Carthage*, not caring to be a witneſs of the ſolemn oath, which was to be the laſt ratification of the peace [d]. It may be juſtly ſaid of *Hamilcar*, that his country had never yet produced a general equal to him in valour and prudence. He always conquered as long as his republic could ſupport him, and only ſunk in the common misfortunes of his country. At laſt he returned into *Africa* to be the defender, or rather the deliverer, of *Carthage*, in the cruel war which ſhe was to maintain with her diſcontented mercenaries, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Carthage*.

THE next year the conſul *Lutatius*, and the prætor *Valerius*, who had acted as his collegue, were continued in *Sicily*, the firſt in quality of proconſul, and the ſecond in that of proprætor, while the two new conſuls, *Q. Lutatius Cerco* and *A. Manlius Atticus*, marched an army into *Hetruria* to quell a ſudden rebellion of the *Faliſci*, who had affronted a tribune of the people, named *Genucius*, and not only refuſed to give the republic ſatisfaction, but openly revolted, and even ventured to take the field againſt ſome *Roman* troops that were ſent againſt them. The two conſuls were therefore ordered to enter *Hetruria*, and bring the *Faliſci* back to their duty. The rebels did not confine themſelves to the defence of their city, but taking the field, fought two pitched battles in the ſpace of ſix days. The ſucceſs of the firſt was pretty equal; but the ſecond turned ſo much to their diſadvantage, that they were obliged to lay down their arms, and deliver up their city to the conquerors, after they had loſt fifteen thouſand men. Their capital, ſituated on an inacceſſible mountain, was razed, but they were allowed to build a new one in the plain; their arms, horſes, part of their moveables, and half their lands, were confiſcated. From *Hetruria* the conſuls returned to *Rome*, and from thence paſſed over into *Sicily*, to

The revolted Faliſci ſubdued.

[d] POLYB. c. 63. ZONAR. l. viii, c. 17.

put

The firſt Punic war ended.

put the laſt hand to the peace, which was ratified by the ſolemn ſacrifice of a ſow, and the mutual oaths of the two nations. Thus ended the firſt *Punic* war, the longeſt and moſt memorable which had ever been waged till that time. It had laſted full four and twenty years, during which time the conquerors loſt ſeven hundred ſhips, and the conquered only five hundred. But the *Romans* prevailed at length by their conſtancy; or, as *Polybius* expreſſes it, by a certain inflexibility of reſolution peculiar to themſelves.

Sicily made a Roman province.

And now the great affair at *Rome* was, to determine the fate of *Sicily*, the manner in which it ſhould be governed, and the emoluments which the republic ſhould draw from ſo fine a conqueſt. The whole iſland, except the kingdom of *Syracuſe*, was declared a *Roman* province, that is, a country to be governed by *Roman* laws, and *Roman* magiſtrates. A prætor was to be ſent annually thither to be governor and judge in civil cauſes, and a quæſtor to receive the revenues of the republic. Theſe revenues were either fixed or caſual. The fixed were called *tributes*, and conſiſted of a certain ſum of money, which the province was every year to pay into the public treaſury. The caſual were the *tenths* of the product of the lands, and the duties upon merchandize exported and imported. Certain officers, called *publicans*, generally choſen out of the body of the *Roman* knights, were appointed to levy both ſorts of taxes; and the latter ſort were farmed by the *publicans* at a certain annual rent, which they conſtantly paid the republic at all events. However, theſe fixed revenues did not hinder the *Romans* from often demanding of the provinces extraordinary ſupplies of men, ſhips, corn, &c. Thus *Sicily*, the firſt province *Rome* eſtabliſhed out of *Italy*, was deprived of its own laws, and conſequently of the beſt part of its liberty. By becoming *Roman*, it was indeed leſs free, but more happy. It had been long the ſcene of war between three nations, the *Carthaginians*, the *Mamertines*, and the *Syracuſans*, contending for the dominion of it. The *Romans*, who came after them, increaſed at firſt the calamities of that unhappy people, but afterwards ſecured their tranquillity. There were now but two ſovereigns in the whole iſland, *Hiero* and the *Romans*; and as there reigned a perfect union between them, the *Sicilians* enjoyed all the bleſſings of an uninterrupted peace.

Sicily being thus ſettled in perfect tranquillity, the two conſuls, *Lutatius Cerco* and *Manlius Atticus*, the proconſul *Lutatius Catulus*, and the proprætor *Valerius*, returned to *Rome* with their troops, to receive there the honourable reward of their labours. The proconſul and proprætor triumphed for the

naval

naval victory at the *Ægades*, and the conſuls for having vanquiſhed the *Faliſci* in *Hetruria*.

THE joy of the people of *Rome* for their late proſperity was much damped by two dreadful misfortunes, which followed cloſe upon one another. The *Tiber* on a ſudden overflowed with ſuch violence, as to overturn a great many houſes in the lower grounds; and the water continued ſtagnated ſo long in the forum, as greatly to damage the foundations of the houſes there. After this a fire broke out in the upper city, and thence ſpread as far as the forum. *Rome*, ſays *Livy* [c], loſt more wealth in one day, than ſhe had got by many victories. The temple of *Veſta* was not exempted from the common misfortune, and the moſt antient monuments of religion had been deſtroyed, had not *Cæcilius Metellus*, the preſent *pontifex maximus*, ventured his life to ſave them. He made his way through the flames, went into the ſanctuary, where the *palladium* was kept, and ſaved it from the fire, an action more celebrated in hiſtory, than the glorious victory which he gained over the *Carthaginians*, at the head of a conſular army. One of his arms was much hurt in the attempt, and, which was much worſe, he entirely loſt his ſight. This heroical action procured him a mark of diſtinction, which had never before been granted to any man; he was allowed to be drawn to the ſenate-houſe in a chariot [f]. This year the tribes were probably augmented to thirty five, by the addition of the tribes *Velina* and *Quirina*. It is certain at leaſt, that from this time the tribes were reckoned to be thirty five, which number was never afterwards increaſed. The conſular year was cloſed with a cenſus made by the cenſors, *Aurelius Cotta* and *Fabius Buteo*; and unleſs there be ſome miſtake in the cyphers, *Euſebius* reckons us up but one hundred and ſixty thouſand citizens. If his numbers are right, a prodigious multitude of citizens muſt have periſhed by the inundation and fire.

THE new conſuls, *C. Claudius Centho* and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, having no employment abroad, turned their thoughts to the ſecuring of their frontiers againſt the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, by planting colonies in their neighbourhood. In the firſt year after the *Punic* war, *Livius Andronicus*, the reformer of the *Roman* ſtage, appeared at *Rome*. He introduced connected fables after the *Greek* manner, inſtead of the buffooneries and rambling diſcourſes with which the people to that time had been entertained. He was the freed-man of *Marcus Livius Salinator*, whoſe children he had educated.

[c] LIV. in epit. l. xix. [f] PLIN. l. vii. c 43.

His

His poetry was grown obſolete in *Cicero*'s time, and, in the judgment of that orator, would not bear a ſecond reading. *Andronicus* flouriſhed about an hundred and fifty years after the death of *Euripides* and *Sophocles*, and fifty two after that of *Menander*. The following conſulſhip of *C. Mamilius Turinus* and *Q. Valerius Falto* proved an interval of peace. The *Romans* indeed had ſome thoughts of taking arms anew againſt the *Carthaginians*, who, having ſeized ſome of their merchants carrying arms and proviſions to the revolted mercenaries, had made five hundred of them priſoners, and thrown ſome of them into the ſea. But they were appeaſed by a reſpectful embaſſy from *Carthage*, and continued faithful to the treaty of peace; though the city of *Utica*, which had declared for the rebels, would have ſubmitted to *Rome*, and the mercenaries, who had ſeized *Sardinia*, invited them to take poſſeſſion of that iſland. About this time, *Ennius* the ſamous poet was born at *Rudes*, an ancient city of *Calabria* near *Tarentum*. He was the inventer of *hexameter* verſe among the *Latins*, though the *Greek* was his mother-tongue. The life of *Scipio Africanus*, which he wrote in *Coriacks*, was his maſter-piece. By this work he gained the affection of the *Cornelian* family, who ſhewed their gratitude to him even after his death, depoſiting his aſhes in the ſame tomb with thoſe of *Scipio Africanus*, and erecting a marble ſtatue to him near the ſtatue of that great commander. Beſides the life of *Scipio*, he wrote the hiſtory of *Rome* in eighteen books, recording in verſe the events, of which he himſelf had been witneſs. His poem was a hiſtory in verſe, the *Romans* in his time being too grave to have any taſte for poetical fictions [g]. The poet *Nævius*, who was his contemporary, after having made ſome campaigns in the firſt *Punic* war, wrote the hiſtory of that war in verſe, according to the taſte of thoſe times [h].

Ennius *the poet born.*

The poet Nævius.

Carthage, during the war with her revolted mercenaries, affected to pay a great deference to *Rome*, and even reſtored all the *Italian* merchants, who had been taken in carrying arms and proviſions to the rebels. The *Romans* were ſo well pleaſed with this inſtance of reſpect, that they ſent back to *Carthage* without ranſom all the *Carthaginian* priſoners, who were ſtill detained at *Rome*, prohibited their merchants all intercourſe and traffic with the rebels, and allowed them to ſupply the *Carthaginians* with arms, proviſions, and whate-

[g] Vide Voss. de ſcript. Latin. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 15.
[h] Aul. Gell. l. iii. D. Hieron. in chron. Euſebii.

ver

ver they wanted [t]. But notwithſtanding the ſincere friendſhip, which ſeemed to ſubſiſt at this time between the two rival republics, *Hamilcar* had no ſooner by his valour and conduct put an end to the rebellion at home, than he turned all his thoughts to the humbling of a republic, whoſe intereſts were ſo oppoſite to thoſe of his own. With this view, as *Carthage* was not then in a condition to renew the war with *Rome*, he formed two ſchemes, both worthy of a great genius, which, if wiſely purſued, might at length have cruſhed the imperious republic, or at leaſt bring her upon a level with *Carthage*. The firſt was to extend the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Spain*, that his republic might, by this means, be able to raiſe within her own dominions a ſufficient number of forces to make head againſt thoſe multitudes of ſoldiers, with which *Italy* furniſhed the *Romans*. The ſecond was to form young *Hannibal* his ſon ſo, that he ſhould inherit his valour, his experience, and his hatred to the *Romans*, and ſteadily purſue his deſigns. He had no ſooner appeaſed the inteſtine troubles, than he applied himſelf wholly to the purſuit of theſe two projects. But before he paſſed the ſtreights, known then by the name of *the Pillars of* Hercules, in order to make war in *Spain*, he took an opportunity to inſpire his ſon, though but nine years old, with his own ſentiments. Before he imbarqued, he ordered a ſolemn ſacrifice to be offered to *Jupiter*; and when all things were ready, and the victim juſt going to be ſlain, he took his ſon by the hand, and, leading him to the altar, aſked him whether he was willing to attend him in his *Spaniſh* expedition? The courageous boy not only conſented to go, but conjured his father by the gods preſent, to form him to victory, and teach him the art of conquering. That I will joyfully do, replied *Hamilcar*, and with all the care of a father who loves you, if you will ſwear upon the altars, to be an eternal enemy to the *Romans*. *Hannibal* readily complied with the motion; and the ſolemnity of the ceremony, and the ſacredneſs of the oath, made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, as nothing afterwards could ever efface. He then firſt imbibed that hatred for *Rome*, which ended only with his life. *Hamilcar* by this proceeding plainly declared, that he paſſed into *Spain* with no other view, than that of falling afterwards on the *Romans*. But we muſt leave him making conqueſts there, and return to the affairs of *Rome*.

Hannibal *takes an oath to be an eternal enemy to the* Romans.

THE *Italic Gauls*, called *Boii*, who had been ſubdued by the *Romans* before the firſt *Punic* war, threw off the yoke,

[t] ZONAR. l. viii. c. 17. POLYB. l. i. c. 83.

and joined the *Faliſci* in *Hetruria.* On the other hand the *Ligurians* were in motion, and ſeemed to threaten the republic with an approaching war. The preſent conſuls therefore, *C. Mamilius Turinus* and *Q. Valerius Falto*, divided their forces. The latter, who marched againſt the *Gauls*, was defeated by them with the loſs of three thouſand five hundred men. Upon the news of this defeat, *M. Genucius Cipus*, one of the prætors, was immediately diſpatched from *Rome* with a reinforcement for the conſul. But *Valerius*, looking upon this as a perſonal affront, reſolved to conquer the enemy before the ſuccours arrived, or periſh in the attempt. Accordingly, he fell upon the *Gauls* with ſuch fury, that he killed fourteen thouſand of them, and took two thouſand priſoners (H). However, this victory did not procure him a triumph, becauſe he had by his raſhneſs expoſed the *Roman* army to the danger of a ſecond defeat. As for *Sempronius*, the other conſul, he gained a battle, though not a deciſive one, againſt the *Ligurians*; but had not time to purſue his victory, being by the republic ordered into *Sardinia.* This iſland had been formerly ſubdued by the *Romans*, as we have related above, but ſoon

The Boii *defeated.*

(H) It is pretended, that *M. Genucius Cipus*, then one of the prætors, who was charged to lead theſe reinforcements to the conſul, was ſcarce got out of the city, when two horns grew out of his forehead. Being alarmed at this prodigy, he conſulted a diviner of *Hetruria*, in order to learn what misfortunes it foreboded to him. The *Hetrurian* told him, that he ſhould one day be inveſted with royal authority; which made *Cipus* dread his fate, as the *Romans* were bred up with an utter averſion to monarchy, and do all that lay in his power to prevent the accompliſhment of the prediction. From that moment he reſolved never to enter *Rome*, intreated the ſenate to aſſemble without the walls, and there preſſed the conſcript fathers to paſs a decree of perpetual baniſhment againſt him. The ſenate admired his diſintereſted affection for his country, and granted him his requeſt; but at the ſame time, to reward his virtue, allowed him as much ground as he could incloſe in a circle in one day, with a plough drawn by two oxen, and guided by himſelf; and beſides erected a ſtatue of braſs, repreſenting *Cipus*'s head with the two horns, and placed it over the gate of the city, at which he went out. From this monument the gate was called *the brazen gate.* This prodigy is related by *Feſtus*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Ovid*; but they all look upon it as a fable, though the ſtatue of *Cipus* was ſtill to be ſeen in their time over *the brazen gate* (25).

(25) *Val. Max. l.* v. *c.* 6. *Ovid. Metam. l.* xv.

after

after returned, we know not how, under the dominion of its ancient maſters. The revolted mercenaries had ſeized it, and offered to put the *Romans* in poſſeſſion of it, in order to engage them to take their part. But *Rome* made it then a point of honour not to ſide with rebels. However, this ſcrupulous fit of honour was ſhort-lived. As this iſland was of great importance, and had never been yielded to the *Carthaginians* by any treaty, the ſenate thought they might juſtly claim it by right of conqueſt. They therefore ſent, on trifling pretences, *Sempronius* with a fleet to take poſſeſſion of it. The conſul on his arrival acquainted the *Carthaginian* commander, that if his republic did not immediately withdraw her troops from *Sardinia*, and relinquiſh all pretenſions to that iſland for ever, he would, in the name of the ſenate and people of *Rome*, declare war with *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians*, who had juſt put an end to the war with the mercenaries, were ſo terrified at this expreſs declaration, made by a conſul at the head of an army, that they readily ſubmitted, and gave up all claims to *Sardinia* for ever. But this was not enough for the conſul; he obliged them to defray the charges of his armament, and the further ſum of twelve hundred talents. An extortion, which contributed moſt of all to confirm *Hamilcar* in his hatred to the *Romans*, and to render *Hannibal* inexorable in the wars, which we ſhall ſoon ſee him carry on with great cruelty in *Italy* †.

The Romans *recover* Sardinia.

THE new conſuls, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, purſued the war with the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, in which they were attended with good ſucceſs, ſo long as the two conſular armies incamped together. But the love of glory and booty having made the conſular armies ſeparate, *Fulvius*, who had entered the country of the *Gauls* bordering on the *Po*, was obliged to continue in his intrenchments, and there paſs a melancholy and ſhameful campaign, under continual apprehenſions of a ſurpriſe. *Cornelius* had better ſucceſs againſt the *Ligurians* neareſt to *Hetruria*; for in one action he killed twenty four thouſand of the enemy, and took five thouſand priſoners. For this victory he was honoured on his return with a triumph [k].

The Ligurians *defeated.*

THE new conſuls, *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *C. Licinius Varus*, were obliged to take the field to oppoſe the *Gauls*, whoſe chiefs, depending on the vaſt multitudes of men they had aſſembled, and the expectation of a ſtrong reinforcement

† POLYB. l. i. c. 88. CORNEL. NEP. in Hannib. [k] Tab. triumph.

of their countrymen from the other ſide the *Alps*, demanded the reſtitution of *Ariminum* from the *Romans*. The conſuls, not having their troops complete, referred the affair to the ſenate, and, in the mean while, propoſed a truce to the *Gauls*, who readily conſented to the propoſal, upon the news they received that a numerous army of *Tranſalpine Gauls*, under the conduct of *Atys* and *Galatius*, two generals, or rather kings, were in full march to join them. This army was ſo numerous, that it gave no ſmall jealouſy to the *Italian Gauls*, who thereupon turned their arms againſt thoſe who were come to aſſiſt them, killed their two leaders, and put the whole body to flight. The enemy having thus defeated themſelves, *Lentulus* with one conſular army brought both the *Boii* and *Ligurians* to reaſon, depriving the former of a part of their territory, and taking ſeveral ſtrong-holds from the latter. In the mean time, *Varus* was preparing to paſs over into the iſland of *Corſica*, which, by the ſecret intrigues of the *Carthaginians*, had been induced to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. The conſul, not finding a fleet ready to tranſport his whole army, was forced to ſend a ſquadron before him under the command of that *Claudius Glycias*, who had been formerly named dictator in deriſion. He had ſince that time been honoured with ſeveral military employments, and always diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the troops. When he ſaw himſelf at the head of part of the conſular army, ſwelled with ambition, he thought it would be much to his honour to gain this iſland to the republic without bloodſhed; and therefore without the conſent either of the conſul or ſenate, he made a ſhameful peace with the *Corſicans*. But the conſul on his arrival diſannulled the treaty, renewed the war, and ſubdued the iſland by force of arms. As for *Claudius*, he was delivered up to the *Corſicans*, whom he drew, ſaid they, into a bloody war by a fallacious peace. In which ſentence the ſenate had likewiſe the further view of preventing the reproach, which might have been caſt upon the conſul for having made war upon a people, who depended on the faithful execution of a treaty. The *Corſicans* had more honour than to treat him with ſeverity. They ſent him back to *Rome*, where he was put to death in priſon; and then his body being carried to the top of the ſteps, called *Scalæ Gemoniæ* (I), was dragged by an

Corſica *ſubdued.*

(I) The *Gemoniæ* was a place appointed either for torturing criminals, or for receiving their dead bodies after their execution.

Some

an iron hook from thence to the *Tiber*, into which it was thrown [1].

HOWEVER, this execution of *Claudius* did not appeaſe the *Corſicans*, who had been amuſed by a treaty of peace, that *Rome* might have the better opportunity of ſubduing them by a war. They communicated their diſcontents to the *Sardinians*, who, being ſtirred up under-hand by the *Carthaginians*, attempted to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. The republic had too much penetration not to ſee from whence the blow came, and was leſs concerned at the loſs of the two iſlands, than at the renewal of a war with a powerful republic; but the ſenators were all of opinion, that if it was really neceſſary to come to an open rupture with *Carthage*, war could not be declared too ſoon. Preparations were accordingly made, at *Rome* and all over *Italy*, for beginning it with vigour. *Carthage*, alarmed at this news, ſent embaſſadors after embaſſadors to negotiate an accommodation; but the *Romans* anſwered them only with reproaches and bitter words. At length ſhe diſpatched ten of her principal men for the ſame end, among whom was one *Hanno*, a young lord of great ſpirit and vivacity, who, inraged at the haughty anſwers of the proud republic, cried out with an air of equal pride, If you are reſolved to break the treaty, reinſtate us in the condition we were in before it was concluded; reſtore us the cities we poſſeſſed in *Sicily*. Theſe were the price we paid for the peace, which, it was agreed, ſhould be perpetual; otherwiſe you have made us pay very dear for this ſhort truce. Equity ought to prevail over avarice. Would not that trader be thought unjuſt, who, after he had gone from his bargain, ſhould keep both the money and the merchandize? This diſcourſe filled the ſenators with confuſion, who, being either really juſt, or affecting to appear ſo, diſmiſſed the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of peace *.

The Carthaginians *ſecretly excite the* Sardinians *to revolt.*

But part. the Romans *by a embaſſy.*

[1] VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 3. * DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt.

Some derive the name of *Gemoniæ* from one *Gemonius*, who was the firſt executed there; others from the *Latin* word *gemere*, *to groan*, becauſe the place rung with groans and complaints of thoſe who were put to death. It was on the hill *Aventinus*, and there were ſeveral ſteps which led up to it; whence it had the name of *Scalæ Gemoniæ*. The dead bodies of thoſe who died by the hand of the executioner were dragged thither with an iron hook, and, after they had been ſome time expoſed to public view, thrown into the *Tiber* (26).

(26) *Vide Plin. l. viii. c. 40.*

THE

The new conſuls, *C. Attilius Bulbus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus* drew lots for their provinces. The former continued in *Italy*, while the latter, by a few ſlight engagements, recovered *Sardinia*, and made it tributary; but without reducing it to the form of a *Roman* province. And now, peace reigning every-where, the temple of *Janus* was ſhut for the firſt time ſince the reign of *Numa Pompilius*. But this tranquillity laſted only a few months. The conſuls for the following year, *L. Poſthumius Albinus* and *Sp. Carvilius*, were obliged to raiſe new forces to act againſt the *Sardinians*, *Corſicans*, and *Ligurians*, who had engaged, by mutual treaties, to aſſiſt each other. The conſul *Carvilius* was employed againſt the *Carſicans*, whom he ſoon reduced. The prætor *Cornelius* made war with the *Sardinians*; but the bad air and water of *Sardinia* cauſed a plague in his army, and he himſelf was carried off by the contagion; which accident would have ruined the affairs of the republic there, had not *Carvilius* tranſported his legions thither from *Corſica*. Upon his arrival, the rebels ventured to face him in the open field; but the conſul had all the advantage over them, which diſciplined troops always have over confuſed multitudes. The *Sardinians* were defeated; and, by one ſingle victory, the whole iſland was brought under ſubjection. As for the conſul *Poſthumius*, whoſe province it was to make head againſt the *Ligurians*, hiſtorians tell us, that he had all the ſucceſs he could have wiſhed for [m].

The temple of Janus *ſhut.*

A new oath concerning marriages.

In this conſulſhip, the cenſors, obſerving the number of citizens to be conſiderably leſſened, and imputing it to mens marrying only with a view to intereſt, and afterwards deſerting their wives, and carrying on unlawful intrigues with other women, obliged all the citizens to ſwear, that they would not marry with any other view, but that of increaſing the ſubjects of the republic. This oath raiſed many ſcruples, and cauſed many ruptures between huſbands and wives. Among the reſt one *Carvilius Ruga*, a man of diſtinction, thought himſelf bound by his oath to divorce his wife, whom he paſſionately loved, becauſe ſhe was barren. Accordingly he put her away and married another. This is the firſt inſtance of a divorce ſince the foundation of *Rome*, tho' divorces were allowed by the laws of marriage ſettled by the firſt kings. Afterwards they became ſcandalouſly frequent, as a corruption of manners prevailed in the republic. And now mariage-contracts were introduced, to ſecure womens portions in caſe

The firſt divorce.

[m] Liv. in epit. Oros. l. iv. c. 12.

of

of divorces. This ſame year a veſtal named *Tatia*, was condemned to be buried alive for an intrigue with a ſlave; but ſhe prevented the execution of the ſentence, by laying violent hands on herſelf [n]. In the preſent conſulſhip, the poet *Nævius* introduced the firſt regular comedy after the *Greek* manner on the *Latin* ſtage.

IN the following conſulate of *M. Pomponius Matho* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, ſurnamed *Verrucoſus*, from a *wart* or *wen* upon his lip, the *Sardinians* and *Ligurians* roſe up in arms anew. It fell to *Fabius*'s lot to make war with the latter; and he drove them out of the plain country, and obliged them to take ſhelter among the *Alps*. This is that *Fabius*, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee reſtoring, at the head of the *Roman* army, the affairs of his diſtreſſed country by his wiſe delays. He had the ſurname of *Maximus* from his great-grandfather *Fabius Rullus*, of whom we have made frequent mention above. In his infancy he was called *Ovicula*, or *The little ſheep*, on account of his natural ſweetneſs of temper and docility. He was even in his earlieſt years remarkable for that conduct and behaviour, free from all precipitation and raſhneſs, which afterwards rendered him ſo ſerviceable to his country. As for his collegue *Pomponius*, he ſailed for *Sardinia*, where he found, that the frequent revolts of that iſland were owing to the intrigues of the *Carthaginians*, whoſe ſhips were continually paſſing from *Carthage* to *Sardinia* and the other iſlands, and inſpiring the people where-ever they came with an hatred to the *Roman* name. In order therefore to ſound their ſentiments, the ſenate ſent an embaſſy to *Carthage*, under pretence of demanding the ſums which they had ſtipulated to pay the *Roman* republic. The deputies were ordered to add threatenings of renewing the war, in caſe the *Carthaginian* ſhips preſumed to touch at any port belonging to the *Roman* ſtate. But the *Carthaginians*, fluſhed with the ſucceſs of *Hamilcar* in *Spain*, being no-ways moved by theſe menaces, the deputies, purſuant to their inſtructions, preſented them a *caduceus, the ſymbol of peace*, and *a little javelin, the emblem of war*, ſaying, *Take your choice*. The *Carthaginian* dictator anſwered, That he was ready to take whichſoever they ſhould think fit to leave him. However, this haughty anſwer did not abſolutely deſtroy the treaties between *Rome* and *Carthage*, but raiſed ſuch mutual diſtruſts, as we ſhall ſoon ſee break out into a flame. As for *Pomponius*, he gained ſome advantages over the *Sardinians*, for which a triumph was granted him [o].

[n] LIV. ibid. [o] Tab. triumph. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 19.

THE

A new tribunal inſtituted.

The *Romans* at this time inſtituted a new tribunal of juſtice, at the motion of two tribunes of the people, both *Ebutii*. As the two prætors, who were often obliged to take the field, could not diſpatch all civil affairs, which multiplied in proportion to the encreaſe of the republic, it was enacted, that three able and judicious men ſhould be choſen out of each tribe, and form a new tribunal, ſubordinate to the prætor. Theſe new judges were called, for brevity's ſake, *centumviri*, though they were a hundred and five in number, and were divided into four courts or chambers. The cauſes, which fell under their cognizance, were ſuch as related to proſcriptions, guardianſhips, laſt-wills, inheritances, &c. This tribunal ſubſiſted ever after in *Rome*, and the judges, though in after-ages increaſed to the number of a hundred and eighty, ſtill continued to be called *centumviri* [p].

In the following conſulſhip of *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *M. Publicius Malleolus*, *Flaminius*, tribune of the people, made a motion to the people, to paſs a law for diſtributing a fruitful country, lately taken from the *Gauls*, among the poor citizens. The patricians, who had always oppoſed motions of this kind, united their ſtrength and intereſt to hinder the paſſing of this law; but neither the threats of the conſuls, nor the intreaties of the ſenate, nor the tears of old *Flaminius*, whom the patricians had gained over to their party, could prevail on the tribune to deſiſt from purſuing his point. On the day appointed for propoſing the law to the people, he mounted the roſtra, and began to harangue the multitude with great warmth; but while he was yet ſpeaking, his father appeared, aſcended the roſtra, and, taking the hot-headed tribune by the arm, ordered him to follow him home. *Flaminius*, without pleading either his dignity, or the actual exerciſe of his office, obeyed his father, and left the affair he was ſo bent upon, when it was almoſt finiſhed; and, what is moſt extraordinary, not a murmur was heard in the whole aſſembly, which immediately diſperſed. Afterwards indeed the affair took another turn; for the tribune *Carvilius* revived it, and ſucceeded: but the diſtribution of lands among the *Romans*, which had long belonged to the *Gauls*, ſo provoked that nation, that they took up arms, and began a war, which endangered *Rome* itſelf, as we ſhall ſee anon [q].

[p] Aul. Gell. l. xvi. c. 10. Pomp. de orig. juris. Plin. jun. l. v. epiſt. Cic l. i. de orat. [q] Val. Max. l. v. c. 4.

In

In the following year, the new conſuls, *M. Pomponius Matho* and *C. Papirius Maſo*, finiſhed the conqueſt of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, which two iſlands they reduced to the form of a *Roman* province, upon the ſame foot as *Sicily*. *Pomponius* continued in the new province, which conſiſted of both the iſlands, all the next year, and governed it in quality of prætor. *Papirius*, who had ſubdued *Corſica*, returned to *Rome*, where he found, that a dictator had been created to hold the comitia for electing new conſuls. He demanded a triumph: but not having intereſt enough to obtain it, he took a method intirely new to do himſelf juſtice. He put himſelf at the head of his victorious army, and marched to the temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, on the hill of *Alba*, with all the pomp that attended triumphant victors at *Rome*. He made no other alteration in the ceremony, but that of wearing a crown of myrtle inſtead of a crown of laurel, and this on account of his having defeated the *Corſicans*, in a place where there was a grove of myrtles. The example of *Papirius* was afterwards followed by a great many generals, to whom the ſenate refuſed triumphs.

Corſica and Sardinia, made a Roman province.

Triumphal proceſſions on the hill of Alba.

THE next year, when *M. Æmilius Barbula* and *M. Junius Pera* were conſuls, a new war ſprung up in a kingdom out of *Italy*. *Illyricum*, properly ſo called, which bordered upon *Macedon* and *Epirus*, was at this time governed by a woman, named *Teuta*, the widow of king *Agron*, and guardian to her ſon *Pinæus*, who was under age. The ſucceſs of her late huſband againſt the *Ætolians* had fluſhed her to ſuch a degree, that, inſtead of ſettling the affairs of her ward in peace, ſhe commanded her ſubjects to cruiſe along the coaſt, ſeize all the ſhips they met, take what places they could, and ſpare no nation. Her pirates had, purſuant to her orders, taken and plundered many ſhips belonging to the *Roman* merchants; and her troops were then beſieging the iſland of *Iſſa* in the *Adriatic*, though the inhabitants had put themſelves under the protection of the republic. Upon the complaints therefore of the *Italian* merchants, and to protect the people of *Iſſa*, the ſenate ſent two embaſſadors to the *Illyrian* queen, *Lucius* and *Caius Coruncanius*, to demand of her, that ſhe would reſtrain her ſubjects from infeſting the ſeas with piracies. She anſwered them haughtily, That ſhe could only promiſe, that her ſubjects ſhould not for the future attack the *Romans*, in her name, and by public authority; but as for any thing more, it is not cuſtomary with us, ſaid ſhe, to lay reſtraints on our ſubjects, nor will we forbid them to reap thoſe advantages from the ſea, which it offers them. Your cuſtoms then, replied the youngeſt of the embaſſadors, are ve-

The occaſion of the war with the Illyrians.

ry different from ours. At *Rome* we make public examples of thoſe ſubjects who injure others, whether at home or abroad. *Teuta*, we can, by our arms, force you to reform the abuſes of your bad government. Theſe unſeaſonable threatenings provoked *Teuta*, who was naturally a proud and imperious woman, to ſuch a degree, that, without regard to the right of nations, ſhe cauſed the embaſſadors to be murdered on their return home. When ſo notorious an infraction of the law of nations was known at *Rome*, the people demanded vengeance; and the ſenate, having firſt honoured the manes of the embaſſadors, by erecting, as was uſual in ſuch caſes, ſtatues three foot high to their memory, ordered a fleet to be equipped, and troops raiſed, with all poſſible expedition. But now *Teuta*, reflecting on the enormity of her proceedings, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, aſſuring the ſenate, that ſhe had no hand in the murder of the embaſſadors, and offering to deliver up to the republic thoſe who had committed that barbarous aſſaſſination. The *Romans*, being at that time threatened with a war from the *Gauls*, were ready to accept this ſatisfaction; but, in the mean time, the *Illyrian* fleet having gained ſome advantage over that of the *Achæans*, and taken the iſland of *Corcyra* near *Epirus*, this ſucceſs made *Teuta* believe herſelf invincible, and forget the promiſe ſhe had made to the *Romans*; nay, ſhe ſent her fleet to ſeize on the iſland of *Iſſa*, which the *Romans* had taken under their protection. Hereupon the conſuls for the new year, *P. Poſthumius Albinus* and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, embarqued for *Illyricum*, *Fulvius* having the command of the fleet, which conſiſted of a hundred gallies, and *Poſthumius* of the land forces, which amounted to twenty thouſand foot, beſides a ſmall body of horſe. *Fulvius* appeared with his fleet before *Corcyra* in the *Adriatic*, and was put in poſſeſſion both of the iſland and city by *Demetrius* of *Pharos*, governor of the place for queen *Teuta*. Nor was this all; *Demetrius* found means to make the inhabitants of *Apollonia* drive out the *Illyrian* gariſon, and admit into their city the *Roman* troops. As *Apollonia* was one of the keys of *Illyricum*, on the ſide of *Macedon*, the conſuls, who had acted hitherto jointly, no ſooner ſaw themſelves in poſſeſſion of it, than they ſeparated, the fleet cruiſing along the coaſt, and the army penetrating into the heart of the queen's dominions. The *Andyæans*, *Parthini*, and *Atintanes* voluntarily ſubmitted to *Poſthumius*, being introduced, by the perſuaſions of *Demetrius*, to ſhake off the *Illyrian* yoke. The conſul, being now in poſſeſſion of moſt of the inland towns, returned to the coaſt, where, with the aſſiſtance of the fleet, he took many ſtrong-holds, among which was *Nutria*, a place of great ſtrength, and defended by

a numerous garison; so that it made a vigorous defence, the *Romans* having lost before it a great many private men, several legionary tribunes, and one quæstor. However, this loss was repaired by the taking of forty *Illyrian* vessels, which were returning home laden with booty. At length the *Roman* fleet appeared before *Issa*, which, by *Teuta*'s orders, was still closely besieged, notwithstanding the losses she had sustained. However, upon the approach of the *Roman* fleet, the *Illyrians* dispersed; but the *Pharians*, who served among them, followed the example of their countryman *Demetrius*, and joined the *Romans*, to whom the *Issani* readily submitted [r].

In the mean time, *Sp. Corvilius* and *Q. Fabius Maximus* being raised to the consulate a second time, *Posthumius* was recalled from *Illyricum*, and refused a triumph, for having been too prodigal of the *Roman* blood at the siege of *Nutria*. His collegue *Fulvius* was appointed to command the land forces in his room, in quality of proconsul. Hereupon *Teuta*, who had founded great hopes on the change of the consuls, retired to one of her strong-holds, called *Rhizon*, and from thence early in the spring sent an embassy to *Rome*. The senate refused to treat with her; but granted the young king a peace upon the following conditions: 1. That he should pay an annual tribute to the republic. 2. That he should surrender part of his dominions to the *Romans*. 3. That he should never suffer above three of his ships of war at a time to sail beyond *Lyssus*, a town on the confines of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*. The places he yielded to the *Romans* in virtue of this treaty, were the islands of *Corcyra*, *Issa*, and *Pharos*, the city of *Dyrrachium*, and the country of the *Atintanes*. Soon after *Teuta*, either out of shame, or compelled by a secret article of the treaty, abdicated the regency, and *Demetrius* succeeded her. The proconsul *Fulvius*, having thus put an end to the *Illyrian* war, dispatched embassadors to the *Ætolians* and *Achæans*, acquainting them with the true motives of their coming into *Illyricum*, of the success of their arms, and the articles of the treaty, which were publicly read in the dyets of these two states. The embassadors were received with great respect by the *Greeks*, who were overjoyed to see themselves delivered from the piracies of the *Illyrians*. At the same time the senate sent embassadors to *Athens* and *Corinth*, to acquaint those republics with the advantages they had gained over the *Illyrians*, and the tranquillity they had procured for all the maritime cities, by reducing those pirates.

The conditions of peace between the Romans *and* Illyrians.

[r] POLYB. l. ii. c. 11. DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. ZONAR. l. viii c. 12.

The *Athenians* ſhewed their gratitude, by admitting the *Romans* to partake of the myſteries of *Eleuſis*, of which we have ſpoken in the hiſtory of *Greece*; and the *Corinthians* ever after permitted the *Romans* to be preſent at the *Iſthmian* games. Thus the *Romans* became firſt known to the people of *Greece* [r]. The proconſul, on his return to *Rome*, was decreed a triumph, which he enjoyed on the tenth of the calends of the month *Quintilis* [s].

A new treaty with the Carthaginians.

BEFORE this foreign war was ended, the *Gauls* began to be in motion in *Italy*, and at the ſame time the republic was greatly alarmed at the incredible progreſs the *Carthaginians* made in *Spain*. The ſenate therefore thought it neceſſary, by ſome means or other, to put a ſtop to their increaſe of dominion. To this end they ſent a deputation to *Carthage*, and at the ſame time to *Aſdrubal*, who had ſucceeded *Hamilcar* in the command of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. *Carthage*, unwilling to give her rival umbrage, agreed to the two following articles: 1. That ſhe ſhould not extend her conqueſts beyond the river *Iberus*; and, 2. that *Saguntum*, a city between the *Iberus* and that part of *Spain* which belonged to the *Carthaginians*, ſhould remain free [t].

THE new conſuls, *P. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Attilius Regulus*, continued in a manner inactive all their year, though the *Gauls* were raiſing troops, and making extraordinary preparations for war. *Rome* ſeemed to be afraid to enter the liſts with ſo warlike a nation. At this time a prophecy, pretended to be found in the *Sibylline* books, was ſpread about *Rome*, viz. *that the* Gauls *and* Greeks *ſhould one day make themſelves maſters of it.* The new conſuls therefore, *M. Valerius Meſſala* and *L. Apuſtius Fullo*, having conſulted the pontifices, to appeaſe the ſuperſtitious populace, cauſed an edict to be publiſhed by the decemviri, who had the care of the *Sibylline* books, commanding two *Greeks*, a man and a woman, and two *Gauls* likewiſe, a man and a woman, to be buried alive in the ox-market. By this they perſuaded the credulous multitude, that the prophecy was fulfilled, and that the *Gauls* and *Greeks* had taken poſſeſſion of *Rome* [w]. The difficulties, which ſuperſtition had raiſed, being ſurmounted by this cruel piece of policy, *Rome* made it her whole buſineſs to raiſe diviſions among the *Gauls*, and found means to gain over to her party the *Cænomani* and *Veneti*, two conſiderable nations among them; but this loſs the *Gauls* repaired with the new levies they made beyond the *Alps*, where,

Two Gauls *and two* Greeks *buried alive at* Rome.

[r] POLYB. l. ii. c. 13. [s] Tab. triumph. [t] POLYB. ibid. APPIAN. in Hiſp. [w] LIV epit. l. xx OROS. l. iv. c. 13.

by

by their embaſſadors, they engaged the *Gæſatæ* to join them. The *Gæſatæ*, according to *Polybius*, were a very warlike people, and ready to fight for any nation that would pay them; whence they had the name of *Gæſatæ*, that is, *hirelings*. Others derive this name from a ſort of *weapon*, which they uſed, and in their language called *Gæſum*. The conſuls, *Valerius* and *Apuſtius*, ſpent the greater part of the year in raiſing troops for their ſucceſſors; and indeed *Rome* had never before had ſo numerous an army on foot. All the nations of *Italy*, ſubject to the republic, were exhauſted, and none excuſed from ſending their quotas. We are told by a credible hiſtorian [z], that the number of forces *Rome* raiſed on this occaſion amounted in all to eight hundred thouſand men. Of this incredible multitude two hundred forty eight thouſand foot, and twenty ſix thouſand ſix hundred horſe, were *Romans* or *Campanians*. Nevertheleſs the *Gauls*, with only fifty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe, began hoſtilities, forced themſelves a paſſage through *Hetruria*, and took their rout towards *Rome*.

A prodigious army raiſed againſt the Gauls.

IN the mean time, the republic raiſed *L. Æmilius Papus* and *C. Attilius Regulus* to the conſulſhip. The latter was ſent into *Sardinia*, to quiet ſome commotions there, while his collegue took upon him the conduct of the war with the *Gauls*, who were now joined by the *Gæſatæ* from the other ſide the *Alps*, to the number of above two hundred thouſand men, commanded by two kings, *Concolitanus* and *Anæroeſtus*. The conſul *Æmilius*, not knowing what rout the *Gæſatæ* would take, encamped near *Ariminum*, in order to prevent them from entering the *Roman* lands by the coaſts of the *Adriatic* ſea. At the ſame time a prætor, whoſe name is not mentioned in hiſtory, was ſent into *Hetruria* with a body of fifty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. In the mean time the *Gæſatæ*, having left the coaſt of the *Adriatic* to avoid *Æmilius*'s army, croſſed *Inſubria*, and joined the troops of their nation in *Hetruria*, whence this terrible army marched ſtrait to *Rome*. They found means to bring the prætor to a battle, in which they killed ſix thouſand of his men, and obliged the reſt to fly in confuſion to a neighbouring hill, where they entrenched themſelves; but were the next day inveſted by the *Gauls*, who attacked their entrenchments with a fury not to be expreſſed. The *Romans* in this diſtreſs defended themſelves with great reſolution, hoping that fortune, which had eſpouſed their cauſe, would, by ſome means or other, reſcue them out of the hands of ſo cruel an enemy;

[z] POLYB. l. ii. c 22.

and

and accordingly an unexpected accident delivered them from death or ſlavery. The conſul *Æmilius* being informed, that the *Gauls* were in full march to *Rome*, had left his camp at *Ariminum*, in order to cover the city. As he drew near *Fæſulæ*, he received an account of the advantage the *Gauls* had gained over the prætor's army, and of the deplorable ſituation to which he was reduced. Upon this advice he did not deliberate a moment, but immediately ordered the legions to advance in good order to the enemy's camp, while he himſelf led the cavalry to the foot of the hill, which the *Gauliſh* cavalry kept cloſely inveſted. The *Gauls* were ſo alarmed at the unexpected arrival of the conſular army, that they decamped in great confuſion, in order to return home through *Inſubria*, and ſecure the booty and wealth which they had amaſſed. In their march they kept along the ſhore of the *Hetrurian* ſea; and *Æmilius*, ſtrengthening his army with the remains of the prætor's troops, followed them cloſe, with a deſign rather to haraſs than engage them; but it luckily happened, that *Attilius* having put a ſpeedy end to the troubles of *Sardinia*, had, on his return home, landed his army at *Piſa*, and was now marching along the ſhore towards *Rome*, not expecting to find an enemy in his way. He was overjoyed when he learned by his ſcouts the ſituation of affairs; and, in order to intercept the *Gauls*, he drew up his troops near *Telamon*, a little port in *Hetruria*, making as wide a front as he could. With his cavalry he poſted himſelf on an eminence, over which the enemy muſt neceſſarily paſs. The *Gauls* imagining, that this body of *Roman* horſe was a detachment from *Æmilius*'s army, ſent ſome ſquadrons of their horſe to attack it. As for *Æmilius*, he knew not that his collegue was ſo near; he had only learned, that he had left *Sardinia*, and was arrived at *Piſa*; but as ſoon as he perceived at a diſtance the two parties engaged, he immediately concluded that *Attilius* was attacking the enemy in front, and detached ſome ſquadrons to his relief. Then the attack was renewed with more vigour than ever. The conſul *Attilius*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner, was killed, and his head, ſtuck on the top of a lance, was carried through all the files of the enemy's army; but the death of this brave man proved no advantage to them. One of his lieutenants took his place, and the battle was continued with the ſame ardor and reſolution. While the *Gauliſh* cavalry was engaged with that of the *Romans* on the top of the hill, their infantry had time to draw up in the plain. As they were to oppoſe two conſular armies, one of which was to attack them in front, and the other in the rear, they diſpoſed

The conſul Attilius *killed by the* Gauls.

poſed their troops ſo, that one part of them faced the conſul *Æmilius*, and the other the army which *Attilius* had commanded. In the firſt line, over-againſt *Æmilius*, were placed the *Gæſatæ*, who were lately come into *Italy*, and behind them the *Inſubres*. At the head of the other body were the *Taurini*, and behind them the ſeveral nations of the *Gauls*, who dwelt on both ſides the *Po*. This ſecond army, if we may ſo call it, faced the legions, which *Attilius* had brought from *Sardinia*, and turned their backs to the other. By this diſpoſition the *Gauls* ſupported each other, and could neither fly nor retreat. Before the action, the *Gæſatæ*, obſerving that the plain, on which they were going to engage, was covered with brambles and buſhes, and fearing they might, by entangling their clothes, prevent them from uſing their arms with freedom, ſtripped themſelves naked, and in that manner advanced againſt the *Romans*, who were greatly ſurpriſed at that ſight. The attack began with great ſhouts, while the air at the ſame time rung with an infinite number of horns and trumpets, which were much uſed by the *Gauls*. The *Romans*, who engaged the *Gæſatæ*, kept at a diſtance from them, and made a dreadful ſlaughter with the ſhowers of darts they diſcharged upon them. Naked as they were, they kept their ground, till the greater part of thoſe, who fought in the firſt file, were either killed or wounded. Then the reſt began to retire, which occaſioned ſome confuſion, and encouraged the legionaries to advance, and attack them ſword in hand. The *Gauls* behaved with great reſolution; and tho' their arms were far inferior to thoſe of the *Romans*, yet they ſtood the ſhock, till the *Roman* cavalry, which had been engaged on the hill, came down full ſpeed, and attacked them in flank. Then the defeat of the *Gauls* was general; forty thouſand of them were killed on the ſpot, and above ten thouſand taken priſoners, with *Concolitanus*, one of their kings. *Aneroeſtus*, the other king, and the moſt experienced commander among the *Gauls*, eſcaped to a neighbouring village, where he laid violent hands on himſelf, as did moſt of the officers who attended him [y]. *The* Gauls *receive a great overthrow.*

AFTER this victory, *Æmilius*, now ſole commander of the two armies, marched along the borders of *Hetruria*, and, entering the territories of the *Boii*, gave up that fruitful country to be plundered by his ſoldiers. When they were loaded with booty, he began his march to *Rome*. As he paſſed through *Hetruria*, he reſtored to the owners all the booty

[y] POLYB. l. xi. c. 29—32. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxv. FLOR. l. i. ZONAR l. viii. c. 20.

the

the *Gauls* had taken from them. He entered *Rome* in triumph on the third of the nones of *March*; and as his victory was one of the moſt important the republic had ever gained, his triumphal proceſſion was one of the moſt pompous and magnificent. The triumphant victors generally ſtripped the captives of their military ornaments; but the *Gauls* were ſuffered to appear in their belts, in deriſion of the vow they had made not to quit them till they were upon the capitol; and there they were taken from them, amidſt the hiſſes of all the people [z].

However, this terrible defeat did not make the *Gauls* ſubmit. The republic therefore caſt her eyes on two commanders of great experience, who had been conſuls before, in hopes they would finiſh this important war. Theſe were *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*; but they performed nothing worth mentioning. Their marches being retarded with violent rains, they could not paſs the *Po*, as they deſigned; beſides, a plague broke out in their army, which not only kept them in a ſtate of inaction, but prevented them from returning to *Rome* at the uſual time; ſo that it was neceſſary to create a dictator, who was the famous *Cæcilius Metellus*, to hold the comitia in their abſence for a new election of conſuls. *C. Flaminius Nepos* and *P. Furius Philo* were choſen. Theſe were the firſt *Roman* generals who paſſed the *Po*; but they were ſo terrified at the very ſight of the *Inſubres*, whoſe country they intended to invade, that they entered into a treaty with them, and, repaſſing the *Po*, took refuge among their faithful allies the *Cænomani*. Having rambled about thoſe unknown regions for ſome time, they reſolved to make another attempt upon *Inſubria*; but the *Romans* being at this time much frightened with prodigies, the augurs declared, that there muſt have been ſome defect in the election of the conſuls. Whereupon the ſenate immediately diſpatched a courier with a letter, commanding them to return to *Rome*, and abdicate. The conſuls, who were then in ſight of the enemy, thinking a retreat through ſo many nations, whoſe fidelity was dubious, might be attended with dangerous conſequences, reſolved not to open the letter till after the battle. The conſul *Flaminius* ſeems to have taken the whole command upon himſelf on the day of the battle; for no hiſtorian makes mention of his collegue *Furius* in deſcribing it. As the *Romans* were far inferior to the enemy in numbers, the conſul deſigned at firſt to reinforce his army with thoſe *Gauls*,

[z] Flor. l. ii.

how

who were in amity with the *Roman* people, and ſent orders to them to come and join him; but, upon their arrival, he began to conſider, that it was a dangerous thing to truſt thoſe auxiliaries, who were a wavering people, and might, in the heat of the action, out of compaſſion to their countrymen, deſert the *Romans*, and even turn their arms againſt them. Upon this conſideration, he reſolved not to truſt them in an affair of ſo great importance, and therefore ordered them to paſs the river *Addua*; which they no ſooner did, then he cauſed the bridge to be broken down, and, by that means, as the river was not fordable, prevented them from ſiding with the enemy, ſince he could not reſolve to truſt them as friends. This was the only prudent ſtep the conſul took, either before, or in the time of, the action; for he drew up his men, not after the *Roman* manner, but ſo cloſe, that the whole army ſeemed to be one phalanx; and beſides, he poſted the laſt line ſo near the *Addua*, that, if they had been preſſed ever ſo little, they would have been forced into the river; but the ſkill and management of the legionary tribunes made amends for the conſul's imprudent conduct. Theſe had obſerved, in their former battles with the *Gauls*, that they made but one briſk attack, after which their fire abated; and that their ſwords were only fit for cutting, and eaſily bent; ſo that, if they had not time to ſet them ſtrait again with their foot on the ground, after a cut or two, they became quite uſeleſs. The tribunes therefore took two precautions, which determined the fate of the day in their favour. In the firſt place, they diſtributed among the ſoldiers of the firſt line the javelins uſed by the *Triarii*, which were a kind of halberts, ordering them to preſent the points of their javelins to the enemy, and by that means keep them at ſuch a diſtance, as to prevent them from making uſe of their ſwords. In the ſecond place, the tribunes commanded their men to throw down the javelins, as ſoon as the firſt fire of the enemy was ſpent, and cloſing with them ſword in hand, ſtab them in the throat and breaſt. To theſe orders the *Romans* owed the victory; for the *Gauls* having, in the beginning of the attack, blunted their ſwords againſt the long javelins of the *Romans*, the latter no ſooner perceived that their ardor began to cool, than they ſhortened their ſwords, and cloſing with the enemy, ſo as to leave them no room to lift up their arms, ſtabbed them, as they had been ordered, without running any danger themſelves, the ſwords of the *Gauls* having no point. Nine thouſand of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot, and ſeventeen thouſand taken priſoners. Thus, in ſpite of all

The Inſubrians &c.

the bad prognoſtics, and the orders of the ſuperſtitious ſenate, a complete victory was gained, tho' it was rather owing to the conduct of the ſubalterns, than to the ſkill or prudence of the general [a].

'AFTER the action, the conſuls opened the packet, when *Furius*, who perhaps had declined the command during the action, out of reſpect to the ſenate, was for immediately obeying the order; but *Flaminius*, thinking a ſucceſsful act of diſobedience more honourable than a blind and timorous ſubmiſſion, was for purſuing the advantages of the victory; which he did accordingly, enriching his ſoldiers with booty, while his collegue continued inactive, waiting to join him, when he ſhould return from his incurſions into *Inſubria*. At length *Flaminius* rejoined his collegue, and they returned to *Rome* together, where they met with a very cold reception both from the ſenate and people; but the troops of *Flaminius*, whom he had enriched with the ſpoils of the enemy, prevailed upon the people to grant both the conſuls a triumph, ſince the victory had been gained under the auſpices of both. However, the ſenate obliged them to abdicate immediately after it; ſo that the republic fell into an inter-regnum, when the centuries choſe *M. Claudius Marcellus*, one of the greateſt men *Rome* ever produced, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* to the conſulate. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when the *Inſubres* ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, to beg a peace upon any terms; but the ſenate having, at the inſtigation of their new conſuls, diſmiſſed their deputies with a refuſal, they reſolved to make their laſt effort; and accordingly took into their pay thirty thouſand *Gæſatæ*, who, paſſing the *Alps*, entered *Italy*, under the command of their king *Viridomarus*. Early in the ſpring the conſuls paſſed the *Po*, and opened the campaign with the ſiege of *Acerræ*, a place near that river. Hereupon the *Gauls*, who were now ninety thouſand ſtrong, in order to make a diverſion, and oblige the *Romans* to raiſe the ſiege they had undertaken, paſſed the *Po*, and, entering the *Roman* territories, inveſted *Calſtidium*, a city placed by *Plutarch* in *Caſalpine Gaul*, but by *Livy* in *Liguria Montana*. Upon the news of this motion of the enemy, *Marcellus* with two thirds of the cavalry, and about ſix hundred of the light-armed infantry, haſtened to the relief of the place. The *Gauls*, receiving intelligence of his approach, raiſed the ſiege, and marched in order of battle to meet him. *Marcellus* drew up

[a] Polyb. l. xi. c. 31, 32. Oros. l. iv. c. 13. Plut. in Marcel. Zonar. l. viii. c. 20.

his

his ſmall army with great ſkill, and advanced leiſurely in order of battle againſt the enemy. When the two armies drew near each other, *Viridomarus* advanced before his troops, and challenged the *Roman* general to a ſingle combat. *Marcellus* readily accepted the challenge; ſo that both parties, leaving the field free for the champions, retired to wait for the iſſue of the combat. *Marcellus* ruſhing upon the enemy full ſpeed, pierced his breaſt-plate with his lance, and gave him a deep wound. Then ſpurring his horſe with great violence againſt that of his adverſary, he made him recoil, rear, and throw his rider, whom he ſoon diſpatched with repeated blows. The *Gæſatæ* being diſheartened by the death of their leader, the *Romans* charged them with great fury, and put them to flight. Thus a handful of *Romans* defeated a numerous army of *Gauls*, and obliged them to ſhelter themſelves in the woods and foreſts of their own country [b].

Marcellus *kills the king of the* Gæſatæ *in ſingle combat.*

DURING the abſence of *Marcellus*, *Acerræ* had been taken by his collegue, who from thence had marched to inveſt *Mediolanum*, the largeſt, richeſt, and moſt populous city of *Inſubria*; but he was himſelf more cloſely beſieged by the *Gauls*, than *Mediolanum* was by him. But, upon the arrival of *Marcellus*, the ſcene changed; the *Gæſatæ* retired with precipitation, repaſſed the *Alps*, and left the inhabitants of *Mediolanum* to the mercy of the conquerors. The city immediately ſurrendered at diſcretion, as did alſo *Comum*, another city of great importance. Thus all *Italy*, from the *Alps* to the *Ionian* ſea, became intirely *Roman*. *Inſubria* and *Liguria* were now made one province, and called *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which was governed by a prætor ſent annually from *Rome*. In order to keep the conquered *Gauls* from revolting, two *Roman* colonies were ſettled at *Cremona* and *Placentia*, on the oppoſite banks of the *Po* [c].

Inſubria *and* Liguria *made a* Roman *province.*

Marcellus was decreed at *Rome* an extraordinary triumph, *for having conquered*, as the decree was worded, *the* Inſubres *and the* Germans [d]. And this is the firſt time we find the *Germans* mentioned in the hiſtory of *Rome*. *Polybius* indeed places the *Gæſatæ* on the banks of the *Rhone*; but other writers tell us, that they inhabited the countries bordering on the *Rhine*. *Marcellus*, in his triumphal proceſſion, carried on his ſhoulders the rich armour and ſpoils of *Viridomarus*, and dedicated the third and laſt *opima ſpolia* to *Jupiter Feretrius*, ſingle combats between generals growing out of uſe

The third opima ſpolia.

[b] PLUT. in Marcell. POLYÆN. l. xi. c. 34. [c] PLUT. ibid.
[d] Fab. triumph.

after this time. Part of the rich ſpoils taken on this occaſion was ſent to good king *Hiero*, who was yet living, and a gold cup made out of them to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*. As for *Cornelius*, he did not receive the honours of a triumph, but was continued in the new province in quality of proconſul to regulate affairs there.

Iſtria *conquered.*

The new conſuls, *M. Minucius Rufus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio Aſina*, were ordered to make war upon the *Iſtrians*, for having taken ſome *Roman* ſhips. All *Iſtria* was reduced in one year's time, tho' ſome writers tell us, that the reduction of it coſt the conquerors a great deal of blood [c].

Aſdrubal *ſucceeded by* Hannibal.

During the preſent conſulate, news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *Aſdrubal* in *Spain*; which gave the *Romans* great concern, becauſe he had been ever faithful to his treaties, and the republic thought ſhe had much more to fear from the bold and enterpriſing genius of young *Hannibal*, who was appointed to ſucceed him, though at that time not above twenty ſix years of age. And indeed the firſt expedition of this young warrior confirmed the *Romans* in their fears. In his firſt campaign, he made war upon the *Olcades*, a people bordering on the *Iberus*, and gave reaſon to believe, that he would ſoon paſs that river, contrary to the treaty. *Althæa*, and ſeveral other cities in that neighbourhood, ſubmitted to him; however, as *Rome* had yet no reaſon to declare herſelf his enemy, ſhe turned her arms another way. *Demetrius of Pharos*, on whom the republic had heaped many favours, ſeeing the government of *Illyricum* lodged in his hands, and the *Romans* engaged in a troubleſome war with the *Gauls*, had deſpiſed their orders; and acting not as regent, but as king of *Illyricum*, had obliged the *Atintanes* to renounce their alliance with *Rome*, and come into his meaſures; nay, he even ventured, contrary to the treaty, to ſend fifty ſhips of war, beyond the *Lyſſos*, to pillage the *Cyclades*. Complaints being brought to *Rome* from all parts, the new conſuls, *L. Veturius Philo*, and *C. Lutatius*, would have immediately ſet ſail for *Illyricum*, if they had not been obliged to abdicate, upon ſome defect found in their election. They were ſucceeded by *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *M. Valerius Lævinus*; but the year being too far advanced to begin the expedition, it was poſtponed to the next conſulſhip. This year ended with a cenſus, by which the number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred ſeventy thouſand two hundred and thirteen. At the time of the cen-

[c] Oros. l. iv. c. 13. Zonar. l. viii. c. 21. Liv. epit. l. xx.

ſus,

ſus, all the *libertini* or freed-men, who lived diſperſed among all the tribes, and occaſioned great diſturbances in the city, were confined to four tribes, *viz.* the *Eſquilina*, the *Palatina*, the *Suburrana*, and the *Collina* [f].

AND now both conſuls, *M. Livius Salinator* and *L. Æmilius Paulus*, imbarqued for *Illyricum*, and opened the campaign with the ſiege of *Dimalum*, a city of importance in Demetrius that country, which *Demetrius* had fortified with ſo many works, that it was deemed impregnable. However, the *Romans*, by ſurpriſing efforts, took this formidable bulwark, by which the regent pretended to ſcreen himſelf from the vengeance of *Rome*, in the ſpace of ſeven days. Their next attempt was upon *Pharos*, an iſland in the *Adriatic* ſea, and the birth-place of *Demetrius*. Here he had aſſembled the flower of his troops, looking upon this iſland and city as his laſt refuge. As the *Roman* fleet had two conſular armies on board, one was landed in the night, with orders to conceal themſelves in the foreſts, and behind the rocks, till the ſignal was given. Then the fleet appeared off *Pharos* in open day, as it were to land ſome forces. Hereupon *Demetrius* marched out of the town at the head of his troops, to prevent the deſcent; and then the legionaries, leaving their ambuſh, marched ſilently, and ſeized an eminence between the city and the port. *Demetrius* endeavoured to diſlodge them; but, in the mean time, the *Romans* on board the ſquadron having made their deſcent, the *Illyrians* were inveſted on all ſides, and ſoon diſperſed. *Demetrius* made his eſcape to *Macedon*, on board a veſſel he had kept ready for that purpoſe. The city of *Pharos* was taken, plundered, and razed; ſo that *Rome* was now the ſecond time miſtreſs of *Illyricum*, which, however, ſhe did not reduce to the form of a province, having ſome compaſſion for the young king *Pinæus*, who had been brought into theſe troubles merely by the fault of his guardians [g]. The conſuls, on their return to *Rome*, were accuſed before the tribes, of having applied to their own uſe great part of the ſpoils taken from the enemy, and of diſtributing the reſt partially among the ſoldiers. *Æmilius* indeed was acquitted; but his collegue *Salinator* was condemned by all the tribes, except the tribe *Mæcia*; an affront which he could not brook, and therefore appeared no more in public, but retired to a houſe he had in the country, and there led a ſolitary life, till the calamities of his country brought him upon the ſtage again. When he was afterwards cenſor, he deprived all the tribes, except the tribe *Mæcia*, of the right of ſuf-

An army ſent againſt Pharos.

Illyricum *reduced a ſecond time*

[f] FLOR. in epit. Liv. l. xx. [g] ZONAR. l. viii. c 20.

frage,

frage, and all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. To ſuch a height did he carry his reſentment [h]. In this conſulſhip, one *Archagathus* of *Peloponneſus* introduced the art of ſurgery into *Rome*. Till his time every one had their family receipts, as *Pliny* calls them [i], conveyed down to him by tradition; but the *Peloponneſian* cured all ſorts of wounds in a regular way; on which account he was honoured with the right of citizenſhip, and had a houſe built for him at the expence of the public; but as he uſed to make large inciſions in order to cure wounds with more certainty, the *Romans* gave him the name of *Butcher*, which ſoon brought his profeſſion into diſrepute [k].

The art of ſurgery introduced at Rome.

While the *Romans* were engaged in the *Illyrian* war, *Hannibal* was puſhing on his conqueſts in *Spain*. The *Vaccæi*, the *Olcades*, and the *Carpetani* had attempted to oppoſe his progreſs with an army of a hundred thouſand men; but that brave commander had defeated them by his ſuperior ſkill in war, and obliged them to ſubmit to the yoke. Elated with this ſucceſs, he advanced, at the head of his army, into the territory of *Saguntum*, and, contrary to the late treaty between *Rome* and *Carthage*, laid ſiege to that city. Hereupon the *Roman* ſenate diſpatched two embaſſadors, *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *Q. Bebius Tamphilus*, to *Hannibal*, with orders to proceed to *Carthage*, in caſe the *Carthaginian* general refuſed to comply with their requeſt. They were ſcarce landed, when *Hannibal*, who was carrying on the ſiege with great vigour, ſent them word, that he had ſomething elſe to do than to give audience to embaſſadors; however, he admitted them at laſt, and, in anſwer to their remonſtrances, told them, that the *Saguntines* had drawn their misfortunes on themſelves, by committing hoſtilities againſt the allies of *Carthage*; and at the ſame time deſired the deputies, if they had any complaints to make of him, to carry them to the ſenate of *Carthage*. However, the artful *Carthaginian* immediately diſpatched to *Carthage* ſome friends, in whom he could confide, to give the ſenate favourable prepoſſeſſions with relation to his enterprize upon *Saguntum*. He then returned to the attack of that city, which he had interrupted for ſome days, in order to refreſh his troops. The *Saguntines* defended themſelves for the ſpace of ſix months with ſurpriſing bravery; and when they could hold out no longer, they firſt burnt all their richeſt effects, and then ſhutting themſelves up

Hannibal *beſieges* Saguntum.

[h] Auth. vit vir. illuſt. Front. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 1. Liv. l. xxix. c. 37. [i] Plin. l. xxix. c. 1. [k] Idem ibid.

in

in their houſes, ſet fire to them, and periſhed with their wives and children in the flames [1].

Roman *embaſſadors ſent to* Carthage.

IN the mean time, the *Roman* embaſſadors arriving at *Carthage*, found the ſenate there divided into two factions; the *Barcan*, of which *Hamilcar Barcas*, the father of *Hannibal*, had been the head, and that of *Hanno*, which conſiſted of the oldeſt ſenators and wiſeſt men in the republic. The embaſſadors, after having complained to the ſenate of *Hannibal*'s haughtineſs and unjuſt violences, demanded, that he ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*, to be puniſhed according to his deſerts; and at the ſame time declared, that *Rome* would look on the refuſal of ſo juſt a demand, as a public approbation of the infraction of the treaty, and the deſtruction of *Saguntum*. This demand had the air of authority, which was very ſhocking, eſpecially in times of proſperity. It ſeemed both cruel and ſhameful for the *Carthaginians* to deliver up to his implacable enemies a young conqueror, who was the glory and hopes of his nation. However *Hanno*, in a warm ſpeech, preſſed the ſenate to give the *Romans* the ſatisfaction they required; but the *Barcan* faction oppoſed this motion, and, being more numerous, prevailed. A commiſſioner, expert in negotiations, was appointed to diſcuſs the affair with the *Roman* embaſſadors, and to anſwer their complaints; but, after ſeveral conferences, in which the *African* negotiator uſed all the chicanery and evaſions poſſible to colour the proceedings of *Hannibal*, the embaſſadors renewed their demand before the ſenate, and, to cut off endleſs diſputes, the chief of the embaſſadors, having made two folds in his robe, ſaid, addreſſing himſelf to the ſenate, *On one ſide is peace, on the other war; chuſe which you pleaſe.* The preſident of the aſſembly anſwered, *We will chuſe neither; give us which you pleaſe. Take war then*, replied the embaſſador. At which words the *Barcan* faction cried out with joy, *War, war*; a fatal declaration, which brought both nations to the brink of ruin. If we conſider only the laſt hoſtilities committed by *Hannibal*, his republic was certainly in the wrong; for they were a manifeſt infraction of the treaty with *Aſdrubal*: but, if we trace the matter higher, we ſhall find, that the *Carthaginians* were not to blame, the *Romans* having obliged them, by their haughty behaviour, their repeated extortions, and their unjuſt invaſions of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, to take up arms in their own defence.

War declared between Rome *and* Carthage. Year of the flood 2785. Before Chriſt 214. Of *Rome* 534.

[1] Liv. l. xxi. c. 7.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the beginning to the end of the ſecond* Punic *war.*

THE new conſuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio* and *Tib. Sempronius Longus*, had ſcarce entered upon their office, when the embaſſadors, ſent firſt to *Hannibal*, and then to *Carthage*, returned to *Rome*. The account they gave of their embaſſy, and the news of the deſtruction of *Saguntum*, left the ſenate no room to deliberate about war or peace. The former was now unavoidable, and even declared by their embaſſadors, purſuant to the inſtructions they had received before they left *Rome*. The conſuls were therefore ordered to draw lots for their reſpective provinces. *Africa* fell to *Sempronius*, and *Spain* to *Cornelius Scipio*. The former was directed to paſs over into *Sicily*, aſſemble all the troops in that iſland, and ſail from thence to *Africa*, and begin hoſtilities there. *Cornelius*, on the other hand, was commanded to go into *Spain*, and uſe all poſſible means to prevent *Hannibal* from entering *Italy*. Extraordinary levies were made all over *Italy*. Six legions were raiſed, amounting to twenty four thouſand foot, and eighteen hundred horſe; and among the ſeveral nations in *Italy* ſubject to the republic, four thouſand horſe more, and forty four thouſand foot. As for the fleet, *Rome* equipped two hundred and twenty quinqueremes, and twenty other light veſſels. Two legions, conſiſting each of four thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, with fourteen thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe of the allies, were put under the command of *Cornelius Scipio*, who was to tranſport them on board a fleet of ſixty quinqueremes to *Tranſalpine Gaul*. Two legions, with fourteen thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe of the allies, were left in *Italy*, under the command of the prætor *L. Manlius*,

Levies made for a war with Carthage.

Manlius, to keep *Ciſalpine Gaul* in awe. As for the conſul *Sempronius*, who was deſigned for *Africa*, his army conſiſted of two legions, ſixteen thouſand foot of the allies, and eighteen hundred horſe. Theſe troops were put on board a fleet of a hundred and ſixty gallies, and twenty light veſſels. Before the arrival of *Sempronius* in *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* had ſent out a ſquadron of twenty ſail to plunder the coaſts of *Italy*; but theſe ſhips being diſperſed by a ſtorm, king *Hiero*, who happened to be then at *Meſſana* with his fleet, had detached part of it, and taken ſome of them. The priſoners informed him, that *Carthage* had equipped another ſquadron of thirty five gallies, with a deſign to ſurprize *Lilybæum*. This intelligence the king immediately communicated to *Æmilius* prætor of *Sicily*, who, without loſs of time, ſailed with his ſmall ſquadron to join the *Syracuſan* fleet, in order to defend the threatened city. The *Carthaginians* finding, upon their arrival, both fleets riding at anchor before the mouth of the harbour, did not attempt to enter it, but, keeping at ſome diſtance, drew up in line of battle. The *Romans* and *Syracuſans* accepted the challenge; ſo that an engagement enſued, in which the *Carthaginians* were defeated, with the loſs of ſeven ſhips. Seventeen hundred of their men were taken priſoners, and a great many killed in the action. The *Romans* did not loſe one ſingle galley, and had but a very ſmall number of men killed. The king, on his return to *Meſſana*, finding *Sempronius* arrived there, went immediately on board the conſul's ſhip, embraced him tenderly, and aſſured him, that he ſhould continue the ſame affection for *Rome* in his old age, which he had always ſhewn her in his youth; nor was this all, he cloathed the legionaries and the crews of the *Roman* ſhips at his own expence, ſupplied the whole army with corn, and then ſet ſail with the conſul for *Lilybæum*, where they parted with regret [m].

The Carthaginians defeated at ſea.

Sempronius, from *Lilybæum*, ſteered his courſe to the iſland of *Melita*, ſituated between *Sicily* and *Africa*; and he no ſooner appeared before it, than one *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* governor, ſurrendered up to him the iſland, the city, and the gariſon. But, in the mean time, the *Carthaginians* having made a deſcent on the coaſts of *Italy*, *Sempronius* was preparing to drive them from thence, when news was brought him that *Hannibal* had paſſed the *Alps*, and at the ſame time an order from the ſenate to return in all haſte to *Italy*. Leav-

The iſland of Melita ſeized by the Romans.

[m] LIV. l. xxi. c 17. APPIAN. in Punic. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 22.

ing therefore the prætor *Æmilius* in *Sicily*, with a ſufficient number of troops and ſhips to defend the iſland, he went on board his fleet, and entered the *Adriatic* ſea, with a deſign to land at *Ariminum*.

Hannibal, being authorized by the ſenate of *Carthage* to act againſt the *Romans* as he thought fit, reſolved not to wait for their coming to attack him in *Spain*, but to carry the war into the very heart of their dominions. With this view he had made it his whole buſineſs, during the winter, to ſettle affairs in *Spain*. He appointed his brother *Aſdrubal* governor of that country in his abſence; and, in order to put him in a condition to oppoſe any deſcents there, he left him fifty quinqueremes, four quadriremes, and five triremes. As to the land-forces, he did not leave his brother to the mercy of the *Spaniards*, but tranſported thirteen thouſand eight hundred and fifty foot, and one thouſand two hundred horſe, of the *Spaniſh* troops, into *Africa*, and brought fifteen thouſand *Africans* into *Spain*. By this exchange he wiſely provided for the ſecurity of both countries. After theſe prudent regulations, he waited only for the anſwers of the *Italic Gauls*, to whom he had ſent his emiſſaries, ſoliciting them to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. He no ſooner received aſſurances of their earneſt deſire to ſee him in *Italy*, than he applied himſelf wholly to the preparations for his march. He began by putting himſelf under the protection of *Hercules*, who was worſhipped at *Gades*, whither he took a journey to offer ſacrifices and vows to that god. Then he aſſembled his troops, harangued them, and, upon a muſter, found, that they amounted to ninety thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe. However, by the deſertion of ſome of his troops, by his diſmiſſing others, and by the ſeveral detachments he made for the ſecurity of the new conquered provinces, his army, when he croſſed the *Pyrenees*, conſiſted only of fifty thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe[n]. With theſe troops, having paſſed the *Pyrenees* without oppoſition, he arrived at *Illiberis*, a city of *Gallia Narbonenſis* on the coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, which he had appointed for the place of the general rendezvous.

Hannibal begins his march for Italy.

The Boii revolt.

In the mean time the *Boii*, receiving intelligence that *Hannibal* was ſet out on his march to *Italy*, began to act as if he had already croſſed the *Alps*. They bore an implacable hatred to the *Romans*, and therefore, impatient to wait till the arrival of the *Carthaginians*, they openly revolted, and,

[n] Polyb. l. iii. c. 35. Liv. l. xxi. c. 23.

being

being joined by the *Insubres*, fell upon the two new colonies of *Placentia* and *Cremona*. The inhabitants, who were but just come, fled for refuge to *Mutina*, an old *Roman* colony; whither the rebels pursued them, with a design to besiege the place; but as they were not skilled in taking cities, they had recourse to treachery, drew the three leaders of the colony, who were men of distinction, out of the place, under pretence of a conference, and then seized them, with a design to exchange them for the hostages they had formerly left in the hands of the *Romans*. This roused the prætor *Manlius*, who had been left, by *Cornelius Scipio*, with two legions, to keep *Cisalpine Gaul* in subjection. He immediately led one of them to the relief of *Mutina*; but as the country, through which he marched, was covered with forests, the *Gauls*, who were acquainted with all the roads, surprized him, and cut most of his legionaries in pieces, the prætor himself escaping with great difficulty to an eminence, whence he retired to *Tanetum*, a city on the banks of the *Nicia*, where he was immediately invested by the enemy. However, upon the approach of the prætor *Lucius Attilius*, at the head of the other legion, and five thousand auxiliaries, they raised the sieges both of *Tanetum* and *Mutina*, and dispersed [o].

IN the mean time, the consul *Cornelius Scipio*, having sailed from *Pisa*, and kept along the coast of *Liguria*, had landed his troops at that mouth of the *Rhone*, which is nearest *Massilia*. His design was to wait there for *Hannibal*, and give him battle before he attempted to cross the *Alps*. He had indeed received notice of *Hannibal*'s having passed the *Pyrenees*; but could not imagine that he was near, considering the vast countries, and the many *Gallish* nations, through which he was to pass. He therefore encamped on an island formed by the *Rhone*, which the antients call *Camaria*, and the moderns *La Camarque*, and remained there a few days to refresh his troops after the fatigues of the sea. But *Hannibal*, more expeditious than *Scipio* imagined, having surmounted all difficulties, was actually encamped on the banks of the *Rhone*, and contriving means to pass that rapid stream. The *Gauls* on his side the river favoured him through fear; but those on the other side, jealous of so powerful an army, prepared to oppose his passage with all their might. *Scipio* knew nothing of this; otherwise, by joining the *Gauls*, who were determined to dispute his passage, he would, in all likelihood,

[o] LIV. ibid. POLYB. l. iii. c. 35.

have made the *Rhone* the boundary of *Hannibal's* expedition: but, in this great criſis, *Hannibal's* fortune was equal to his valour. On the other hand, the *Carthaginian* ſuſpecting that a conſular army was not far off, and being therefore obliged without delay to paſs the river, which was no-where fordable, in ſight of the enemy, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. He detached part of his army, under the command of *Hanno* the ſon of *Bomilcar*, with orders to march up along the river, croſs it out of ſight of the enemy's camp, and, by taking a tour, to get behind them and lie in ambuſh. *Hanno* having executed his commiſſion, and given the ſignal agreed on, *Hannibal* prepared to paſs the river with that part of the army which remained with him. He ordered his cavalry to embarque on the greater veſſels, and his foot on canoes, made only of hollowed trees. He directed thoſe who governed the greater veſſels to keep their bow upon the ſtream, thereby to check the current of the river, and cover the others from danger. The horſes were not embarqued, but ſwam after the ſmall boats, one man holding three or four by the bridle on each ſide the boat. While they were thus contending againſt the violence of the ſtream, and animating each other, the enemy waited for them on the oppoſite bank, and, with their cries and howlings, gave them to underſtand, that they were ready to receive them; but, in the mean time, *Hanno's* detachment attacking them in the rear, they were ſeized with ſuch a panic, that they immediately betook themſelves to flight, and diſperſed, every one making the beſt of his way to his own village [P].

Hannibal *croſſes the* Rhone.

In the mean time, news being brought to *Scipio*, that the enemy was already encamped on the banks of the *Rhone*, he did not at firſt believe it, it ſeeming to him incredible, that they ſhould be able to perform ſo long a march in ſo ſhort a time. However, in order to get ſuch intelligence as he might rely on, he commanded out three hundred choſen horſe to reconnoitre. Theſe fell in with a party of five hundred *Numidian* horſe, ſent out by *Hannibal* for the ſame purpoſe; whereupon a ſharp action enſued, in which the *Numidians* loſt two hundred men, and the *Romans* a hundred and ſixty. The *Numidians* were put to flight; and this advantage, how inconſiderable ſoever, was looked upon by the *Romans*, who laid great ſtreſs upon preſages, as a happy omen for the reſt of the war. However, it did not diſcourage *Hannibal*, who, upon certain information that the conſular army was not

[P] Polyb. l. iii. c. 45, 46.

far

19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27

46 45 44 43 42

CELTIC GAUL

TRAN SALPINE GAUL

Vienne R

Limousins

Auvergnats

Boii

Ædui

Segusiani

Insubres

Lepontii

Lake Lemanus

Rhone R

Veragri

Seduni

Alpes Penn

Salasii

Centrones

Allobroges

Isere R

Doire R

Durance R

Milan

Ambici

Segusini

INSUBRIA

CISALPINA

GALLIA

Po R

Tanarus R

Taurini

Alpes Cottiæ

LIGURIA

Caturiges

Vocontii

Embruniens

Tricastini

Mimeni

Sontii

Alpes Maritimæ

Genoa

Dordogne R

Velaun

Pelvii

Gabales

Lot R

Cadurci

Rutheni

Tarn R

Cevennes M

Heleuteri

Volcæ

Arecomici

Cavares

Vulgi

Albici

Vediantii

LIGURIA Deciates

TRANSALPINA Oxobii

Salyes

Toulouse

Garonne R

Volcæ Tectosa

Beziers

Aude R

Narbone

Hannibals Rout

The Marsellois

Marseilles

Suelteri

Camatullici

The Mouths of ye Rhone

Stecades Islands

Tet R

Ruscino

Illiberis

Pyrenees

SPAIN

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

THE SEA OF LIGURIA

Roman Miles of 5000 feet each

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

A MAP of ye Rout wch Hannibal took through GAUL & over the Alpes into ITALY

far off, was for ſome time in doubt, whether he ſhould attack the *Romans*, or march ſtrait for *Italy*; but the deputies from the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, the chief of whom was one *Magalus* or *Magilus*, determined him, by their advice, to lead his army over the mountains intire, and not run the hazard of weakening it by a diſaſter. They made *Hannibal* rich preſents, tendered him their ſervice, and took upon them to be his guides over the *Alps*. The *Carthaginian* therefore, to avoid *Scipio*, marched up the river, and encamped at the conflux of the *Rhodanus* and the *Araris*, or the *Rhone* and the *Saone*. Here *Hannibal* found two brothers diſputing for the dominion of the country, and their armies drawn up ready to engage. At the requeſt of the elder brother *Hannibal* joined him againſt the younger, whom he drove out of the country. The conqueror immediately expreſſed his gratitude, by furniſhing the *Carthaginians* with clothes, which they greatly wanted, moſt of them being half-naked and bare-foot, and ſupplying them with what was neceſſary to guard them againſt the ſnow and ice of the *Alps*. Nor was this all; as the *Carthaginians* were afraid of being attacked by the *Gauls* diſperſed about theſe unknown countries, the king guarded them in perſon, and conducted them ſafe to the foot of the mountains, which they reached after ten days march [a].

AND here a hiſtorian is as much at a loſs what rout to take as *Hannibal* himſelf was, the antients having left us in great darkneſs, as to the exact place where the *Carthaginian* general paſſed the mountains. Some of the moderns point out one place, and ſome another; but as they may be all, for ought we know, equally miſtaken, we ſhall follow *Hannibal*, through the immenſe difficulties he met with in this his famous paſſage, without pretending to aſcertain the preciſe place, where he attempted, and happily accompliſhed ſo bold an undertaking. As ſoon as the king we have mentioned above left the *Carthaginian* army, *Hannibal* ordered his troops to begin their march up the mountains; and then the petty kings of the country, aſſembling their troops in great numbers, poſſeſſed themſelves of the eminences, over which the *Carthaginians* muſt neceſſarily paſs. And indeed, had they concealed themſelves longer, the *Carthaginian* army would have been in great danger; but, by appearing openly, they leſſened their advantage, and tho' they killed great numbers of the enemy, they loſt an equal number of their own men.

Hannibal *paſſes the* Alps.

[a] Liv. l. xxi. c. 31. Polyb. l. iii. c. 47.

However,

However, they continued harraſſing the *Carthaginians*, and were no ſooner driven from one eminence, than they ſeized another, diſputing every inch of ground with the enemy, and deſtroying great numbers of them by the advantage they had of the ground. Hereupon *Hannibal* made his army halt, and take up their quarters that night among the rocks. In the mean time, being informed by the *Gauls*, who ſerved him as guides, that the barbarians kept guard in thoſe places only in the day-time; and in the night retired to a village not far off, he decamped in broad day, and moving ſlowly, drew near the poſt which the mountaineers poſſeſſed in the evening, as if he deſigned to paſs the night there; but, as ſoon as it was dark, and the enemy were, according to their cuſtom, retired, he put himſelf at the head of a detachment of choſen men, and gained one of the eminences. When day diſcovered to the enemy what had paſſed, they reſolved to attack the *Carthaginians* from the other eminences, which commanded the narrow, ſtony, and broken way through which they marched. Accordingly leaping from rock to rock with the agility of hinds, they fell upon them from all quarters at once. The *Carthaginians* loſt in this unforeſeen attack an incredible number of horſes and beaſts of burden; for, the way being narrow and broken, the beaſts of burden were eaſily thrown down: but the horſes that were wounded gave them moſt trouble; for falling in ſo narrow and crouded a way, they threw down others by ſtriving to recover their feet, and by that means occaſioned a general confuſion. *Hannibal*, obſerving this, immediately left the poſt he had taken, and falling on the enemy from the higher ground, killed moſt of them on the ſpot, and diſperſed the reſt. Having eſcaped this danger, he marched himſelf at the head of a ſtrong detachment againſt the town, which had harboured the enemy, and, finding it deſerted, took it without oppoſition. Here he found the priſoners, horſes, and beaſts of burden, which had fallen into the enemy's hands, and beſides, cattle and corn, ſufficient to ſupport the army for three days. In this town *Hannibal* remained a day to reſt and refreſh his troops, and then purſued his march for three days together, without the leaſt moleſtation or alarm; but the fourth day he fell into a greater danger than that he had lately eſcaped. Other mountaineers, who inhabited the towns on the way he was to paſs, met him with olive branches, and garlands of flowers, ſymbols of peace and friendſhip, and tendered him their ſervice. *Hannibal*, thinking it equally dangerous to truſt or diſtruſt them, endeavoured, by ſeveral queſtions, to found their

their deſign. They told him, that his having defeated thoſe who oppoſed him, and taken their town, had prompted them to come and implore his protection; and that as to themſelves, they were reſolved to do him no injury, nor ſuffer any to be done him by others. *Hannibal* at firſt only pretended to truſt them for fear of diſobliging them; but after they had ſupplied his army with proviſions, and converſed with all manner of freedom and confidence with his ſoldiers, he began to entertain a better opinion of their ſincerity, and even put ſo much confidence in them, as to accept their tenders of ſerving him as guides. However, as he ſtill retained a ſecret doubt of their ſincerity, he placed his elephants and horſe in the van, and his choiceſt foot in the rear. And this precaution preſerved his army from being intirely deſtroyed; for theſe faithleſs guides having led the army into a valley, ſurrounded with rocks and ſteep hills, all on a ſudden faced about, and fell upon them in front, while their countrymen, who lay concealed among the rocks, attacked their rear; but the elephants ſtopped the fury of the one, and the infantry ſtood their ground againſt the other. Nevertheleſs the *Carthaginians* ſuffered no ſmall loſs both of men and horſes on this occaſion; for the enemy, rolling down huge ſtones from the upper ground, killed a great number of them. The conſternation was ſo great in *Hannibal*'s army, that he himſelf was obliged to ſtop, and take up his quarters that night on the top of an eminence, expoſed to the open air, with that part of the army which was with him, remote from the baggage and the reſt of the troops, who had much ado to compaſs their paſſage through the valley before day-break. In the morning, the enemy being now retired, *Hannibal* joined his army and baggage, and continued his march. After this the *Gauls* appeared only in ſmall bodies, falling ſometimes on the van, and ſometimes on the rear of the army, and ſeldom failing to carry off part of the baggage. At length after many fatigues and loſſes, *Hannibal* arrived at the top of the mountains, nine days after he began to aſcend them. There he encamped, and halted two days, to give his weary troops ſome repoſe, and to wait for the ſtragglers. During this ſtay, he ſaw with pleaſure many horſes arrive, which he thought loſt, and ſome of his men, who had not been able to keep up with the army. As the ſnow was lately fallen in great plenty on the tops of thoſe high mountains, and covered the ground, this ſight terrified the *Africans* and *Spaniards*, who were much affected with the cold. In order therefore to encourage them, and inſpire them with new reſolution againſt the

the ſufferings that yet threatened them, the *Carthaginian* general led them to the top of the higheſt rock on the ſide of *Italy*, and thence gave them a view of the large and fruitful plains of *Inſubria*, acquainting them, that the *Gauls*, whoſe country they ſaw, were ready to join them. He alſo pointed out to them the place whereabout *Rome* ſtood, telling them, that, by climbing the *Alps*, they had ſcaled the walls of that rich metropolis. Having thus animated his harraſſed troops, after two days reſt he decamped, and began to deſcend the mountains [1].

The difficulties they met with in going down were equal to thoſe they had found in the aſcent. They had indeed no enemy to contend with, ſaving ſome ſcattered parties, that came rather to ſteal than to fight; but the deep ſnows, mountains of ice, craggy rocks, and frightful precipices, proved more terrible than any enemy. However, the troops, now inured to the greateſt hardſhips, were proof againſt all difficulties, and went through them with chearfulneſs. After they had for ſome days marched through narrow, ſteep, and ſlippery ways, they came at length to a place, which neither men, elephants, nor horſes could paſs. The way, which lay between two precipices, was exceeding narrow, and the declivity, which was very ſteep of itſelf, was become more dangerous by the falling away of the earth. Here the guides ſtopped, and the whole army being terrified, *Hannibal* propoſed at firſt to march round about, and attempt another way; but all places round him being covered with ſnow to a great depth, he found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity, either of turning back, and climbing up the mountains again, or getting down a place, which was almoſt perpendicular, and where a thin ſurface of freſh ſnow covered a hard and thick ice. However, the infantry began to deſcend; but their feet ſlipping, and there being nothing to catch hold of, they rolled down into the precipices, which were on either ſide of this narrow paſſage, and were either cruſhed to pieces, or buried in the ſnow. Hereupon *Hannibal*, having ordered the ſnow to be removed, which covered all the ground, and the ice to be broken, encamped at the entrance of this paſs, in order to deliberate on the proper method of ſurmounting the preſent difficulty. After he had well conſidered the nature of the place, he concluded, that the only means of getting over it was to cut a way into the rock itſelf, through which his men, horſes, and elephants might paſs, without danger of

[1] Liv. & Polyb. ibid.

falling

falling into the precipices. This was a laborious piece of work; but the *Numidians* ſetting chearfully about it, and frequently relieving one another, with unſpeakable pains made, in one day, a way in the rock for the foot, and in three days more for the horſe, and likewiſe for the elephants, which had ſuffered much, and were almoſt dead with hunger, the ground being in that part of the *Alps* covered with ſnow; ſo that no forage could be found. Some hiſtorians tell us, that the *Numidians* uſed vinegar to ſoften the rocks [t]; but the ſilence of the moſt judicious writers, as to this particular, is ſufficient to juſtify our not giving credit to ſo idle a ſtory. All they tell us is, that the *Africans* made uſe of fire, pick-axes, and other inſtruments of iron, for the accompliſhing of ſo laborious an undertaking. Thus *Hannibal*, having ſpent nine days in climbing up the *Alps*, and ſix in deſcending them, gained at length *Inſubria*, and, notwithſtanding his many diſaſters by the way, entered that country with all the boldneſs of a conqueror. In the account we have given of this ſo much celebrated paſſage of *Hannibal* over the *Alps*, we have chiefly followed *Polybius*, who advances nothing but what he learned from thoſe who lived at that time, and who took himſelf a journey to the *Alps* for his better information [u].

Hannibal *enters* Inſubria.

Hannibal, upon his entering *Inſubria*, reviewed his army, when he found, that of the fifty thouſand foot, with which he had ſet out from *New Carthage* five months and fifteen days before, he had now but twelve thouſand *Carthaginians*, and eight thouſand *Spaniards*; and that his twelve thouſand horſe were reduced to ſix thouſand. Some writers tell us, that *Hannibal* entered *Italy* at the head of forty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe; others make his troops amount to two hundred thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe [v]. But the above-mentioned number was ſpecified by *Hannibal* himſelf, and engraved, as *Polybius* informs us, on a column, which he erected near the *Lacinian Promontory* in *Calabria* [w]. *Hannibal*'s firſt care, after he had entered *Italy*, was to refreſh his troops, who, after ſo long a march, and ſo many inexpreſſible hardſhips, looked like ſo many ſkeletons raiſed from the dead, or ſavages born in a deſert. However, he did not ſuffer them to languiſh long in idleneſs; but joining the *Inſubres*, who were at war with the *Taurinians*,

[t] Liv. l. xxi c. 37. [u] Polyb. l, iii c. 55. [v] Cincius Alimentus apud Liv. l. xxi. c. 39. [w] Polyb. l. iii. c. 56.

Takes Tauri-num.

laid ſiege to *Taurinum*, the only city in the country, and made himſelf maſter of it in three days time, putting all who made reſiſtance to the ſword. This ſtruck ſuch terror into the neighbouring barbarians, that they all ſubmitted to the conqueror, and ſupplied his army with all ſorts of proviſions *.

But to return to *Scipio*, whom we left encamped on the iſland of *Camaria*: When that general underſtood, upon the return of the party he had ſent out, that *Hannibal* was arrived at the banks of the *Rhone*, he immediately decamped, and marched up the river, with a deſign to give him battle; but finding that the *Carthaginian* had croſſed the river three days before, and was purſuing his march over the *Alps* into *Italy*, he marched back to his fleet with all poſſible expedition; and having diſpatched his brother *Cneius Scipio* with the beſt part of his troops to carry on the war in *Spain* againſt *Aſdrubal*, he imbarqued the reſt, with a deſign to return to *Italy* by ſea, and meet *Hannibal* on his deſcending the *Alps*. He ſoon arrived at *Piſa*, and from thence croſſing *Hetruria*, joined that army, which the conſul *Manlius* had ſo unfortunately led againſt the *Boii*. With this, and the few troops he had with him, he paſſed the *Po*, and encamped on the banks of the *Ticinus*, which diſcharges itſelf into that river. *Hannibal* was greatly ſurprized, when he underſtood that *Scipio*, whom he had left on the banks of the *Rhone*, was already returned from *Gaul* to *Italy*, had croſſed *Hetruria*, paſſed the *Po*, and was ready to receive him. On the other hand, *Scipio* was no leſs ſtruck with admiration at *Hannibal*'s expedition in croſſing the *Alps*, through ways which he deemed impaſſable. This reciprocal reſpect, which the two generals had for each other, increaſed their emulation, and inſpired them with an eager deſire of entering the liſts together. In the mean time, the news of *Hannibal*'s arrival in *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, of his taking *Taurinum*, and advancing to meet the conſul *Scipio*, filled *Rome* with terror. The ſenate expected every hour the tidings of a battle, and the uncertainty of the ſucceſs kept all men in ſuſpence: and indeed the two armies were too near each other to defer entering upon action. *Scipio* encouraged his troops in an harangue well ſuited to the occaſion; but *Hannibal* employed a new kind of eloquence, which made deep impreſſions on the minds of his *Carthaginians*. He had treated the priſoners he had taken on the *Alps* with the utmoſt r gour; ſo that they earneſtly wiſhed to put an end to their miſeries with

* Polyæn. ibid.

death.

death. They were loaded night and day with heavy chains, ſtarved almoſt to death, and daily beaten with rods in a moſt barbarous manner. *Hannibal*, from the time he took them, deſigned them for the diverſion with which he now entertained his troops; for he cauſed them to be brought out at the head of the army, which he aſſembled for that purpoſe, and aſked them whether they were willing to engage each other in ſingle combats, and fight till one of them was killed in ſight of his troops? He ordered horſes and rich habits and furniture to be produced at the ſame time, as rewards for the conquerors, and comforted the vanquiſhed before-hand with the hopes of death, which would put an end to their inſupportable miſeries. There was not one of them, who did not, with great joy, conſent to the propoſal. Hereupon *Hannibal* ordered a certain number of them to be choſen by lot, in order to enter the liſts two and two. Thoſe on whom the lot fell leaped for joy, while the others broke out into loud lamentations. While they fought, the reſt of the priſoners looked on the conquered as no leſs fortunate than the conquerors, having by their death put a period to the miſeries they endured. The conſtancy of thoſe who died was more admired by the *Carthaginian* ſoldiers, than the valour and ſkill of the ſurvivors. While their imaginations were warm with theſe objects, *Hannibal* told them, that their fate was like that of the captives, whoſe glorious deaths they had admired, and whoſe rewards they had envied; that *Italy* was a vaſt priſon to them, having the enemy's country before them, and behind them the *Alps*; that they could not eſcape the miſeries to which hunger, thirſt, nakedneſs, and heavy chains would reduce them, unleſs they purchaſed liberty, neceſſaries, and life itſelf by their bravery; that, ſince they could entertain no hopes of returning to their native countries by flight, they ought to have the ſame ſentiments, which they had juſt before admired in the captives, ſince they were under the ſame neceſſity of conquering or dying; that, if they conquered, not fine horſes only and rich furniture would be their lot, but all the wealth of the richeſt country and city in the world, &c.

THE diſcourſe of the general was applauded by the whole army, every man declaring that he was determined to conquer or die. With this diſpoſition the army drew near the *Ticinus*, which *Scipio* had already paſſed. The next day the two armies came in ſight of each other, when *Scipio* advanced at the head of the cavalry, with ſome companies of dart-men, to obſerve the enemy's motions and diſpoſition. *Hannibal* marched out againſt him at the head of his *Spaniſh* and *Numidian*

midian cavalry. As the leaders on both sides and the troops they commanded were eager to engage, they soon came to blows; but scarce had the *Roman* dart-men, whom *Scipio* had placed in the front, made their first discharge, when they retired into the spaces between their troops, through fear of being trod down by the horse. *Hannibal*'s horse made but one large front, the *Numidians* in the two wings, and the *Spaniards* in the center. The onset began between the cavalry of the *Gauls*, in the *Roman* army, and the *Spanish* horse, in the *Carthaginian*. The former, supported by the dart-men, who were drawn up in the intervals between the squadrons, sustained the shock of the *Spanish* horse with great resolution; but, in the mean time, the *Numidians*, taking a compass, attacked the *Romans* in flank, and, after an obstinate and long dispute, obliged them to give ground. Hereupon the *Gauls*, who had hitherto fought with great bravery, retired likewise in some confusion. *Scipio*, at the head of a small body of horse, endeavoured to animate his men, more by his example than by words, till he fell from his horse by a wound he received. Then the *Romans*, believing their general killed, betook themselves to a disorderly flight; and *Scipio* would have been left upon the place, had not his son, attended by a few *Roman* knights, in spite of all opposition, rescued him, and carried him back to the camp. Some say, that a *Ligurian* slave saved the consul; but most writers give this honour to young *Scipio*. Be that as it will, the latter tradition prevailed, perhaps from the inclination of the *Romans* to magnify the rising merit of one of the greatest heroes their republic ever produced [y].

He defeats the Romans *on the banks of the* Ticinus.

Scipio, considering that the enemy was stronger in horse, and consequently that it would be dangerous to give them battle in the champain country, abandoned his camp, repassed the *Po*, and retired to *Placentia*. *Hannibal*, on the other hand, staid some time in the field of battle, in expectation that the legions would appear; but, when he understood, that the consul was decamped, he pursued him close as far as the bridge, over which he had passed the *Ticinus*; but finding it broke down, he took six hundred men, whom the *Roman* general had left to defend a small fort, and, without loss of time, marched up the *Ticinus*, till he came to the banks of the *Po*, which he crossed on a bridge of boats. He then divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one to his brother *Mago*, with orders to pursue the enemy, while

[y] Polyb. & Liv. ibid.

he

he himself remained in the neighbourhood of the *Po*, to receive the deputies of several *Gaulish* nations, whom his first advantage had brought over to him. They engaged to supply him with as many men, arms, and provisions, as he should want. Encouraged by these offers, he marched forward, joined his brother, and took the road to *Placentia*, where the consul was encamped. *Scipio*, believing himself safe there, thought of nothing but curing his own and his soldiers wounds. He was therefore greatly surprized to see *Hannibal* advance within reach of his intrenchments, draw up his army, and offer him battle. *Scipio*, instead of accepting the challenge, fortified himself in his camp; and *Hannibal*, not thinking himself strong enough to force the enemy's lines, encamped ten miles from him [z].

Treachery of the Gauls in the Roman army.

IN the mean time an unexpected event doubled the apprehensions of the *Romans*, and increased the confidence of the enemy. About two thousand foot and two hundred horse, of those *Gauls* who served in the consul's army, about the fourth watch, when all was quiet in the *Roman* camp, entered the tents that were next to them, murdered the *Romans* while they were asleep, and, cutting off their heads, made their escape to *Hannibal*, who, by the kind reception he gave them, shewed how acceptable that black and treacherous action was to him. He invited them with great promises into his service; but gave them leave for the present to retire to their respective habitations, thereby to spread the fame of this action, and win over their countrymen to the service of the *Carthaginians*. At the same time embassadors came to him from the *Boii*, bringing with them the three commissioners of the two *Roman* colonies, whom they had formerly taken by treachery. *Hannibal* received the deputies with great demonstrations of kindness; but left the three illustrious captives in their hands, advising them to make use of them, as they had formerly proposed, to redeem their hostages [a].

IN the mean time, *Scipio*, not doubting but the *Gauls*, after their countrymen had acted so criminal a part, would all declare for the enemy, resolved to leave his camp at *Placentia*, where he was surrounded on all sides by *Gaulish* nations, and to seek some safer post, where his troops would not be so much intimidated by suspected neighbours. Accordingly he decamped about the fourth watch of the following night, and passing the *Trebia*, a small river which falls into the *Po*,

[z] LIV. l. ii. c. 47. POLYB. l. iii. c 66. [a] POLYB. ibid. c. 67.

pollel

poſted himſelf on an eminence near that river, in the neighbourhood of many of the allies of the *Roman* people. *Hannibal*, upon intelligence of the conſul's march, detached his *Numidian* horſe in purſuit of him, while he himſelf followed with the main body of the army. The *Numidians*, finding the *Roman* camp empty, ſtaid to ſet fire to it; and this delay gave the *Romans* time to paſs the plains, where the cavalry might have made a great ſlaughter of them, and gain the eminences on the other ſide the river. *Scipio* intrenched himſelf in his new poſt, reſolved not to leave it till his wound was cured, and his collegue *Sempronius*, whom he impatiently expected from *Sicily*, was arrived with another conſular army. *Hannibal*, that he might not loſe ſight of the enemy, came and encamped within five miles of them, on the other ſide the *Trebia*. Hither great numbers of *Gauls* flocked to him from all parts, inſomuch, that proviſions grew ſcarce in his camp; but he ſoon ſupplied this want, by bribing one *Daſius*, a *Brunduſian*, governor of *Claſtidium*, where the *Romans* had fixed their magazines of arms and proviſions, to deliver up the place to him; by which means he transferred the ſcarcity from his own camp to that of the *Romans* [b].

Claſtidium *delivered up to* Hannibal.

When news was brought to *Rome* of the battle of the horſe, and the iſſue of that engagement, the ſenate was greatly ſurprized, as expecting quite different ſucceſs. Some blamed *Scipio*, others imputed that misfortune to the perfidiouſneſs of the *Gauls*, who, by their deſertion, had given a plain proof of their treachery and hatred to the *Romans*; but after all, as the legions were intire, they took courage, not doubting but that fine body of foot would be able to ſtop the progreſs of the conqueror. Their confidence was heightened by the joyful tidings of the arrival of the conſul *Sempronius* at *Ariminum*, after a voyage of forty days from *Sicily* to that place. He immediately ſet out on his march, and in a few days joined his collegue on the banks of the *Trebia*. After he had refreſhed his troops, and informed himſelf of the circumſtances of the engagement upon the *Ticinus*, the ſtrength of enemy, and the character of their leader, impatient to enter upon action, he detached all his cavalry, contrary to the opinion of his collegue, with orders to paſs the *Trebia*, and attack a party of *Numidian* and *Gauliſh* horſe, which *Hannibal* had ſent out to lay waſte the lands of thoſe *Gauls*, who yet adhered to the *Romans*. The trivial advan-

[b] Liv. ibid.

tage

tage he gained on this occaſion made him reſolve to hazard a general engagement. *Scipio*, whoſe wound, grown worſe by his removing from one camp to another, confined him to his bed, did all that lay in his power to divert his collegue from ſo dangerous a deſign. Among other things he told him, that, as ſoon as his ſtrength would allow him to act, he had an enterprize to put in execution, which, he was confident, would much redound to the ſervice of his country; but this, inſtead of diverting *Sempronius* from his firſt deſign, made him more eager to engage the enemy, before *Scipio* could appear in the field, and ſhare with him the glory of the victory; nay, becauſe that prudent commander would not by any means approve of his ill-timed eagerneſs for an engagement, he told him, That his mind was more affected than his body, and that his wound gave him an averſion to battles. Thus *Sempronius*, blinded with ambition, and pleaſed with the hopes of a complete victory, without *Scipio*'s ſharing in the honour of it, reſolved to come to a pitched battle with the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time, *Hannibal*, having learned the conſul's deſign by ſome ſpies, whom he ſent into the *Roman* camp, detached the following night his brother *Mago*, with two thouſand choſen men, half horſe and half foot, ordering them to conceal themſelves under the banks of a winding rivulet, which watered a neighbouring plain, and wait there, till they ſhould receive orders to quit their ambuſcade. Early next morning the *Carthaginian* commanded a ſtrong detachment of *Numidian* horſe to march out, inſult the enemy in their camp, and then retiring ſlowly before the *Roman* cavalry, who, he did not doubt, would keep cloſe at their heels, to paſs the *Trebia*, and enter the plain. The *Numidians*, purſuant to their orders, advanced to the conſul's intrenchments, as if they intended to brave the *Romans*; which *Sempronius* not being able to bear, he firſt ſent out his cavalry againſt them, then his dart-men, and laſtly marched out himſelf at the head of all his legionaries. The *Romans* had not yet taken any nouriſhment, and beſides the day was very cold and ſnowy, and the nearer they drew to the river, the more ſharp the wind blew; however, ſuch was the eagerneſs of the conſul to come up with the enemy, who had juſt paſſed the river on horſeback, that he commanded the *Roman* infantry to leap into the water, which they did without heſitation, tho' it reached to their waiſts. When they came out of the river, they found themſelves ſo chilled and benumbed with cold, that they could not handle their arms; and beſides, as the day was far advanced before they all got over, they began to be pinched with hunger, for they had not yet taken any

food; while, on the other hand, the *Carthaginians* had refreſhed themſelves with a plentiful repaſt, and anointed their bodies to arm themſelves againſt the cold *.

The Romans *engage* Hannibal *on the banks of the* Trebia.

The *Romans* no ſooner appeared in the plain, than *Hannibal* drew up his army in battalia. He placed eight thouſand *Spaniards*, moſt of them of the *Balearic* iſlands, armed with ſlings, in the advanced guard. Theſe were followed by twenty thouſand foot, *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and *Africans*, all drawn up in one line, to make the larger front. His cavalry, to the number of ten thouſand, moſt of them *Gauls*, were poſted in the two wings, and, at the two extremities of the main body, were ranged the elephants, to cover the flanks of the army. *Sempronius*'s troops conſiſted of ſixteen thouſand legionaries, twenty thouſand auxiliary forces, a handful of *Cenomani*, the only *Gauls* who continued faithful to the *Romans*, and four thouſand *Roman* horſe. The conſul drew up his men in the uſual order, keeping the triarii for a body of reſerve, and poſting his cavalry in the wings. The two armies being thus drawn up, *Hannibal*, to keep his men warm, ordered them to march briſkly againſt the enemy, who were waiting for them, and ſtarving with cold in the plain. However, at their approach, the *Romans* gave a great ſhout, the trumpets ſounded, and the attack began. The light-armed infantry on both ſides made their diſcharges, the *Baleares* throwing ſtones with their ſlings, and the *Romans* their little javelins; but this way of fighting did not laſt long, the *Romans* retiring within the ſpaces in their lines, and the *Baleares* to the wings of their army. Hereupon the main bodies of the two armies advanced, the cavalry moving with the lines they flanked; but the *Roman* horſe, being juſt returned from purſuing the *Numidians*, being already much fatigued, were ſoon put to flight by the *Gauliſh* cavalry. Hereupon the flanks of the conſular army being expoſed and left naked, the *Numidians* fell upon them with great fury, and put them in confuſion. Then *Hannibal* ordered his elephants to advance, which increaſed the diſorder of the *Roman* army; but nevertheleſs the legionaries in the ſecond and third lines ſtill kept their ground, and fought with incredible bravery, till the *Numidians*, under the conduct of *Mago*, riſing out of their ambuſcade, attacked with great ſhouts their rear. Then the brave legionaries, finding themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides, fought like men in deſpair, and being headed by *Sempronius*, who was a man of great perſonal courage, cut their way through the battalions of the *Gauls* and *Africans*, who op-

* Polyb. l. iii c 71. Liv. l. xxi. c. 53, 54.

poſed

poſed them, ſtrewed the ground with their dead bodies, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, retired in good order, to the number of ten thouſand, to *Placentia*, their return to the camp being obſtructed by the *Trebia*, and the victorious cavalry of the enemy, who, ſcouring the plain, cut all in pieces they met with. The allies in the two wings endeavoured to regain their camp; but ſome of them were drowned in the river, others killed by the enemy, while they were attempting to paſs it, and moſt of them trod down by the horſe and elephants; ſo that the rout was general, and the ſlaughter great. A ſmall body only of foot, and a party of horſe, beſides the ten thouſand legionaries, made their eſcape, the enemy not being able, on account of the exceſſive cold, to purſue them beyond the river. *Scipio*, who continued indiſpoſed in his tent, no ſooner received the ſad tidings of this defeat, than he decamped, and joined his collegue at *Placentia* [c].

And are defeated.

Sempronius, to prevent a conſternation at *Rome*, ſent diſpatches thither, acquainting the ſenate, that he had engaged the *Carthaginian* army; but that the ſeverity of the ſeaſon and the coldneſs of the weather had ſnatched the victory out of his hands. This the *Romans* were at firſt willing to believe; but when they underſtood, that *Hannibal* was maſter of the conſul's camp; that all the nations of the *Gauls* declared for him; that the *Roman* forces were all fled to the neighbouring colonies for refuge; and that the army had no proviſions but what were conveyed to them by water up the *Po*, the city was filled with terror, every one taking it for granted, that the conqueror would ſoon appear at their gates. But, notwithſtanding this conſternation, intrigue had a greater ſhare in the election of new conſuls, than a due regard for the wants of the ſtate. As both the couſuls were abſent, the ſenate had already paſſed a decree for nominating a dictator to preſide in the comitia, when, to their great ſurprize, *Sempronius* arrived. Raſhneſs had been always his character; and on this occaſion it ſucceeded: for tho' the roads between *Placentia* and *Rome* were much infeſted by *Gauls* and *Africans* diſperſed all over the country, yet *Sempronius*, without either diſguiſe or guard, ventured to croſs thoſe countries, and got ſafe to *Rome*, where he preſided in the comitia, when the famous *C. Flaminius* was choſen, a man without either morals or religion, and who had ſix years before ſignalized his conſulſhip, by diſobeying the orders of the republic, commanding him to abdicate, and by an open contempt of the

[c] POLYB. ibid. c. 72. LIV. l. xxi. c. 55.

gods and auſpices; but he had joined the tribunes of the people in promoting a law, which confined commerce to the plebeians (K), and therefore was by them raiſed to the conſulate the ſecond time. The collegue appointed him was *P. Servilius Geminus*, a man of great integrity, but of moderate abilities in war. It fell by lot to *Flaminius* to oppoſe *Hannibal*, and to the other to command an army in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. In the ſame comitia *P. Cornelius Scipio*, whoſe wound was not yet cured, was appointed to go into *Spain* in quality of proconſul, whither he had ſent his brother *Cn. Scipio*, to carry on the war againſt *Aſdrubal*. The elections being over, and the conſulſhip of *Sempronius* not yet expired, he returned to *Placentia*, where he had taken up his quarters. As for *Hannibal*, he did not continue idle, notwithſtanding the inconveniencies of the ſeaſon, but made two attempts on two different places belonging to the *Romans*. The firſt was on a village on the banks of the *Po*, which the *Romans* had fortified, and made their magazine of corn; but *Sempronius*, who was very good at theſe ſudden expeditions, hearing from *Placentia* the ſhouts of the gariſon, haſtened with all his cavalry to their relief, and obliged *Hannibal*, who was wounded on this occaſion, to retire with great loſs. But the indefatigable *Carthaginian*, before his wound was well cured, made a new attempt upon *Victumviæ*, a ſmall city of *Inſubria*, which the *Romans* had built and fortified during their war with the *Gauls*. This place *Hannibal* took, and gave it up to be plundered by his *Africans*, who committed ſuch cruelties, as had never before been practiſed in *Italy* [d].

Victumviæ *taken by* Hannibal.

In the mean time, the ſenate at *Rome* provided every thing neceſſary for the next campaign. Forces were diſpatched into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, under the command of their proper prætors; and *Tarentum*, as well as the other cities on the coaſt, ſecured with ſtrong gariſons, to prevent a deſcent. Sixty quinqueremes were equipped to cruize on the *Mediterranean* and *Adriatic*,

[d] Liv. ibid. c. 57.

(K) *Flaminius*, entering into all the intrigues of the tribunes of the people againſt the nobility, had been the promoter of a law contrary to the intereſt of the nobility, which from him was called the *Flaminian law*. It was then cuſtomary for the nobility to fit out ſhips, and trade for their private advantage; but *Flaminius* confined the liberty of commerce to the plebeians, by getting a law paſſed, forbidding the ſenators to poſſeſs more than one veſſel each, and that only fit to bring proviſions from their country-houſes.

and

and great convoys ſent into *Ciſalpine Gaul* and *Hetruria*, which were, in all likelihood, to be the ſeats of the war. But now *Hannibal*, finding the *Gauls* uneaſy at his reſiding ſo long among them, began to grow jealous of that nation; and his apprehenſions were ſuch, that fearing they might make ſome attempt upon his life, he invented the uſe of falſe hair of ſeveral colours, which he changed ſeveral times a day, as well as his dreſs, to diſguiſe himſelf; but as this ſubjection did not ſuit his temper, he reſolved to croſs the *Apennines*, and enter *Hetruria*, at a time when thoſe mountains were almoſt impaſſable. He was not appriſed of the dreadful ſtorms which the wind raiſes on thoſe high rocks, eſpecially towards the end of winter; and therefore unwarily expoſed his troops to great danger, in attempting to croſs them at that ſeaſon. So terrible a hurricane ſurprized him on his march, and the wind blew the ſnow mixed with rain ſo violently in the faces of his men, that, not being able to advance a ſtep, they were forced to halt, and let the ſtorm blow over. When the rain ceaſed, the wind became more violent; inſomuch that, after they had in vain attempted to pitch their tents, they were obliged to return to the plain, after two days fatigue and diſtreſs. *Hannibal* loſt on this occaſion a great many men, who were ſtarved to death with cold, and ſeven out of the ſmall number of elephants that ſtill remained; however, his natural activity did not allow him to take any reſt. Early the next morning he marched out of his intrenchments, with twelve thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and offered the conſul *Sempronius* battle. The *Roman* general, always ready to engage, accepted the challenge, and, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, which laſted till three hours after noon, repulſed the enemy quite to their camp. The raſh conſul, intoxicated with this ſucceſs, thought now of nothing leſs than forcing *Hannibal*'s camp; but, after he had fatigued his men to no purpoſe in this raſh enterprize, he was forced to ſound a retreat. As the *Romans* were retiring, *Hannibal*, having firſt ſent out detachments to attack them in flank, fell upon their rear himſelf with all his infantry. The *Romans* faced about, and the battle was renewed with ſuch fury, as threatened a dreadful ſlaughter on both ſides, if night coming on had not put an end to it [c].

He attempts in vain to croſs the Appennines.

As *Hannibal* had only poſtponed his deſign of entering *Hetruria*, he now began to inquire of thoſe who were acquainted with the country, which was the beſt road to take; and

[c] POLYB. l. iii. c. 75.

being informed that there were two, the one longer, but more eaſy, the other ſhorter, but leading through marſhy grounds ſcarce paſſable, he choſe the latter, being on all occaſions prompted by his natural inclination to imbarque in ſuch enterprizes, as were apt to raiſe admiration, and ſtrike terror into the enemy. Being therefore aſſured, that tho' great part of the country, through which he was to paſs, lay under water, the bottom was found, he ordered his army to begin their march. He placed the *Spaniards* and *Africans* with their proviſions in the van, next to them the *Gauls*, and the horſe in the rear. *Mago*, with a body of *Numidians*, kept hovering about the flanks of the army, to prevent the ſoldiers from ſtraggling, and the *Gauls*, who were impatient of labour, from deſerting. The *Spaniards* and *Africans*, who were inured to all ſorts of hardſhips, went into the water without heſitation, and though they were half-way up the leg in mud, kept their ranks; but the *Gauls*, who followed them, marched with great difficulty, the ground being potched and broken by the multitude of men and beaſts of burden who went before them. The whole army ſuffered unſpeakable hardſhips on this march, being obliged to paſs four days and as many nights in the water and mire, without finding a dry place on which they could take any reſt. The horſe of the *Gauls* were moſt part of them loſt by the way, falling and ſticking in the mire; which, however, proved ſome ſort of relief to the ſoldiers, who made uſe of them as they lay with their burdens above water to get a moment's ſleep, the want of which was their greateſt torment. Great numbers of the *Gauls* ſunk under the fatigue and died. Nor was *Hannibal* himſelf without his ſhare of the inconveniencies of the march; for though he rode the only elephant he had left, yet as he was before much affected with a defluxion in his eyes, the evil grew to ſuch a height, by the unwholeſome qualities of the damp air, that he loſt one intirely [f].

His painful march into Hetruria.

Hannibal, having thus, to the great ſurprize of all, paſſed the marſhes, incamped in *Hetruria*, where he was informed, that *Sempronius*, immediately after his departure, had left *Placentia*, marched his army to *Lucca*, and there ſurrendered the command of it to the new conſul *Flaminius*. We have obſerved above, that *Flaminius* obtained the conſulſhip by the favour of the people, contrary to the inclinations of the ſenate. Being therefore apprehenſive, leſt, when he came to be inaugurated, the augurs, influenced by his enemies,

The conſul Flaminius *leaves* Rome *without being inaugurated.*

[f] Idem, c. 78.



mies, ſhould find ſome pretence to render his election invalid, he left *Rome*, without performing the uſual ceremonies of religion; and putting himſelf at the head of the army, incamped with four legions under the walls of *Aretium* in *Hetruria*. The ſenators, highly provoked at this unprecedented ſtep, ſent deputies to him, ordering him to return to *Rome*, and perform there the uſual ceremonies of religion; but *Flaminius*, without paying any regard to their orders, continued in his camp, and diſmiſſed their deputies with ſcorn. As for his collegue *Servilius*, whoſe province was *Ciſalpine Gaul*, he was detained at *Rome*, to aſſiſt at various expiations, the people being much terrified by accounts of prodigies. On the other hand, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being now cured of his wound, ſailed for *Spain*, to join his brother *Cneius*, who had gained great advantages over *Aſdrubal*. He had defeated the *Carthaginian* army in a pitched battle, taken *Hanno* their commander, with *Indibilis* a *Spaniſh* prince, reduced the whole country bordering on the *Iberus*, and gained over many princes to his republic. Tho' the news of theſe ſucceſſes raiſed a little the courage of the conſcript fathers, yet they were very anxious about the conduct of *Flaminius*, who was a man of a fiery temper, bold, and enterpriſing, and had a crafty and experienced enemy to deal with. And indeed *Hannibal*, having learnt the true character of the conſul, did not doubt, but he ſhould ſoon bring him to a battle. With this view he advanced towards *Aretium*, where the conſul was incamped, and, taking the way to *Rome*, left the *Roman* camp behind him. *Flaminius*, looking on this conduct of the enemy as a perſonal affront, reſolved to follow him and venture an engagement. All the officers of the army, in a council of war, endeavoured to divert him from ſo dangerous a reſolution; but he, reproaching them with cowardice, ruſhed out of the council in a rage, and gave the ſignal both for marching and fighting. He mounted his horſe in ſuch a hurry, that he fell from him; which was thought an ill omen. At the ſame time he was told, that the enſigns ſtuck ſo faſt in the ground, that the ſoldiers could not pull them out. This prodigy was no doubt feigned, on purpoſe to keep him in the camp; but the conſul, without paying any regard to ſuch omens, ordered the ſtandard-bearers to make uſe of ſpades and pick-axes, if they could not pull them up with their hands. He then marched out at the head of his troops, whoſe minds he ſo filled with hopes of victory, that the rabble, who followed the army for plunder, carrying with them chains and ſhackles to ſecure the priſoners, were as numerous as the

ſoldiers.

ſoldiers. As for *Hannibal*, who was before the conſular army, by the terrible ravages he committed in the plains of *Cortona*, he provoked the conſul ſtill more to follow him, and at length drew him inſenſibly into an ambuſcade. Adjoining to *Cortona* are ſome pretty high mountains, near a great lake called *Thraſimenus*, now the lake of *Perugia*. Between theſe mountains and the lake is a large valley, into which there is but one narrow paſſage. Through this defile *Hannibal* marched, and incamped his *Spaniſh* and *African* infantry in the valley. His light-armed foot he drew up in one long line, and poſted them at the foot of the hills, on the left ſide of the valley; and with his horſe he lined the right ſide of it. *Flaminius*, without ſending ſcouts before to diſcover the ſituation of the enemy, entered the dangerous paſs. As it was late when he came into the valley, he had only time to pitch his camp before it was dark. As he ſaw nothing but *Hannibal's* camp before him, he was under no apprehenſion; but as ſoon as the *Romans* began to march again at break of day, they found themſelves attacked on a ſudden in front, in rear, and in flank, and yet, by reaſon of a thick fog from the lake, could not perceive the enemy by whom they were thus galled. *Flaminius* heard from his poſt the cries of his ſoldiers in different places, and the groans of dying men in the very centre of his army; but as he could not, for the thickneſs of the fog, perceive whence the miſchief came, he ran ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another, in great perplexity, exhorting his ſoldiers, who in their diſtreſs were imploring the aſſiſtance of the gods, not to depend on idle prayers, but on their arms. The confuſion of the *Romans* was inexpreſſible. Every one endeavoured to ſhift for himſelf; but were ſtopped, either by croude of their fellow-ſoldiers, who were flying as well as themſelves, or by the enemy, who ſurrounded them on all ſides. Some conſidering that it was in vain to fly, ſince they were ſhut in by a lake, by mountains, and by narrow paſſes well guarded, reſolved to ſell their lives dear. Accordingly they rallied, as it were by chance; and the officers mixing with the ſoldiers, without obſerving the uſual order in battle, they fell on the enemy with ſuch eagerneſs and fury, that they were not ſenſible of an earthquake, which overturned many cities in *Italy*. The ſlaughter continued three hours without intermiſſion. At length one *Ducarius*, an *Inſubrian* in the *Carthaginian* army, knowing *Flaminius*, whom he had formerly ſeen laying waſte his country with fire and ſword, cried out, There is the conſul, who did ſo much miſchief to our fields and cities. I will make him a victim to appeaſe the

The battle of the lake Thraſimenus.

the manes of my countrymen. At theſe words he ſpurred on his horſe, broke through the *Romans* who guarded their general, and run his lance through his body. *Flaminius* fell down dead, and the *Gaul* was preparing to ſtrip him; but the triarii covered him with their bodies and bucklers. And now the *Romans* were intimidated to ſuch a degree, that ſome leaped into the lake and were drowned; others attempted to climb over the mountains; and a body of ſix thouſand of them opened themſelves a way through the narrow paſs, ſword in hand, and eſcaped to an eminence, whence they retired to a town in *Hetruria*, and there intrenched themſelves. *Hannibal* detached *Adherbal* after them with all his cavalry, and a great part of his infantry. The fugitives, being inveſted in the village, and deſtitute of all manner of proviſions, ſurrendered to *Maherbal*, who promiſed them their lives and liberties; but *Hannibal*, pretending that *Maherbal* had not been impowered by him to make ſuch a promiſe, loaded the *Romans* with chains; but diſmiſſed their allies, aſſuring them, that he was come into *Italy* to deliver them from the tyrannical yoke of *Rome*, and reſtore them that liberty, which their fathers had enjoyed. By this artful proceeding, he hoped to draw over to his ſide the friends and allies of *Rome* [a].

Flaminius *killed, and the* Romans *defeated.*

AFTER this complete victory, the conqueror ordered the dead to be numbered, and found, that he had loſt but fifteen hundred men; whereas the *Romans* had loſt as many thouſands dead upon the ſpot. The number of priſoners taken by *Hannibal* amounted, according to *Plutarch*, to ten thouſand; according to *Polybius* to fifteen thouſand; but *Livy* and *Valerius Maximus* tell us, that ſix thouſand only were made captives on this occaſion. About ten thouſand *Romans*, moſt of them wounded, made their eſcape, and took their rout to *Rome*, whither few of them arrived, the reſt dying of their wounds before they reached the capital. When news was brought to *Rome* of this great overthrow, the prætor *Pomponius*, knowing it could not be long concealed, mounted the roſtra about ſun-ſet, and to an exceeding numerous aſſembly, even the women crouding to it, contrary to cuſtom, pronounced the following words, *We are overcome*; which ſtruck all with ſuch a terror, that ſome who were preſent, and had been in the battle, thought the defeat was greater at *Rome*, than it had been in the field. The dejection of the citizens was inexpreſſible. They haſtened in crouds to the gates of the city, to wait for thoſe who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, and to learn from them the particulars of the action.

Rome *in the utmoſt conſternation.*

[a] POLYB. l. iii. c. 84, 85. LIV. l. xxii. c. 7.

Two

Two mothers were ſo tranſported with joy, one at the gate of the city, when ſhe ſaw her ſon unexpectedly appear, the other at home, where ſhe found her ſon whom ſhe had given up for loſt, that they both expired on the ſpot. In this general conſternation the ſenators alone preſerved their ſteadineſs. The prætor aſſembled them, and kept them ſitting three days together from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet; but before they came to any reſolution, news was brought of a ſecond defeat. The conſul *Servilius*, having heard at *Ariminum*, that his collegue had reſolved to give battle, had detached four thouſand horſe to his aſſiſtance, under the command of the proprætor *Centenius*; but *Hannibal*, hearing of this reinforcement immediately after the action, ſent out *Adherbal* with all his cavalry and a body of infantry, who meeting with the *Roman* horſe, killed two thouſand of them, and obliged the reſt to take ſanctuary on a neighbouring hill, where they were inveſted, and the next day forced to ſurrender [h].

A detachment of 4000 Roman *horſe cut in pieces or taken.*

And now the ſenate, judging that the republic wanted an abſolute governor, without waiting for a nomination from the ſurviving conſul, of their own authority named a dictator; but, out of regard to the ancient cuſtom, they gave him only the title of *Pro-dictator*. The perſon choſen was *Fabius Maximus*, ſirnamed *Verrucoſus*, a man as cool and cautious in his conduct, as *Sempronius* and *Flaminius* had been warm and impetuous. The people did not ſuffer him, as was cuſtomary for dictators, to name his general of the horſe, but appointed one themſelves, and pitched upon *M. Minucius Rufus*, a great favourite of the people, and a zealous partizan of the plebeian party. The new dictator began the functions of his office, by commanding the decemviri to conſult the *Sibylline* books, in order to learn from thoſe myſterious oracles the cauſes of the preſent calamities. The decemviri reported, that the misfortunes of the republic were owing to the non-performance of a vow made formerly by *Aulus Cornelius* to *Mars*, which was, to ſacrifice to that god all the pigs, lambs, kids, and calves that ſhould be brought forth in one ſpring; that is, from the firſt of *March* to the firſt of *May*. This is what the ancients called *ver ſacrum*. This vow being renewed, and ſeveral others made, the dictator took the field at the head of the army *Servilius* had commanded, to which he added two new legions, appointing the city of *Tibur* for the place of general rendezvous. From thence he ſent orders to all the country-people to burn their houſes, and retire with all their effects into places of ſafety. After this he ſet out on

Fabius Maximus *dictator.*

[h] Polyb. & Liv. ibid.

his

his march to meet *Hannibal*, not with a deſign to engage him, but only to watch his motions, ſtraiten his quarters, and cut off his proviſions, which, he knew, was the moſt effectual means of deſtroying him in a country ſo far from his own. Accordingly he followed him through *Umbria* and *Picenum* into the territory of *Adria*, and then through the countries of the *Marrucini* and *Frentani* into *Apulia*. When the enemy marched, he followed them; when they incamped, he did the ſame; but for the moſt part on eminences, and at ſome diſtance from their camp, watching all their motions, cutting off their ſtraggliers, and keeping them in a continual alarm. This cautious way of proceeding, which gained him the ſurname of *Cunctator*, greatly diſtreſſed the enemy, but at the ſame time raiſed murmurs in the army. *Minucius*, who was a favourite of the people, and ambitious of the chief command, made no ſcruple to accuſe the dictator of cowardice under the appearance of prudence; but neither the invectives of *Minucius*, nor the devaſtations which *Hannibal* committed in the countries of the allies of *Rome*, could make *Fabius* alter his meaſures. He ſtill continued following the *Carthaginian* army, without hazarding a battle, and was never above one, or, at the moſt, two leagues from it. *Hannibal*, who was well appriſed, that the meaſures *Fabius* had taken muſt at length utterly ruin the *Carthaginian* army, did all that lay in his power to bring him to a battle. He ravaged *Samnium*, plundered the territory of *Beneventum*, a *Roman* colony, and laid ſiege to *Teleſia*, a city at the foot of the *Apennines*. But finding that neither the ravaging of the country, nor even the taking of ſome cities, could make *Fabius* quit his eminences, he reſolved to make uſe of a ſtronger bait, which was to enter *Campania*, the fineſt country in *Italy*, and lay it waſte under the dictator's eyes, hoping by that means to bring him to an action. Accordingly he ordered his guides, who were three *Campanian* horſemen in his army, to lead him to the territory of *Caſinum*; but, as he ſpoke *Latin* very indifferently, he pronounced the word *Caſinum* in ſuch a manner, that the guides underſtood *Caſilinum*, and led his troops into narrow paſſes, which divide *Samnium* from *Campania*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Caſilinum*. He had no ſooner entered the ſtraits, than *Fabius*, who watched all his motions, attacked from the eminences his rear, put it into diſorder, and killed about eight hundred of his men. *Hannibal*, thinking himſelf betrayed by his guides, ordered them all to be crucified; or, as *Livy* has it, vented his rage on one of them only, cauſ-

Fabius *follows* Hannibal, *without hazarding a battle.*

ing him to be firſt beaten with rods, and then crucified, for an example of terror to others [1].

THE ravages he committed in *Campania* raiſed ſuch complaints in the *Roman* army againſt the dictator, that, for fear of irritating his men, he pretended to be as impatient of coming to a battle as *Minucius*, and accordingly marched after *Hannibal* with more expedition than uſual; but at the ſame time avoided an engagement, under various pretences, with more care than the enemy ſought it. He beheld, from the top of mount *Maſſicus*, the *Carthaginians* laying waſte the fruitful plains of *Falernum*, without ſtirring from his poſt. Hereupon both officers and ſoldiers began to mutiny, and hearken with pleaſure to the invectives of *Minucius*. *We have indeed*, ſaid the general of the horſe, *a noble leader; for fear of endangering our lives, he hides us in the clouds.* When theſe and ſuch like reflections were told *Fabius*, he only replied, That he ſhould be more cowardly than they ſuppoſed him, if, through fear of idle railleries, he neglected to follow the dictates of his reaſon, and continued the ſame conduct, notwithſtanding he underſtood, that his precaution and delays were blamed even at *Rome*. *Hannibal*, finding he could not by any means bring the dictator to a battle, reſolved to quit *Campania*, which he found abounding more with fruit and wine than with corn, and to return into *Samnium*, through the paſs called *Eribanus*. *Fabius* concluded from his march, that this was his deſign, got there before him, and incamped on mount *Callicula*, which commanded the paſs, after having placed ſeveral bodies in all the avenues leading to it. *Hannibal* was for ſome time at a loſs what to do; but at laſt contrived the following ſtratagem, which *Fabius* could not foreſee nor guard againſt. Being incamped at the foot of mount *Callicula*, he ordered *Aſdrubal* to pick out of the cattle taken in the country two thouſand of the ſtrongeſt and nimbleſt oxen to tie faggots to their horns, and to have them and the herdſmen ready without the camp. After ſupper, when all was quiet, the cattle were brought in good order to the hill, where *Fabius* had placed ſome *Roman* parties in ambuſh to ſtop up the paſs. Upon a ſignal given, the faggots on the horns of the oxen were ſet on fire, and the herdſmen, ſupported by ſome battalions armed with ſmall javelins, drove them on quietly. The *Romans* ſeeing the light of the fires imagined, that the *Carthaginians* were marching by torch-light. However, *Fa-*

Fabius *is rallied as a coward by his own army.*

Hannibal's *ſtratagem to get through the paſs* Eribanus.

[1] PLUT. in Fab. LIV. l. xxii. c. 13. POLYB. l. iii. c. 91.

bius

bius kept cloſe in his camp, depending on the troops he had placed in ambuſcade; but when the oxen, feeling the fire on their heads, began to run up and down the hills, the *Romans* in ambuſh, thinking themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides, abandoned their poſts, and, climbing the ways where they ſaw leaſt light, returned to their camp. Then *Hannibal*, ſeeing the paſs open, entered it, and getting ſafe through with his army and baggage, gained the plain before day-light, and incamped near *Alliſæ*, on the confines of *Samnium* and *Campania*. *Fabius*, tho' rallied by his ſoldiers for having been thus over-reached by the *Carthaginian*, ſtill purſued the ſame meaſures, marched directly after *Hannibal*, and incamped on the eminences near *Alliſæ*. From thence he followed him all over *Samnium* into *Apulia*, intercepting many of his ſtragglers and convoys; but when he came to *Larinum* in the country of the *Frentani*, he received a letter from the ſenate, recalling him to *Rome*, on pretence of a ſolemn ſacrifice which required his preſence; and then the virtue of this great man was put to a ſevere trial. Not only the blind multitude, but even the conſcript fathers, had imbibed falſe prejudices againſt him. As *Hannibal* had artfully ſpared his lands in the general devaſtation, they began to ſuſpect him of holding a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy. Of this groundleſs ſuſpicion they gave a ſignal proof, by refuſing to ſend him a ſum of money for the redemption of two hundred and forty ſeven captives, whom *Hannibal* had releaſed, purſuant to an agreement between him and the dictator concerning the exchange of priſoners: but this ingratitude of the ſenate ſerved only to heighten the luſtre of his virtue; for, as he was a religious obſerver of his word, he ordered his ſon to ſell his lands, and with the money paid the ſum ſtipulated [k].

Fabius *recalled to* Rome.

THE dictator, upon his leaving the army, commanded his general of the horſe not to hazard a battle during his abſence; but *Minucius*, without paying any regard to his orders, immediately ſent out ſtrong parties to attack the *Carthaginian* foragers, and in two bloody ſkirmiſhes cut many of them in pieces, and took from them all their booty. The news of this ſucceſs reaching *Rome* before the dictator, he found, on his arrival, both the ſenate and people ſtrangely prepoſſeſſed againſt him, and in favour of his general of the horſe. One *Metilius*, a tribune of the people, made an harangue to the multitude in the preſence of *Fabius*, full of the blackeſt accuſations againſt him; but the dictator, thinking it beneath him to make an apology, addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly

[k] PLUT. in Fab. POLYB. l. iii. c. 92. LIV. l. xxii. c. 15

with the following words: Fabius *cannot be ſuſpected by his country.* And then, with an air of grandeur and intrepidity ſuitable to his rank, *Romans*, ſaid he, *let us make haſte to finiſh the religious ceremonies, which detain me from returning to the army. I have a refractory man to chaſtize, and a breach of military diſcipline to puniſh. I forbad* Minucius *to give battle; but he has diſobeyed my orders, and I muſt make an example of him.* The friends of *Minucius*, ſtruck dumb with this declaration, began to conſult how they could ſcreen him from the ſeverity of a magiſtrate inveſted with an uncontroulable power. *Metilius* adviſed the people to give the general of the horſe an equal authority with the dictator: *Terentius Varro* was the only tribune, whom *Metilius* could prevail upon to ſecond his motion. He was the ſon of a butcher, and had followed his father's profeſſion in his youth; but growing rich, he had forſaken that mean calling, and, by the favour of the people, obtained firſt the prætorſhip, and afterwards the tribuneſhip. Now he aſpired to the conſulate, and therefore, ſeeing the people greatly inclined to favour *Minucius*, he did not ſcruple to promote his fortune at the expence of his honour. He ſeconded *Metilius*, and both together got the law paſſed, eſtabliſhing, by an unheard-of innovation, an equality between the dictator and his general of the horſe. The ſenate, out of ſome unaccountable prejudice againſt *Fabius*, were mean-ſpirited enough to confirm this ſtrange law. *Fabius*, having aſſiſted at the ſacrifice to which he had been called, and preſided at the election of a new conſul, *Atilius Regulus*, in the room of *Flaminius*, had left *Rome* before the decree was confirmed by the ſenate, but was overtaken on the road by a meſſenger, injoining him, in the name of the *Roman* people and ſenate, to give his general of the horſe an equal ſhare of the command. When he arrived at the camp, *Minucius*, in the firſt conference he had with him, propoſed, that each ſhould take his turn in the command of the whole army for a day, or a week; but *Fabius* choſe to divide the army, and to command his ſhare ſeparately, hoping by that means to ſave at leaſt a part of the *Roman* forces. The army being divided, the two generals did not remove far from each other, but incamped at a due diſtance, *Fabius* on the hill, and *Minucius* a little below him, almoſt in the plain. *Hannibal* poſted himſelf over-againſt the latter, and, by his artful management, ſoon brought him to an engagement, in which, by the maſterly ſkill of the *Carthaginian* in laying ambuſhes, he was ſurrounded on all ſides, and would have been cut off with all his troops, had not *Fabius*, ſacrificing his private reſentment to the welfare of his country.

Minucius, *his general of the horſe, put upon an equal foot with him.*

country, haſtened to his relief. That brave *Roman*, moved with compaſſion at the ſight of the terrible ſlaughter that was made of his countrymen, ruſhed down like a torrent from his hills, fell upon the enemy where *Minucius* was moſt preſſed, cut all in pieces who oppoſed him, and put the reſt into the utmoſt confuſion. Then *Minucius*'s troops rallying, the two armies united, and advanced in good order to renew the fight; but *Hannibal*, not caring to venture a ſecond action, ſounded the retreat, and retired to his camp. He was heard to ſay, as he marched back, *I have always foreſeen, that the cloud, which appeared ſo conſtantly on the mountains, would, ſome time or other, break out into a ſtorm, and diſcharge itſelf upon our heads.* After the action, *Minucius* and *Fabius* returned to their reſpective camps. The latter did not drop a word which favoured of oſtentation, or of contempt for his collegue; and *Minucius* did juſtice both to himſelf and to *Fabius*. Having aſſembled his troops, he told them, He had learned by experience that he was not born to command; but that obedience ought to be his province; and that he was therefore reſolved to return to the ſtation, which he had preſumptuouſly left. Come then, dear fellow-ſoldiers, ſaid he, let us go and offer our ſervices to the dictator, and put ourſelves again wholly under his conduct. Let him command alone, ſince he alone is fit to be the ſoul of ſo great a body. I will call him father; and you ought to give his ſoldiers, who delivered you, the title of patrons. It will be a greater glory for us to have conquered ourſelves, than to have conquered *Hannibal*. Having thus ſpoke, he immediately marched his legions to the dictator's camp, preſented himſelf before him, made his acknowledgments, and reſigned the authority with which he had been intruſted. He declared that he ſhould think himſelf happy, if the dictator would only continue him in his office of general of the horſe, and begged, that none of his officers might be degraded, ſince his raſhneſs alone had brought diſhonour upon them. *Fabius* tenderly embraced him, granted him what he aſked; and the day, which began with ſo much terror, ended with an univerſal joy in the camp. The ſix months of the dictatorſhip being ſoon after expired, *Fabius* returned to *Rome*, after having reſigned the command of the army to the conſuls *Servilius* and *Attilius*, who, obſerving the ſame conduct with *Fabius*, watched from the eminences the enemy's motions, without giving *Hannibal*, for the remainder of their year, an opportunity of attacking them [1].

ſaves his collegue from being totally defeated.

Minucius reſigns his new authority.

[1] POLYB. l. iii. c. 101, 102. LIV. l. xxii. c. 28. 29. 30. PLUT. in Fab.

DURING

The ſtate of affairs in Spain.

During theſe tranſactions in *Italy*, *Cneius Scipio* made a ſurpriſing progreſs in *Spain*. All the nations between the *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees* ſubmitted to him, and put him in poſſeſſion of a hundred cities. The *Celtiberians* entered into an alliance with him, and engaging *Aſdrubal* defeated him in two pitched battles, killed five thouſand of his men, and took four thouſand priſoners. This was the ſtate of the *Roman* affairs in *Spain*, when *P. Scipio*, the brother of *Cneius*, arrived there with the character of proconſul, carrying with him eight thouſand *Roman* troops. With this additional ſtrength the two brothers paſſed the *Iberus*, and, penetrating into the heart of the *Carthaginian* provinces, marched towards *Saguntum*, which *Hannibal* had rebuilt before he left *Spain*, and ſecured with a ſtrong gariſon, under the command of *Boſtar* a *Carthaginian*, having placed in it all the young noblemen, whom he had obliged their parents to put into his hands, as pledges of their fidelity. As theſe hoſtages prevented the *Spaniſh* lords from revolting to the *Romans*, the two *Scipios* marched to *Saguntum*, in order to ſet them free. Their deſign was executed by one *Abelox*, a *Spaniſh* officer in the gariſon, who, having an inclination to go over to the *Romans*, perſuaded *Boſtar*, that it would be much for the *Carthaginian* intereſt, to oblige the *Spaniſh* noblemen by a voluntary releaſe of their children, urging that, if the *Romans* ſhould take the place, and reſtore them to their parents, innumerable nations would immediately declare for them. He offered to conduct the hoſtages himſelf to their reſpective countries; but the inconſiderate *Carthaginian* had no ſooner given his conſent to this motion, than *Abelox*, ſtealing away in the night to the *Roman* camp, acquainted the proconſul with what he had done; and it was agreed between them, that the following night a detachment of *Romans* ſhould lie in ambuſh, and ſurprize both the youths and their leader. The project was happily executed; and *Scipio*, by ſending back the hoſtages to their parents, ſecured ſuch an intereſt in the country, that he was ſtronger there than the *Carthaginians* [m].

And now the time for a new election drawing near, one of the conſuls named a dictator to preſide in the comitia, it not being ſafe for either of them to leave the army. The perſon named was *L. Veturius Philo*; but, the augurs finding ſome defect in his nomination, he was forced to abdicate, and give place to an inter-regnum; when *Terentius Varro*, of whom we have ſpoken above, was choſen to the conſulate,

[m] Polyb. l iii. c. 95. Liv. l. xxii. c. 19, 21, 22.

in

THE CANTABRICAN OCEAN

PART OF GAUL

THE WESTERN OCEAN

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Transmontani

Augustani

Concani

Cantabri

Autrigones

Varduli

Vascones

Pyrenees

Artabri

Lucenses

Callaici

Grauii

Brecatis

Pelendones

Vaccæi

Berones

Suessitani

Lacetani

Cempsi

Ceretani

Iacceta

Ilergetes

Auſetani

Lalentani

Old Carthage

Tarraco

Areuacæ

Vetto

Carpetani

Lobetani

Oretani

Basturia

Turdetani

Turduli

Bastitani

Oretani

Contestani

Bigerra

Lucentum

Illiberis

Veneris Fanum or Point

Emporia

Illercabo

Sedetani

Balearides or Gymneſiæ Iſles

Maior

Minor

Pollentia

Palma

Ophiuſa

Pytiuſæ

Sucronensis Gulf

Illicitanus Gulf

Spartarius campus

Sacrum promontorium

Barbarum point

Sacred point

THE GULF OF GADES NOW CADIZ

Straits of Hercules

Hercules Columna

PART OF AFRICA

ANTIENT SPAIN

Pomarede Sculp.

in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the whole body of the nobility. The collegue given him was *Æmilius Paulus*, as bitter an enemy to the plebeians, as *Varro* was to the patricians. *Servilius* and *Attilius* were continued, in quality of proconſuls, at the head of the armies; but with orders to act under the direction of the new conſuls. That *Terentius*, who was a great favourite of the people, might have the glory of conquering *Hannibal*, eight new legions were raiſed, conſiſting each of five thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe; and the allies were ordered to furniſh the republic with double their contingents, both of horſe and foot. The winter being ſpent in theſe preparations, the conſuls took the field early in the ſpring, and arriving at the camp, found affairs in a good condition there, *Servilius* and *Attilius* having avoided a general action, and in ſome ſkirmiſhes gained conſiderable advantages. *Hannibal*, ſoon after the arrival of the new conſuls, whoſe army conſiſted in all of eighty ſeven thouſand men, being reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions, reſolved to leave *Samnium*, and penetrate into the heart of *Apulia*. Accordingly he decamped in the night, and, by leaving fires burning and tents ſtanding in his camp, made the *Romans* believe for ſome time, that his retreat was only feigned. When the truth was diſcovered, *Æmilius* was againſt purſuing him; but *Terentius*, contrary to the opinion of all the officers in the army, except the proconſul *Servilius*, was obſtinately bent on following the enemy, whom he overtook at *Cannæ*, till this time an obſcure city in *Apulia* (L). It ſtood on the banks of the *Aufidus*, in a vaſt plain, five miles from *Canuſium*, and ſix from the *Adriatic* ſea. Here *Hannibal* halted, not

Eight new legions raiſed in Rome.

(L) *Cannæ*, according to *Livy*, *Appian*, and *Florus*, was only a poor village, which afterwards became famous, on account of the battle fought near it; but *Polybius*, who lived near the time of the ſecond *Punic* war, ſtyles *Cannæ* a city; but adds, that it had been razed a year before the defeat of the *Roman* army. The account of *Silius* agrees with that of *Polybius*.

Ut ventum ad Cannas, urbis veſtigia priſcæ.

ſays that poet. It was afterwards rebuilt; for *Pliny* ranks it among the cities of *Apulia* (27). The ruins of *Cannæ* are ſtill to be ſeen in the territory of *Bari*, formerly called *Apulia Peucetia*.

(27) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 11.

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only becauſe he found a magazine of corn in the place, but becauſe he thought the open country about it very proper for a battle, there being room enough for his cavalry, the main ſtrength and hopes of his army, to extend themſelves. The conſuls being divided in opinion about fighting, courier after courier was ſent to *Rome*, and even *Æmilius* went thither himſelf to receive the orders of the ſenate, who judged it neceſſary to fight the enemy; but adviſed *Terentius* not to do it yet. In the mean time, *Hannibal* took his poſt on the banks of the river, and diſpoſed all things as if he were juſt coming to a battle. His troops had the ſun behind them at noon; ſo that the *Romans* muſt be expoſed not only to the inconvenience of too great a light, but to that of great clouds of duſt, which the ſouth-weſt wind, that blows almoſt every day in *Apulia*, would carry in their faces. As for the conſuls, they were no ſooner within reach of *Cannæ*, than a diſpute aroſe between them. *Æmilius* was for incamping on the eminences, where the enemy's cavalry, which was far ſuperior to theirs, could not act; and accordingly, when it was his turn to command, he pitched his camp among the hills; but *Terentius* the next day advanced into the plain, and brought the army into ſuch a ſituation, that *Æmilius* the following day could not retire, without expoſing the army to great danger. He therefore fortified two camps, the greater on the weſt ſide of the river, and the leſſer on the eaſt, and opened a communication between them by a bridge. And now there was no longer the leaſt harmony between the conſuls; they had quite different maxims, and purſued oppoſite meaſures, each ſucceeding day deſtroying the projects of the preceding. *Hannibal*, perceiving that the *Romans* could not long avoid a general action, having harangued his troops, drew them up in battalia, and bid the enemy defiance. It was *Æmilius*'s day to command; and he, knowing that *Hannibal* would be ſoon obliged to decamp for want of proviſions, deſpiſed his bravadoes, and kept cloſe in his intrenchments; but the next morning, by break of day, *Terentius*, whoſe turn it was to command, marched his troops into the great plain, where the little camp was pitched, and drew them up after the uſual manner, the haſtati in the firſt line, the principes in the ſecond, and the triarii in the third. The cavalry were poſted on the wings. In the right the *Roman* knights flanked the legionaries; in the left the cavalry of the allies covered their own infantry. The two conſuls commanded the two wings, *Æmilius* the right, and *Terentius* the left; and the two proconſuls, *Servilius* and *Attilius*, the

The two Roman conſuls diſagree.

The diſpoſition of the two armies at the battle of Cannæ.

main

main body. On the other hand, *Hannibal*, whoſe army conſiſted of forty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, placed his *Gauliſh* and *Spaniſh* cavalry in his left wing, to face the *Roman* knights, and the *Numidian* horſe in his right, over-againſt the cavalry of the allies of *Rome*. As to his infantry, he divided the *African* battalions into two bodies, one of which he poſted near the *Gauliſh* and *Spaniſh* horſe, the other near the *Numidian*. Between theſe two bodies were placed, on one ſide the *Gauliſh*, on the other the *Spaniſh*, infantry, drawn up in ſuch a manner, as to form a kind of obtuſe angle, projecting a conſiderable way beyond the two wings. Behind this firſt line he drew up a ſecond, which had no projection. *Aſdrubal* commanded the left wing, *Maherbal* the right, and *Hannibal* himſelf, with his brother *Mago*, the main body. The onſet was begun with the light-armed infantry, the *Romans* diſcharging their javelins, and the *Baleares* their ſtones, with equal ſucceſs; nevertheleſs the conſul *Æmilius* was wounded. Then the *Roman* cavalry in the right wing advanced againſt the *Gauliſh* and *Spaniſh* in *Hannibal*'s left wing. As they were ſhut in by the river on one ſide, and their infantry on the other, they did not fight, as uſual, by charging and wheeling off, and then returning to the charge, but continued fighting each man againſt his adverſary, till one of them was killed or retired. After they had made inconceivable efforts on both ſides to overbear each other, they all on a ſudden diſmounted, and fought on foot man to man with incredible fury. But this attack was more bloody than long; the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* prevailed, put the *Romans* to the rout, and purſuing them along the river, ſtrewed the ground with their dead bodies, *Aſdrubal* giving no quarter. This action was ſcarce over, when the infantry advanced on both ſides. The *Romans* fell firſt upon the *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, who, as we have obſerved above, formed a kind of triangle, projecting beyond the two wings. Theſe gave ground, and, purſuant to *Hannibal*'s directions, ſunk into the void ſpace in their rear; by which means they inſenſibly brought the *Romans*, who followed them with more ardor than caution, into the centre of the *African* infantry, and then rallying, attacked them in front, while the *Africans* charged them on both their flanks. The *Romans*, being, by this artful retreat, drawn into the ſnare and ſurrounded, no longer kept their ranks, but formed ſeveral platoons, in order to face every way. *Æmilius*, who was in the right wing, ſeeing the danger of the main body, at the head of the legionaries, who were his only hopes,

The Roman *horſe defeated.*

after the defeat of the cavalry, acted the part both of a ſoldier and general, penetrating into the very heart of the enemy's battalions, and cutting in pieces all who oppoſed him. All the *Roman* cavalry that was left attended the brave conſul on foot, and, encouraged by his example, fought like men in deſpair. But, in the mean time, *Aſdrubal*, at the head of a detachment of *Gauliſh* and *Spaniſh* infantry brought from the centre, attacked *Æmilius*'s legionaries, who were greatly fatigued, with ſuch fury, that they were forced to give ground and fly. *Æmilius*, covered with wounds and blood, was too weak to reach the camp; and therefore, being deſerted by his men, ſat down on a ſtone, and in that condition was found by one *Lentulus*, a tribune, who was flying as well as the reſt. *Lentulus*, knowing the conſul, immediately diſmounted, and offered him his horſe; but *Æmilius* replied with a faint voice, I have lived long enough, dear *Lentulus*; fly, and let me die. Take care to give the ſenate timely notice of our misfortunes, that they may guard and fortify *Rome*, and tell *Fabius*, that I have followed the advice he gave me at our parting to the very laſt. Then *Lentulus* paſſed on, and the enemy's cavalry, who purſued the *Romans*, coming up, killed the conſul without knowing him (M). Thus fell one of the braveſt conſuls, and beſt citizens, *Rome* ever had [n].

The conſul Æmilius Paulus killed.

In the main body, the *Romans*, though inveſted on all ſides, continued to ſell their lives dear, fighting in platoons, and making a great ſlaughter of the enemy. But, being at length over-powered, and diſheartened by the loſs of the two proconſuls, *Servilius* and *Attilius*, who headed them, they diſperſed and fled, ſome to the right, and ſome to the left, as the ground or the enemy gave them an opportunity. But the *Numidian* horſe, more fit for a purſuit than a pitched

[n] Polyb. l. iii. c. 115, 116. Liv. l. xxi. c. 48, 49.

(M) The account *Plutarch* gives us of the conſul *Æmilius Paulus*'s death, is ſomewhat different from this. This great man, ſays he, after he had diſcharged all the duties of a good citizen and able commander, was thrown by his horſe, which probably had been wounded. Hereupon the knights round him diſmounted to defend him; which the reſt of the cavalry obſerving, believed that they had diſmounted by the general's order, and did the ſame. In the mean time, *Æmilius*, having received many wounds, and loſt a great quantity of blood, reſted ſome time on a ſtone; and then threw himſelf into the middle of the enemy's ſquadrons, who diſpatched him with innumerable wounds.

battle,

battle, cut moſt of them in pieces. The whole plain was covered with heaps of dead bodies; inſomuch, that *Hannibal* himſelf, thinking the butchery too terrible, ordered his men to put a ſtop to it. As for *Terentius Varro*, the author of all theſe misfortunes, after the *Numidians* had put the wing he commanded into confuſion, he, without attempting to rally his men, fled to *Venuſia* with only ſeventy horſe. In this bloody action at leaſt forty five thouſand *Romans* were left dead upon the ſpot (N); among whom were one conſul, two proconſuls, two military quæſtors, twenty nine legionary tribunes, and fourſcore ſenators or magiſtrates who had a right of voting in the ſenate, and had ſerved as voluntiers. Among the reſt, the famous *Minucius* was killed, who had been general of the horſe the laſt year under *Fabius*. About ſeventeen thouſand of the right wing had fled to the two camps, ten thouſand to the great camp, and ſeven thouſand to the little one. The former having loſt their officers, and expecting to be inveſted the next day, invited the latter to join them, that they might march away together in the night, and take refuge in *Canuſium*, a ſtrong city not far off. But it was with the utmoſt difficulty that *Sempronius Tuditanus*, a legionary tribune, could prevail upon any of thoſe in the little camp to hearken to his propoſal, they being afraid, leſt the enemy ſhould intercept them in paſſing from one camp to the other. However, the braveſt of them drew themſelves up at length into a *cuneus*, that is, in the form of a wedge, marched out in good order, and arrived ſafe at the great camp; where they joined their fellow-ſoldiers, marched away before day-break, and got to *Canuſium*.

And the Roman army defeated with great ſlaughter.

(N) There is a great diſagreement among authors as to the number of *Romans* killed and taken in the battle of *Cannæ*. According to *Livy*, the republic loſt on that occaſion fifty thouſand men, the auxiliaries included. According to *Polybius*, of ſix thouſand *Roman* horſe only ſeventy eſcaped to *Venuſia* with *Terentius Varro*, and three hundred of the auxiliary horſe. As to the infantry, that writer tells us, that ſeventy thouſand of the *Roman* foot died on the field of battle, fighting like brave men, and that thirteen thouſand were taken priſoners. According to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, of ſix thouſand horſe only three hundred and ſeventy eſcaped the general ſlaughter, and of eighty thouſand foot, three thouſand only. If we give credit to a tradition, which continued in *Plutarch*'s time, fifty thouſand *Romans* were killed on the ſpot, and four thouſand made priſoners, excluſive of the ten thouſand who were, according to him, taken in the two camps the day after the battle. *Livy* ſays, that eight thouſand of the beſt *Carthaginian* troops were killed in the action.

In the *Carthaginian* camp, the night was ſpent in feaſtings and rejoicings. *Hannibal* had never gained a more complete or more ſeaſonable victory. As ſoon as the day returned, he beheld with infinite ſatisfaction the whole plain covered with *Romans*, who had been ſlain in the action, while, in ſurveying the field of battle, he found that his loſs amounted to no more than four thouſand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Africans* and *Spaniards*, and about two hundred horſe. *Hannibal* took, what in the action and what in the purſuit, ten thouſand priſoners. Such a number of knights are ſaid to have been found dead on the field, that three buſhels of their rings were ſent to *Carthage*. Immediately after the victory, *Maherbal* preſſed *Hannibal* to march ſtrait to *Rome*, and beſiege that capital; which he refuſing to do, *Maherbal* took the liberty to tell him, that he knew how to conquer, but knew not how to uſe and improve his victories. Many of the antients have thought as *Maherbal* did, and have reproached the *Carthaginian* general with the ſame fault; but whether juſtly or not, may be well queſtioned. The advantages he had gained were chiefly owing to his cavalry, who could be of no uſe in a ſiege. The *Roman* infantry were no-ways inferior to his, and would be invincible, when ſheltered by walls and ramparts. The inhabitants of ſo populous a city were all bred up to arms from their infancy, obliged to ſerve as ſoon as they attained to the age of manhood, and would uſe their utmoſt efforts in defence of their wives, their children, and their domeſtic gods. They had as many generals as ſenators, moſt of them men of great prudence and conduct; whereas the advantages hitherto gained over them were owing to the raſhneſs of ſome preſumptuous and unexperienced generals, who had been placed at the head of their armies by the favour of the people, contrary to the intereſt of the public. Beſides, no one nation or city of *Italy* had yet declared for him; and he might judge it neceſſary, and not without reaſon, to gain over or conquer ſome of them before he attempted the ſiege of *Rome*. *Hannibal* having, probably on theſe conſiderations, determined not to follow the advice of *Maherbal*, continued ſome days on the field of battle, allowing his ſoldiers to ſtrip the dead, and gather up the booty, which the *Romans* had left on the plain. On this occaſion the *Carthaginians*, among other moving objects, found, to their great ſurprize, a *Numidian* yet alive, lying under the dead body of a *Roman*, who had thrown himſelf headlong on his enemy, and beat him down; but being no longer able to make uſe of his weapons, becauſe he had loſt his hands, had tore off the noſe and ears of the

Numidian

Numidian with his teeth, and in that fit of rage expired. The *Carthaginians*, having ſpent a whole day in ſtripping the dead bodies of the unhappy *Romans*, the victorious general inveſted the two camps in the evening, which he eaſily made himſelf maſter of, there being none in them but wounded men or cowards, who had not had courage enough to retire with their companions to *Canuſium*. They all ſurrendered upon terms, and were allowed to march out with their cloaths, but without arms. The *Romans* were to pay three hundred *denarii* a head for their ranſom, that is, 9 *l.* 7 *s.* 9 *d.* their allies two hundred, and each ſlave one hundred. Till this was done, *Hannibal* divided them into ſeveral companies, and kept them priſoners under different guards. They amounted in all to four thouſand men, the reſt having retired, as we have related above, to *Canuſium*[o]. *The two Roman camps taken.*

AMONG thoſe *Romans*, who had fled to *Canuſium*, were four legionary tribunes; and of theſe the ſoldiers choſe two to be their chief commanders, viz. *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, and young *Scipio*, the ſon of the proconſul in *Spain*, who was at this time but eighteen years of age. While *Scipio* was deliberating with his collegue what meaſures to take, notice was given him, that the young nobility among the troops were aſſembled in a houſe, and contriving how to leave *Italy*, and retire to ſome of thoſe kings who were friends to *Rome*, which they gave up for loſt. Hereupon the young tribune, filled with zeal, took with him a band of ſoldiers, ſurpriſed the cowards, and with his ſword drawn came up to *Cæcilius Metellus*, the author of this pernicious deſign, whom he addreſſed thus; *I call the great* Jupiter *to witneſs, that I will never deſert my country; nor will I ſuffer any man to do it. This I ſolemnly ſwear; and do you,* Cæcilius, *either take the ſame oath, or die.* The fear of preſent death made them all take the ſame oath; and then *Scipio* ſecured them with a ſtrong guard. Thus this young *Roman*, whom we ſhall afterwards ſee honoured with the glorious ſurname of *Africanus*, ſignalized his zeal for the public welfare on his firſt entering upon public life. The conſul *Terentius*, ſince his coming to *Venuſia*, whither he had fled with only ſeventy men, had been joined by five thouſand of the fugitives. With theſe he went to *Canuſium*, as ſoon as he heard that there were ſix thouſand more in that place, and joined his troops to them; ſo that the whole had now the appearance of a conſular army.

[o] Liv. ibid. c. 51.

IN

In the mean time it was reported at *Rome*, that both conſuls were killed, and that of eighty ſeven thouſand men there was ſcarce one left alive. Never was the city filled with more terror, nor a more univerſal conſternation ſeen there. All the *Roman* conſtancy was neceſſary to prevent the fatal conſequences of ſo ſhocking an affliction. For want of conſuls, the two prætors aſſembled the ſenators, who could hardly give their opinions, being every moment interrupted by the cries of the people, and the ſhrieks of the women, who lamented the loſs of their huſbands, children, or fathers. As the conduct of *Fabius* was now fully juſtified by the defeat of *Terentius*, his counſel was liſtened to and followed. He adviſed them to ſend to the *Appian* and *Latin* ways horſemen well mounted, to learn from the fugitives the ſtate of affairs; what was become of the conſuls? to what place the remains of the army had retired? where *Hannibal* was incamped? what he was doing? and what he deſigned to do? That the women ſhould by a decree be forbid to appear in public, and diſturb the city with their outcries and lamentations; that when any courier arrived, he ſhould be brought, privately and without noiſe, to the prætors; and that no perſon ſhould be ſuffered to go out of the city, leſt it ſhould be deſerted. This advice was applauded; the crouds that filled the ſtreets were diſperſed; and each ſenator undertook to keep every thing quiet in his own neighbourhood. Such was the ſituation of affairs, when at length a courier arrived from *Terentius* with letters, importing, that the *Roman* army had been defeated; that *Æmilius* was ſlain; that he himſelf was retired to *Canuſium*, where he was aſſembling the remains of the troops; that about ten thouſand men of different corps had joined him, but moſt of them without officers; that *Hannibal* was ſtill incamped at *Cannæ*, and buſy there in fixing the ranſoms of the priſoners he had taken. At the ſame time a veſſel arrived from *Sicily*, with letters from the prætor *Otacilius*, acquainting the ſenate, that a *Carthaginian* ſquadron was ravaging the coaſt of *Syracuſe*, and waiting for an opportunity to make a deſcent. The conſcript fathers, in the midſt of theſe perplexities, behaved with incredible conſtancy; and aſſembling daily made the neceſſary preparations for the defence both of *Italy* and *Sicily*. *Marcellus*, an hero already honoured with an extraordinary triumph, for having defeated the *Gauls*, and killed their king in a ſingle combat, had been appointed prætor of *Sicily*, and was now equipping a fleet at *Oſtia*. But the ſenate ordered him from thence into *Apulia*, to take upon him the command of the army at *Canuſium*, in the

Meaſures taken at Rome *after the defeat at* Cannæ.

Marcellus *appointed to command the army.*

the room of *Varro*, who was recalled. *Marcellus*, purſuant to his orders, ſet out immediately for *Rome*, and from thence for *Canuſium*, where he found a body of about fourteen thouſand men. Upon his arrival *Varro* left *Canuſium*, and returned to *Rome*. It is almoſt incredible, that the author of ſo many, both public and private, calamities, ſhould be received with reſpect either by the ſenate or people. Nevertheleſs, all the antients tell us, that he met with as kind a reception from all orders of men in the ſtate, as if he had gained a ſignal victory. All the ſenators in a body, attended with crouds of people, went out to meet him, and thank him for *not having deſpaired of the republic* [p]. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that the ſenate and people offered him the dictatorſhip, which he refuſed, and by his modeſt refuſal wiped off, in ſome meaſure, the ſhame of his former behaviour [q]. Thus the *Romans*, by treating their unfortunate commanders with humanity, leſſened the diſgrace of their being vanquiſhed or diſcharged, while the *Carthaginians* condemned their generals to cruel deaths upon their being overcome, often without their fault, by the enemy.

Varro is well received at Rome.

As the preſent ſituation of affairs required an abſolute magiſtrate, the ſenators, of their own authority, appointed *M. Junius Pera*, who had bore the offices of prætor, cenſor, and conſul, to be dictator; and he choſe *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* for his general of the horſe. *Junius* made it his whole buſineſs to put the army in a condition to make head againſt the victorious enemy. All the young *Romans* above ſeventeen years of age, of what rank ſoever, were obliged to inliſt themſelves; as were alſo thoſe who had already ſerved their legal time. By this means four legions and ten thouſand horſe were ſoon raiſed in the city. The allies of *Rome*, the colonies, and the municipia, furniſhed their contingents as uſual. To theſe were added out of the great number of ſlaves in *Rome* eight thouſand of the youngeſt and ſtrongeſt. The republic purchaſed them of their maſters, but did not oblige them to ſerve without their own conſent, which they gave, when aſked, by anſwering, *Volo*, *I am willing*; whence they were called *Volones*, to diſtinguiſh them from the other corps, by a name leſs odious than that of ſlaves. As the *Romans*, after the loſs of ſo many battles, had no ſwords, darts, or bucklers left in their magazines, the *Volones* were ſupplied with the arms which had been formerly taken from the enemy, and hung up in the public porticoes and temples. The finances of *Rome* were no leſs exhauſted; but this defect was

M. Junius Pera *dictator.*

Slaves inliſted in the Roman *troops.*

[p] PLUT. in Fab. LIV. l. xxii. c. 57. [q] VAL. MAX. l. iii. c 6.

ſupplied by the liberality of her citizens. The ſenators ſhewing the example were followed firſt by the knights, and afterwards by all the tribes, who, ſtripping themſelves of all the gold they had, brought it to the public treaſury. The ſenators only reſerved their rings, and the *bullæ* about their childrens necks. As for the ſilver coin, it was now for the firſt time alloyed with copper, and the value of it raiſed. Thus the finances were again put into a good condition, and a competent army raiſed [r].

In the mean time, *Hannibal*, wanting money, gave the *Roman* priſoners leave to redeem themſelves. The ranſom of each horſeman he fixed at five hundred *denarii*, that is, 16 *l.* 2 *s.* 11 *d.* that of each foot ſoldier at three hundred, and of each ſlave at one hundred. As for the allies of *Rome*, notwithſtanding his want of money, he diſmiſſed them, agreeable to his former practice, without ranſom. The *Roman* captives agreed to ſend ten of their body to negotiate their redemption at *Rome*; and *Hannibal* required no other ſecurity for their return, but their oath. *Carthalo* was ſent at the head of them to make propoſals of peace to the republic, which *Hannibal* imagined ſhe would be glad to purchaſe at any rate. But upon the firſt report of *Carthalo*'s arrival to treat of a peace, the dictator ſent a lictor to him, commanding him forthwith to quit the *Roman* territory. As for the ten deputies, the ſenate, conſidering them as foreigners ſince their captivity, did not ſuffer them to enter the city, but met without the walls to hear what they had to offer, in behalf of themſelves and their fellow-captives. After a warm debate, which laſted many hours, it was abſolutely concluded againſt the redemption of thoſe unhappy men, who, it was pretended, had acted the part of cowards, in not retiring with their fellow-ſoldiers to *Canuſium* (O). The priſoners being thus left

The Romans *refuſe to redeem their captives.*

[r] Liv. ibid. c. 57, 58. Plut. in Fab. Flor. l. ii.

(O) More preſſing reaſons, than the pretended cowardice of the captives, prevailed on the ſenate to conclude againſt their redemption. They were afraid of inriching *Hannibal* with the ranſom-money, and at the ſame time willing to let him know, that *Rome* was not ſo deſtitute of men, but ſhe could ſpare ſeveral thouſands. Beſides, by this ſignal puniſhment *Rome* taught her ſoldiers this great leſſon, that in ſuch conjunctures they muſt either conquer, die, or live in perpetual ſlavery, which to a *Roman* was worſe than death itſelf. One of the ten deputies mixed with the croud and diſappeared. But *Rome* would not ſuffer the perjured wretch to reap

left to the mercy of the *Carthaginian*, he ſent the moſt conſiderable among them to *Carthage*, and of the reſt made gladiators, obliging them to fight with one another, even relations with relations, for the entertainment of his troops [f].

AT length *Hannibal* left *Cannæ*, and took his rout towards *Compſa*, a city of the *Hirpini*, near the head of the *Aufidus*, which ſurrendered to him, and was the firſt that fell off from the *Romans*. From thence he turned towards *Capua*, the inhabitants of which city, thinking the time now come to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, and recover their antient liberty, ſent deputies to treat with *Hannibal*, who promiſed them an entire liberty and independence, and beſides agreed to put into their hands four hundred *Roman* knights, to be exchanged with the ſame number of *Capuan* youths in the ſervice of *Rome*. Upon theſe conditions the *Capuans* ſurrendered their city to *Hannibal*. As to the *Roman* gariſon, the people contrived to ſhut them up in the public baths, and ſuffocate them there. When *Hannibal* made his entry, all the town crouded to meet him, except *Decius Magius*, a friend of the *Romans*, and a ſmall number of the nobility, among whom was one *Perola*, the ſon of *Pacuvius*, who had been the chief author of the revolt. *Perola* was afterwards obliged by his father to go and pay his homage to *Hannibal*; but, as he had imbibed the ſentiments of *Magius*, he afterwards formed a deſign to ſtab the *Carthaginian* general at a magnificent entertainment, which his father was to give him. But *Pacuvius*, to whom he imparted his intention, in hopes of gaining his conſent, diſſuaded him from it; and *Hannibal* eſcaped this danger. The next day the ſenate of *Capua* being aſſembled, *Hannibal* complained to them of the diſaffection of *Magius*, who was thereupon delivered up to him loaded with irons, and by his orders put on board a ſhip bound for *Carthage*. But the veſſel being driven by a ſtorm into the port of *Cyrene*, a city belonging to the king of *Egypt*, the illuſtrious priſoner ran and embraced the ſtatue of *Ptolemy Philopator*; and the *Carthaginians* not daring to drag him from that ſanctuary, he appealed to the king, and was conducted to *Alexandria*, where *Ptolemy* received him with great humanity, and gave him leave to return either to *Capua*, or to *Rome*; but

Capua *ſubmits to* Hannibal.

[f] Liv. ibid.

reap the fruit of his iniquity. She ordered him to be taken out of his houſe, and ſent back to *Hannibal*'s camp. The republic was fond of purchaſing the reputation of being juſt, when it coſt little, and the ſtate did not ſuffer by it.

he choſe to continue at *Alexandria* under the protection of his deliverer [t].

Mago *gives an account of* Hannibal's *victories to the ſenate of* Carthage.

And now *Hannibal* diſpatched his brother *Mago* to give an account at *Carthage* of his ſucceſs. As ſoon as he arrived there, he acquainted the ſenate, that *Hannibal* in ſix pitched battles had killed two hundred thouſand *Romans*, and taken fifty thouſand priſoners; and that the *Apulians*, *Brutians*, *Lucanians*, and *Campanians*, had ſubmitted to the *Carthaginian* dominion. So much good fortune ſeemed incredible, and *Mago* was not believed, till he gave a glaring proof of it, by ſpreading abroad in the ſenate-houſe, ſome ſay, one buſhel, others, three buſhels, of rings, taken from the *Roman* knights and ſenators (P). Having thus prepoſſeſſed the ſenate in favour of his brother, he proceeded to ſolicit ſuccours for him, that he might be enabled to carry on ſo ſucceſsful a war. The requeſt was approved of, and the *Barcan* faction triumphed. *Himilco*, the head of it, turning to *Hanno*, as it were to inſult him, *Well*, ſaid he, *has the war turned to the diſadvantage*

[t] Plut. in Hannibal. Liv. l. xxii. c. 9, 10.

(P) Authors are divided about this prodigious quantity of gold rings. *Pliny* ſeems to inſinuate, that *Hanno* carried with him to *Carthage* three buſhels of rings. To make the thing the more credible, he tells us, that in the time of the ſecond *Punic* war, all the citizens of *Rome*, without exception, aſſumed the right of wearing a gold ring (28). *Florus* ſays, that *Hannibal* ſent to *Carthage* two buſhels of gold rings, and that by them the ſenate judged of the number of *Roman* knights, who had loſt their lives in the ſeveral battles *Hannibal* had gained (29). The moſt probable opinion, according to *Livy*, is, that one buſhel of rings was ſent to *Carthage*. The ſame author adds, that *Hanno*, to ſhew how great the loſs of the *Romans* was, acquainted the ſenate of *Carthage*, that at *Rome* only knights, and the moſt conſiderable among the citizens, had the privilege of wearing gold rings. If all, without diſtinction, had enjoyed this privilege, as *Pliny* inſinuates, *Hannibal* might well have ſent three buſhels of rings to *Carthage* after the many victories he had already gained. But the opinion moſt agreeable to the teſtimony of the antients is, that only knights and patricians at this time were allowed to wear rings. *Florus* tells us, that *Hannibal*, to ſhew how many *Romans* had fallen in the battle, made a bridge with their dead bodies for his troops over the river *Vergellus*. What *Florus* ſays is confirmed by *Valerius Maximus*; but *Polybius*, *Plutarch*, and *Livy*, make no mention either of the river *Vergellus*, or of this new kind of bridge.

(28) *Plin. l.* xxxiii. *c.* 1. (29) *Flor. l.* ii. *c.* 16.

of

of our country? Muſt we deliver up Hannibal *to the* Romans? *Hanno*, though thus provoked, anſwered with moderation: *The war*, ſaid he, *is ſucceſsfully begun, I grant it; but I ſhall not be eaſy, till an end is put to it by a happy peace. Send me troops and proviſions*, ſays Hannibal. *Is this the language of a conqueror, who is maſter of ſo many nations in* Italy? *The* Roman *republic, we are told, is reduced to the laſt extremity. Do the vanquiſhed ſhew any ſigns of deſpair? Tell me*, Mago, *Do they make any advances towards a peace? Do they ſeem to deſire it?* *Mago* anſwered, that the *Romans* indeed, notwithſtanding their loſſes, ſtrove to put a good face upon their affairs, however deſperate. *I conclude then*, reſumed *Hanno* briſkly, *that we are ſcarce any farther advanced, than we were the day* Hannibal *entered* Italy. *We have indeed done enough to obtain an advantageous peace with* Rome; *and that ought to be our utmoſt view. One ſingle defeat may undo all our mighty projects. I therefore vote againſt ſending any ſuccours to the army in* Italy. *If* Hannibal *has really gained theſe great victories, he needs no ſupplies; if he ſends us falſe accounts, he deſerves none.* But notwithſtanding *Hanno*'s ſpeech, an immediate ſupply of four thouſand *Numidians*, forty elephants, and a thouſand talents of ſilver, were by a plurality of voices decreed for the army in *Italy*. Nor was this all; a commiſſioner was ſent with *Mago* into *Spain*, with powers to raiſe levies there, which were to be equally divided between the *Carthaginian* armies in *Spain* and *Italy*. *Aſdrubal*, who had juſt obtained a ſignal victory over the revolted *Spaniards*, and ſubdued the country of the *Carpetani*, was ordered to leave *Spain*, and march with his army to the aſſiſtance of his brother in *Italy*. In his room *Himilco* was ſent into *Spain* with a competent army, and a ſufficient number of galleys to keep the ſeas. But, in the mean time, the two *Scipios*, hearing that *Aſdrubal* was advancing towards the *Iberus* in his way to the *Pyrenees*, and knowing of what dangerous conſequence it would be for *Rome*, that *Hannibal* ſhould receive ſo ſtrong a reinforcement, reſolved to oppoſe his paſſing that river. With this view they paſſed the *Iberus*, and having brought *Aſdrubal* to a general engagement, gained a complete victory, which prevented the *Carthaginian* for ſome years from going into *Italy*. Thus the two *Scipios*, by their victories and prudent conduct in *Spain*, made *Rome* amends for the loſſes ſhe ſuſtained in *Italy*.

Aſdrubal *defeated in* Spain *by the* Scipios

THE dictator *Junius* and the ſenate, encouraged by the news they received from *Spain*, carried on their preparations for the next campaign with great expedition, while *Hanni-*

bal was loſing his time at *Capua*, being captivated with the bewitching pleaſures of that place. The dictator releaſed from priſon all criminals, and perſons confined for debt, who were willing to inliſt themſelves. Of theſe he formed a body of ſix thouſand foot, armed with the broad ſwords and bucklers which had been formerly taken from the *Gauls*. Then the *Roman* army, to the number of about twenty five thouſand men, partly citizens, partly ſlaves, and partly criminals, marched out of *Rome* under the command of the dictator. The remains of *Varro*'s army, about fifteen thouſand men, were kept by *Marcellus* at *Caſilinum* in a readineſs to march, whenever there ſhould be occaſion. At length *Hannibal* began to move from *Capua*, in order to ſubdue the reſt of *Campania*. He made a fruitleſs attempt upon *Neapolis*, and then turned towards *Nola*. But the inhabitants of that city were kept ſteady by the preſence of *Marcellus*, who, leaving *Caſilinum*, paſſed the *Vulturnus*, croſſed the mountains of *Sueſſula* with incredible expedition, and unexpectedly appeared before *Nola*. Then the *Carthaginian*, after having made another unſucceſsful attempt upon *Neapolis*, fell upon *Nuceria*, which, for want of proviſions, was obliged to capitulate. From *Nuceria* he returned to *Nola*, with a deſign to beſiege it, *Marcellus* having ſhut himſelf up in the place with all his troops. The inhabitants were greatly inclined to favour *Hannibal*, and their affection for the *Carthaginian* was kept up by a young man, of known valour and great intereſt among the people, by name *Bantius*. He had ſerved in the *Roman* armies with credit, and ſignalized himſelf at the battle of *Cannæ*, fighting near the conſul *Æmilius*, till being covered with wounds, he dropt down on the field of battle, where he was found the next day, and brought to *Hannibal*. As none of his wounds proved mortal, *Hannibal*, underſtanding that he was a native of *Nola*, took great care of him, and, when he was cured of his wounds, ſent him home without ranſom. This friendly behaviour had its due effect on the mind of the generous *Bantius*. He returned to *Nola* wholly in the *Carthaginian* intereſt, and gained over many of the chief citizens to his party. *Marcellus* could have eaſily deſtroyed him, but he choſe rather to gain him. One day, when he came to wait on *Marcellus*, the *Roman*, pretending not to know him, aſked him his name. *My name*, replied the young warrior with a great deal of modeſty, *is* Bantius. *What, are you the famous* Bantius, anſwered the general, *ſo much celebrated at* Rome? *I have often heard of you. It was not your fault that a* Roman *conſul fell into the enemy's hands. How much*

Criminals and priſoners for debt inliſted at Rome.

Hannibal *takes* Nuceria.

blood

blood did you loſe in endeavouring to ſave his life! What pleaſure is it to me, to ſee and embrace a brave man, who does honour to his country, and may be a means of ſaving Rome! Then *Marcellus* to tender embraces added preſents, and in ſhort rekindled in his heart his former love for *Rome*. The recovery of this ſingle man brought many *Nolans* over to *Marcellus*, who was informed by them of all the ſecrets of the *Carthaginian* party. This was the ſituation of affairs at *Nola*, when *Hannibal* appeared before it, not doubting but he ſhould ſoon become maſter of a place, in which he had all the populace and moſt of the nobility on his ſide. But *Marcellus*, having by ſound of trumpet forbid any of the citizens to approach the ramparts, or even come out of their houſes on pain of death, drew up his men within the walls, and ſallying out at three ſeveral gates, fell unexpectedly upon *Hannibal*, killed five thouſand of his men, and obliged the reſt to retire in great confuſion. In this action, which revived the courage of the *Romans*, by ſhewing them that *Hannibal* was not invincible, the number of the killed on the ſide of the *Romans* amounted only to five hundred [u]. Some antient writers, quoted by *Livy* [w], tell us, that the number of the dead on the ſide of the *Carthaginians* amounted to no more than two thouſand three hundred; but add, that the *Romans* loſt only one man in the action. This check, was a ſenſible mortification to *Hannibal*, who thereupon left *Nola*, and marched to *Acerræ*, a ſmall city in that neighbourhood. But the *Acerrani* upon his approach with one conſent abandoned their houſes, and retired with their moſt valuable effects to thoſe cities in *Campania*, which continued faithful to the *Romans*. The *Carthaginian* having made himſelf maſter of the empty city of *Acerræ*, in order to recover his reputation, undertook the ſiege of *Caſilinum*, a ſtrong city on the banks of the *Vulturnus*, thinking it gariſoned by *Campanians*. But it had happened, that a body of *Præneſtines*, having found the inhabitants, as they paſſed through their city, wavering in their fidelity to *Rome*, had cut their throats in the night, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the walls. Theſe had been afterwards reinforced by about four hundred *Peruſians* from *Hetruria*, and a ſmall number of *Latins* and *Romans*. As they were all men of bravery and reſolution, they made ſuch a vigorous defence, that *Hannibal* was obliged, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, to turn the ſiege into a blockade [x]. Having therefore left part of his

Marcellus *gains an advantage over* Hannibal *before* Nola.

[u] PLUT. in Marcel. c. 18. [w] LIV. l. xxiii. c. 16. [x] LIV. ibid.

troops

troops in the camp, as winter now approached, he quartered the reſt in the villages and open places of *Campania*, while he himſelf took up his reſidence in the voluptuous city of *Capua*, where he got a thorough reliſh for pleaſure, which brought him down to a level with the reſt of mankind. The leſs he had been uſed to an effeminate life, the more he now indulged himſelf in it, ſpending moſt part of his time in feaſting and revelling with the *Capuan* women. He was more frequently ſeen, ſays *Valerius Maximus* *, among the young debauchees in a public place called *Seplaſia*, than in his camp before *Caſilinum*. *Seplaſia* was a public place in *Capua*, whither all the debauchees reſorted; and therefore ſo infamous, that it was deemed a crime in a *Roman* barely to appear there[y]. Thus *Capua* proved more fatal to *Hannibal*, than *Cannæ* to the *Romans*. All the antients reproach him more for the life he led at *Capua*, than for his having neglected to beſiege *Rome* after the battle of *Cannæ*. The example of the general infected the ſoldiery; inſomuch, that when he led them again in the ſpring to the ſiege of *Caſilinum*, he found them quite altered, and as impatient of military toils as raw levies. They were followed by troops of diſſolute women, and thinking it hard to live in tents, they deſerted in crouds, and returned to *Capua*, and the other places in *Campania*, where they had ſpent the winter ſo much to their ſatisfaction. *Hannibal*, inſtead of attempting to ſtorm the beſieged town, endeavoured to reduce it by famine; and indeed the gariſon was brought to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions. Two *Roman* armies were within reach of the place; but neither in a condition to relieve it. The dictator *Junius* was ſoon recalled to *Rome* to conſult new auſpices, and had forbid, before his departure, *Sempronius* his general of the horſe, to undertake any thing during his abſence. The brave *Marcellus* was willing to relieve the beſieged at all events; but the inhabitants of *Nola* would not ſuffer him to leave them, imagining that the blockade of *Caſilinum* was only a feint, and that *Hannibal*'s real aim was at their city. In the mean time, the gariſon of *Caſilinum*, being almoſt ſtarved to death, were ſcarce able to carry their arms. Many of them, to avoid periſhing with hunger, or falling into *Hannibal*'s hands, put an end to their unhappy lives. *Sempronius*, greatly affected with the diſtreſs of theſe brave men, endeavoured to relieve them, by throwing firſt barrels of meal, and afterwards nuts, into the *Vulturnus*, which ran through the town.

Hannibal *enervates himſelf at* Capua.

The brave defence of the gariſon of Caſilinum.

* Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1. [y] Vide Cic. in Piſonem.

town. But this artifice being diſcovered, and all methods of ſupplying the city intirely ſtopped, *Hannibal* ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender. But thoſe brave men, preferring death to ſlavery, would not hearken to his ſummons, their hunger, in the mean time, not ſuffering them to ſpare any animals whatſoever, not even rats. Nay, at length they pulled off the ſkins of their bucklers, ſoftened them in the water, and lived upon them with great frugality. Laſtly, to give the enemy a proof of their conſtancy and reſolution, they plough-ed up the ground near their houſes, and ſowed it with pulſe. When *Hannibal* heard this, he cried out, *What then, do the beſieged deſign to keep me here till their ſeed is come to maturity?* From that time he ſhewed himſelf inclined to conſent to a capitulation, which was ſoon agreed to by both parties, on this condition, that the freemen ſhould be allowed to march out of the town, upon their paying ſeven ounces of gold a head. Thus *Hannibal* made himſelf maſter of *Caſilinum* after a long blockade, during which the *Præneſtines* and *Peruſians* gave proofs of a conſtancy ſcarce to be matched by the *Romans* themſelves. The inhabitants of *Petilia*, a city in the country of the *Brutians*, which *Hannibal* beſieged next, gave him as much trouble as the garriſon of *Caſilinum*; but was taken at laſt, the *Romans* not being in a condition to ſend them ſuccours.

The vacant places in the Roman ſenate filled up.

IN the mean time, as the beſt part of the *Roman* nobility had loſt their lives in the war, the conſcript fathers began to think of filling up the vacant places in the ſenate; and, becauſe there were then no cenſors, they ordered *Terentius Varro* to nominate ſome perſon, who had been formerly cenſor, to be a ſecond dictator, whoſe office ſhould be wholly confined to this province. *Terentius* named *M. Fabius Buteo*, the oldeſt of the former cenſors; but did not allow him a general of the horſe. *Fabius* diſcharged his office with great prudence; for he firſt choſe to the ſenatorial dignity all thoſe, who ſince the laſt cenſors had obtained curule magiſtracies; then thoſe without exception who had been tribunes of the people, plebeian ædiles, or quæſtors; and laſtly, ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the army, or obtained any military rewards from their generals. Thus an hundred and ſeventy ſeven new ſenators were created without jealouſy, complaints, or contention; and the dictator had no ſooner read the liſt to the people, than he abdicated his dignity, highly applauded by all ranks of men [z].

[z] LIV. ibid. c. 22.

THE

The ſenate being thus filled up, the next buſineſs was to chuſe conſuls for the enſuing year. *Sempronius Gracchus*, general of the horſe to the dictator *Junius*, and *Poſthumius Albinus*, who commanded a body of troops in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, were raiſed to the conſulate. After the election of the conſuls, the prætors and other great officers of the ſtate were appointed; but in all theſe promotions *Marcellus*, notwithſtanding the glory he had lately acquired, was intirely forgot, through the jealouſy, as ſome writers conjecture, of the dictator *Junius*, who preſided at the election of the new magiſtrates. The elections being over, the dictator returned to his camp; but the conſul *Sempronius* continued in *Rome*, to conſult with the ſenate about the operations of the approaching campaign. But, in the mean time, news was brought to *Rome*, that *Poſthumius Albinus*, who was juſt raiſed to the conſulate a third time, had been cut off with all his army by the *Boii* in a vaſt foreſt, called by the *Gauls* the foreſt of *Litana*, which he had been obliged to croſs. Hereupon the conſul *Sempronius*, having aſſembled the ſenate, endeavoured to raiſe their dejected ſpirits, adviſing them among other things to withdraw all their forces out of *Gaul*, and other countries, and turn them againſt *Hannibal*, the only ſource of all their evils. If we can once drive *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, ſaid he, the rebellious nations will be ſoon reduced again. This advice was followed, and all the troops of the republic ordered into the provinces near *Hannibal*. The army, which the dictator *Junius* had commanded, was given to the conſul *Sempronius*. *Marcellus*'s army, which conſiſted of thoſe who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter at *Cannæ*, was commanded to go into *Sicily*, and continue there as long as the war ſhould laſt in *Italy*. In exchange for them, the two legions, which had hitherto ſerved in *Sicily*, were ordered to *Italy* to ſerve there under the conſul, whom the centuries were ſoon to appoint in the room of *Poſthumius*, who had been killed by the *Boii*. *Terentius Varro*, notwithſtanding his late miſconduct, was intruſted with the command of an army in *Apulia*, with the character of proconſul. When the time came for the electing of a new conſul, the tribes unanimouſly choſe *Marcellus*, notwithſtanding the intrigues of *Sempronius*, who, fearing he might be eclipſed by the extraordinary merit of that great man, had kept him out of the way. However, a ſtorm, attended with dreadful claps of thunder, happening to riſe during the aſſembly, it is incredible with what greedineſs the augurs took hold of this accident, to declare that the election of *Marcellus* was not agreeable to the gods. *Marcellus* was a plebeian, as was alſo his collegue *Sempronius*; and the patri-

A Roman army cut in pieces by the Boii.

cians,

cians, unwilling to ſee two plebeian conſuls at the ſame time, influenced the augurs to pronounce the election of *Marcellus* diſagreeable to the gods. But the people would not have acquieſced to the declaration of the augurs, had not *Marcellus* ſhewed himſelf on this occaſion as zealous a republican, as he was a great commander; for he refuſed to accept the faſces, though offered to him by the whole body of the people, ſaying, that he had rather lead a private life, than enjoy the greateſt honours in the republic, contrary to the will of the gods, and the inclination of any of his fellow-citizens. Then the famous *Fabius Maximus* was choſen in his ſtead, and raiſed a third time to the conſulate [a].

Marcellus *is elected conſul; but abdicates.*

WHILE the republic was buſy in making theſe elections and preparations for purſuing the war, *Hannibal* made himſelf maſter of *Conſentia* on the *Crathis*, of *Croton*, *Locri*, and ſeveral other cities in *Great Greece*. The *Romans* therefore took the field. *Fabius* put himſelf at the head of thoſe troops which the late dictator had commanded. *Sempronius* took upon him the command of the new levies made at *Rome*, conſiſting moſtly of ſlaves, to whom were added twenty five thouſand auxiliaries. The prætor *Lævinus* was ordered to cover *Apulia* with two legions. *Marcellus* was appointed to command the troops with which he had defended *Nola*; but ſuch among them as had eſcaped from the battle at *Cannæ* were ſent over to *Sicily*, their room being ſupplied by two legions from that iſland. Laſtly, *Terentius Varro* led an army into *Picenum*, todefend that country, and raiſe recruits there [b].

As *Campania* was now the ſeat of the war, the *Campanians*, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of *Hannibal*, raiſed an army of about fourteen thouſand men of their own nation, and put one *Marius Alfius* at the head of it. His firſt attempt was upon the city of *Cumæ*, which adhered to the *Romans*. The *Cuman* ſenators, and thoſe of the other cities of *Campania*, uſed annually to meet at a place called *Hamæ*, not far from *Cumæ*, to perform a ſolemn ſacrifice, and deliberate upon the general affairs of the province. *Alfius* formed a ſcheme of ſurpriſing on this occaſion the ſenators of *Cumæ*; but they, ſuſpecting his deſign, gave notice of it to the conſul *Sempronius*, who, as he lay within ſix miles of them, fell on the *Campanian* army in the night, killed two thouſand of them, among whom was their leader *Alfius*, and put the reſt to flight. However,

[a] LIV. ibid. PLUT. in Marcell. [b] LIV. & PLUT. ibid.

as *Hannibal* was not far off, *Sempronius*, unwilling to expoſe his unexperienced troops to the danger of a battle, immediately retired, and ſhut himſelf up in *Cumæ*, which *Hannibal* inveſted; but was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, after he had loſt thirteen hundred men in that unſucceſsful attempt. At the ſame time, another *Sempronius*, ſurnamed *Longus*, who commanded a body of troops in *Lucania*, gained a conſiderable victory over *Hanno*, and *Lævinus* retook three cities in the country of the *Hirpini*, which had revolted to *Hannibal*. During theſe tranſactions, embaſſadors from *Philip* king of *Macedon* to *Hannibal* being intercepted and ſent to *Rome*, the ſenate found, that a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive was actually concluded between the *Macedonian* and *Carthaginian*. In order therefore to keep the former out of *Italy*, *Lævinus* was ordered to embarque at *Tarentum*, ſail for *Macedon*, and find king *Philip* employment at home. And now *Fabius*, who had hitherto continued quiet in his camp at *Cale*, being well appriſed that his rival's remiſſneſs was not feigned, as he had imagined, but real, boldly paſſed the *Vulturnus*, and croſſing a large plain near mount *Tifata*, on which *Hannibal* was incamped, joined his collegue *Sempronius* at *Cumæ*. On the other hand, *Marcellus*, who was incamped at *Nola*, made daily incurſions into the countries of the *Hirpini* and *Samnites*, who had revolted to *Hannibal*, committing every-where dreadful devaſtations. The *Samnites*, ſurpriſed to find *Hannibal* ſo unactive, and ſo little zealous in their defence, ſent deputies to him, and by their repeated complaints prevailed upon him at laſt to come to their aſſiſtance. Upon his approach *Marcellus* retired behind the walls of *Nola*, which *Hannibal* immediately inveſted with his whole army. After he had for ſome days battered the walls with incredible fury, *Marcellus* thinking it leſs dangerous to engage the enemy in the open field, than in the narrow ſtreets of *Nola*, the walls being already half ruined, reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general action. Accordingly, he marched out with his men in good order, and after having obliged the *Carthaginians*, who were carrying on the ſiege, to retire to their camp, which was about a mile from the city, he drew up his ſmall army in the plain between the *Carthaginian* camp and the city. *Hannibal* could not perſuade himſelf that *Marcellus*, whoſe forces were ſo much inferior in number to his own, really deſigned to hazard a battle; however, after having encouraged his men with a ſhort harangue, in which he treated the *Romans* with the utmoſt contempt, he advanced boldly, not doubting but the enemy would.

would retire, at the ſight of his army in battalia, behind the walls of the city. He was therefore greatly ſurpriſed, when he ſaw the *Romans* not only ſtand their ground, but at the very firſt onſet put his advanced guard into diſorder. *Marcellus* had armed his infantry with long pikes, uſed only at ſea, and chiefly in boarding of ſhips, and taught them how to manage this new kind of weapon, in order to keep the enemy at a diſtance; ſo that the *Carthaginians*, who carried only ſhort javelins, finding it impoſſible to hurt the *Romans*, while they themſelves were run through with their long pikes, began to retire, and, in ſpite of all *Hannibal* could do, to ſave themſelves by flight to their camp. *Marcellus* purſued them cloſe, and before they got to the camp killed five thouſand of them, and took ſix hundred priſoners, nineteen ſtandards, and two elephants, which with ſome others had been lately ſent from *Carthage*. *Marcellus* loſt about a thouſand men, who were trod down by the *Numidian* horſe, headed by *Hannibal* in perſon. The *Romans*, encouraged by this advantage, asked leave of their general to attack *Hannibal*'s camp; but the wiſe *Marcellus*, without hearkening to their requeſt, ſounded a retreat and returned to *Nola*, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the citizens. After this defeat, *Hannibal* had the further mortification to be abandoned by twelve hundred and ſeventy two of his beſt horſe, partly *Spaniards* and partly *Numidians*, who had croſſed the *Alps* with him. Some diſcontent was, without all doubt, the occaſion of their deſertion; but they gave out, that the eſteem they had conceived for the *Romans* induced them to it. Be that as it will, they continued ever after faithful to the republic, and did her important ſervices; for which they were, in their old age, rewarded with lands in their own countries, when the *Romans* had conquered *Africa* and *Spain*. *Hannibal* was ſo touched with the reproach, which this deſertion of his old companions in victory threw upon him, that he left *Campania*, and, retiring into *Apulia*, incamped near *Arpi*. He was no ſooner gone, than *Fabius*, drawing near to *Capua*, laid waſte the whole country about it, and then encamped at *Sueſſula* within reach of *Naples* and *Nola*, in order to ſuccour them in caſe they were attacked. In the mean time, winter approaching, *Fabius*, either out of jealouſy, or to leſſen the expences of the republic, ordered *Marcellus* to diſband his army, and to leave in *Nola* only a ſufficient gariſon to defend it. *Marcellus* obeyed, but did not go to *Rome* with his diſbanded troops, chuſing rather to ſtay at *Nola*, than to be importuned at *Rome* by his friends, who were for his ſoliciting the conſulate in the next election. As

Marcellus defeats Hannibal in a pitched battle.

A body of Hannibal's beſt horſe deſert to the Romans.

he had contributed more to the glory of the republic, and the diſcredit of *Hannibal*, than all the generals of *Rome*, and even *Fabius* himſelf, he was reſolved to owe his promotion wholly to his merit and ſervices; and therefore, diſdaining to offer himſelf as a candidate in the comitia, or to court the favour of the people, he ſpent the winter in tranquillity at *Nola*[a].

Sardinia *once more reduced.*

During theſe tranſactions in *Italy*, the prætor *Manlius Torquatus* defeated the *Sardinians*, who had revolted, though aſſiſted by an army ſent from *Carthage*, under the command of *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *The Bald*, killed twelve thouſand of the enemy upon the ſpot, took *Aſdrubal* himſelf with *Hanno* and *Mago* his chief officers priſoners, and reduced the whole iſland. The two *Scipios* were equally ſucceſsful in their wars in *Spain*, where with an army only of ſixteen thouſand men they gained a complete victory over *Aſdrubal*, whoſe forces amounted to the number of ſixty thouſand. But the accounts which the ſenate received from *Sicily* were not ſo ſatisfactory. Good king *Hiero*, who had continued ſo faithful to the republic for fifty years together, had lately ended his days there, and had been ſucceeded by his grandſon *Hieronymus*, who, having inſulted the *Roman* embaſſadors, made a treaty of alliance with the *Carthaginians*, and was intirely governed by their counſels. This gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the ſenate, who thereupon ordered new levies to be raiſed and ſent into *Sicily*. But, in the mean time, the conſular year being near expired, *Fabius* returned to *Rome* to preſide at the election of the new conſuls. On the day appointed the tribes aſſembled; and the majority of the firſt tribe that voted nominated to the conſulſhip *T. Otacilius* and *M. Æmilius Regillus*, both

Aſdrubal *defeated by the* Scipios *in* Spain.

men of merit, but yet not of ſuch abilities as the preſent neceſſities required. *Fabius* therefore, interrupting the election for a ſhort time, exhorted the tribes to chuſe ſuch conſuls as they would name, if they were to appoint two generals to give *Hannibal* battle. As to thoſe they had already named, he told them that he could not be ſo partial to them, as to think them capable of making head againſt the crafty and experienced *African*. He then ordered the firſt tribe to return to the voting-place, and give their ſuffrages anew. *Otacilius*, who was nearly related to *Fabius*, made at firſt ſome oppoſition to this; but the lictors ſurrounding him with their axes, ſoon forced him to be ſilent. Then the tribes unanimouſly choſe *Fabius* himſelf, and *Claudius Marcellus*, though abſent. *Rome* had never ſeen two greater men together at the head of affairs. *Fabius* had

Fabius Maximus *and* Marcellus *elected conſuls.*

[a] Liv. ibid. c. 46. Zonar. l. ix. c. 3.

indeed

indeed by an irregular proceeding contributed to his own continuance in the conſular dignity, contrary to law and cuſtom; but yet no one accuſed him of ambition or tyranny, or imagined him actuated by any other motive than that of zeal for his country. The firſt thing the new conſuls did was, to raiſe ſix legions to be added to the twelve already on foot. As the *Sicilian* expedition ſeemed to require moſt diſpatch, *Otacilius* was ordered to imbarque with all expedition for that iſland; and, in order to equip a fleet for that ſervice, each head of a family, who by the laſt cenſor's regiſter was found worth from fifty thouſand to a hundred thouſand aſſes, was obliged to maintain a rower or ſailor at his own expence for ſix months; and the more wealthy, three, five, ſeven, in proportion to their riches. The ſenators obliged themſelves to maintain eight men, each for one year; ſo that a fleet was ſoon manned and equipped, without being any ways chargeable to the republic [d].

AND now the land forces began to be in motion, when the *Capuans*, terrified at the extraordinary number of the forces of the republic commanded by ſo many able generals, recalled *Hannibal*, who, quitting *Apulia* and returning to his camp on mount *Tifata*, ordered *Hanno*, at the head of ſeventeen thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe, to ſeize *Beneventum*. But *Sempronius*, by the direction of *Fabius*, having got to that city before the *Carthaginian*, made himſelf maſter of it, and then marched to meet *Hanno*, in order to give him battle. *Sempronius*'s army conſiſted moſtly of *Volones*, and the general, in order to engage them to exert themſelves, promiſed every man his liberty, who ſhould bring off the head of an enemy, the ſenate having impowered him to ſet at liberty ſuch of his ſlaves as he pleaſed. No ſoldiers ever ſhewed a greater eagerneſs to engage an enemy, than the *Volones* did after *Sempronius* had made them this promiſe. They ranged themſelves round the prætorium, by break of day, ſoliciting the general to lead them againſt the enemy, that they might deliver themſelves from ſlavery, either by death or victory. *Sempronius* did not ſuffer their ardor to cool, but immediately led them into a neighbouring plain, through which *Hanno* was to paſs, as *Sempronius* had been informed, on his march to *Beneventum*, not knowing that the *Romans* were already maſters of that city. Accordingly, the *Roman* army was ſcarce drawn up, when *Hanno* appeared at

[d] LIV. l. xxiv. c. 11. VAL. MAX. l. v. c 6.

the

the head of seventeen thousand foot, mostly *Brutians* and *Bicanians*, and twelve hundred *Numidian* horse. The *Carthaginian* advanced in good order into the plain, not doubting, but he should soon put to the rout a handful of slaves, accustomed to tremble, as he told his soldiers, at the voice of their masters. In the mean time, the trumpets sounded, and the attack began with incredible fury on both sides. The *Volones* fought with great bravery; but the promise *Sempronius* made them had like to have occasioned an intire defeat of his army. He had promised liberty to such only as carried off the head of an enemy; as soon therefore as any of them had dispatched his antagonist, he made it his whole business to cut off his head, and lost a great deal of time in that butchery. Besides, the ardor of those who had performed the condition, on which they were to obtain their liberty, immediately abated; so that *Sempronius* was forced to publish a new declaration through all the ranks of his army, *That none should obtain their liberty, unless the* Carthaginians *were routed.* Upon this the brave slaves renewed the fight with fresh vigour, and gained so complete a victory, that scarce two thousand of the enemy escaped. Sixteen thousand of them were killed either in the field of battle, or in the camp, which the *Volones* forced after they had driven them out of the plain. However, four thousand of *Sempronius*'s slaves did not behave so well as the rest, being afraid to pursue the enemy to their camp. These, ashamed of their cowardice, retired after the battle to a high mountain, for fear of becoming the jest of their companions. But *Sempronius* sent a tribune to invite them back; and then, to perform his promise, declared them all free without exception. However, to make some distinction between the brave and the cowards, he obliged the latter to take their meals standing, all the time they were in the service [e].

Sempronius with an army of Volones defeats Hanno.

In the mean time, *Hannibal*, leaving his camp on mount *Tifata*, took his rout to *Nola*, being invited thither by the populace, who were still in his interest, in opposition to the senate. But *Marcellus*, receiving timely notice of his march, followed him, and coming up with him near that city, killed two thousand of his men, with the loss only of four hundred. The *Romans* would in all likelihood have given him a total overthrow, had *Claudius Nero*, whom the consul had detached with a body of horse, to take a large compass and fall upon the *Carthaginians* in the rear during the action, come up in

Marcellus gains a considerable advantage over Hannibal *near* Nola.

[e] Liv. ibid.

time.

time. *Marcellus* offered *Hannibal* battle the next day, but he declined it, and decamped in the night, laying aſide all thoughts of taking *Nola*, which had ſo often proved fatal to his glory. From *Nola* he led his army to *Tarentum*, where ſome *Tarentine* priſoners, whom he had formerly ſent home without ranſom, had engaged many young men in his intereſt. But the proprætor *Lævinus*, who guarded that coaſt, took ſuch effectual means to prevent the deſigns of the factious, that the *Carthaginian*, being again diſappointed, abandoned the enterprize, and took the road to *Salapia*, a city in *Apulia*, with a deſign to ſpend the winter there. As the ſeaſon was not yet far advanced, *Fabius* undertook the ſiege of *Caſilinum*, which was gariſoned by two thouſand *Campanians* and ſeven hundred *Carthaginians*, under the command of a *Capuan* of diſtinction, named *Statius Metius*. The conſul had no ſooner inveſted the place, than *Magius*, prætor of *Capua*, which was but two miles from *Caſilinum*, formed a ſtrong body of troops, and armed even the ſlaves, with a deſign to attack the *Romans* in their trenches. *Fabius*, receiving intelligence of theſe preparations, wrote to his collegue *Marcellus*, either to come in perſon, or to ſend the prætor *Sempronius*, with two legions, to cover the ſiege. Hereupon *Marcellus*, leaving only two thouſand men in *Nola*, for *Hannibal* was then in winter-quarters in *Apulia*, marched with the reſt of his army to join *Fabius*. And now the two greateſt generals *Rome* had acted together for the firſt time, the one carrying on the ſiege, and the other covering it with an army, ready to engage *Hannibal* or the *Capuans*, in caſe they ſhould attempt to relieve the place. The gariſon made ſo vigorous a defence, that *Fabius*, diſcouraged by the daily ſlaughter of his men, would have raiſed the ſiege, had not *Marcellus* preſſed him to purſue it; which he did with ſuch vigour, that the *Campanians*, having loſt all hopes of being relieved, either by *Hannibal* or their prætor *Magius*, ſent deputies to *Fabius*, aſking leave to march out of the place and return to *Capua*. The conſul conſented to what they aſked, knowing it would not be long ere the city ſurrendered, when defended only by a ſmall number of *Carthaginians*. But *Marcellus*, watching the time when the *Campanians* were to march out of the city, ſeized the gate before fifty of them were out, and entering the place put all to the ſword, without diſtinction, who oppoſed him. Thoſe who threw down their arms, whether *Capuans* or *Carthaginians*, were made priſoners of war, and ſent to *Rome*, *Marcellus* pretending that he was not obliged to ſtand to the agreement made by his collegue. *Fabius* being now maſter of

Caſilinum retaken by the Romans.

of *Caſilinum*, laid waſte great part of *Campania*, killed or took priſoners near twenty five thouſand men, made incurſions into *Samnium*, where he ſurpriſed three hundred and ſeventy *Roman* deſerters, and ſent them to *Rome*, where they were firſt beaten with rods, and then thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock. *Fabius* had alſo the ſatisfaction to hear that his ſon had gained great glory in *Apulia*, where he took the city of *Accua*, almoſt in ſight of the *Carthaginian* army. As for *Marcellus*, he returned to *Nola*, where he was ſeized with a diſtemper, which for ſome time ſuſpended his martial ardor [f].

Accua *in* Apulia *taken by young* Fabius.

In the mean time, *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who, as we have obſerved above, had concluded an offenſive and defenſive alliance with *Hannibal*, began to move and draw towards *Italy*. He firſt laid ſiege to *Apollonia*, a city at the head of the *Adriatic* ſea; but not ſucceeding in that deſign, he turned his arms againſt *Oricum*; the inhabitants of which city immediately ſent notice of their danger to the prætor *Lævinus*, who, in two days after the news, arrived at *Oricum*; and finding the city already taken, eaſily recovered it, and then formed a deſign of ſurpriſing in the night the king of *Macedon* in his camp; and executed it with ſuch ſucceſs, that *Philip* himſelf had fallen into the prætor's hands, had not a party of *Macedonians*, more reſolute than the reſt, carried him off half naked to his ſhips. *Lævinus* killed about three thouſand *Macedonians*, and took near twice that number of priſoners. The *Macedonian* fleet, which lay in the port of *Oricum*, not being able to get out to ſea, by reaſon the *Roman* fleet barred up the mouth of the harbour, *Philip* was obliged to ſet fire to his ſhips, and return by land to his own territories, with the miſerable remains of his ſhattered army [g]. But *Hannibal* ſoon made himſelf amends for this diſappointment on the ſide of *Macedon*, by the troubles he found means to raiſe in *Sicily*; where, after ſeveral plots, counter-plots, and aſſaſſinations, *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, the two agents whom *Hannibal* had ſent to make a treaty with king *Hieronymus*, were by the *Syracuſans* choſen into the college of prætors; ſo that *Syracuſe* being now wholly devoted to the *Carthaginian* intereſt, it was thought neceſſary to ſend *Marcellus* with his army from *Nola* to the aſſiſtance of *Claudius* and *Lentulus*, the two *Roman* prætors in *Sicily*. But as to the particulars of this glorious expedition, we refer our readers to our hiſtory of *Sicily*, where we have given a diſtinct account of all the tranſactions in that iſland, both civil and military, from the death of king *Hiero*

Lævinus *ſurpriſes the camp of the king of* Macedon.

Marcellus *ſent into* Sicily.

[f] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 19. Plut. in Fab. [g] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 40.

to the intire reduction of the city and kingdom of *Syracuſe* by the brave *Marcellus* [h].

IN *Spain* the two *Scipios* gained great advantages over the *Carthaginians*, who in two battles loſt above twenty thouſand men. The fruit of theſe ſucceſſes was the retaking of *Saguntum*, the city which had given riſe to the war. The old inhabitants, of whom few were now alive, were reinſtated in their poſſeſſions, and the *Turdetani*, who had formerly joined *Hannibal* againſt that faithful city, being obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, were made ſlaves and ſold by auction [i].

THE conſulſhip of *Fabius Maximus* and *Marcellus* being now expired, the conſcript fathers, to keep theſe two great men at the head of the armies without infringing the laws, continued *Marcellus* in *Sicily*, with the title of proconſul, and made him governor of all thoſe territories, which had formerly belonged to king *Hiero*. As for *Fabius*, that he might ſtill have the conduct of thoſe forces, which were to act againſt *Hannibal*, the centuries raiſed his ſon *Q. Fabius* to the conſulate, knowing that the father, who offered to ſerve under him, would have the chief direction of the campaign. With young *Fabius* was joined *Sempronius Gracchus*, who with an army of *Volones* had defeated *Hanno* near *Beneventum*. The other generals were continued in their reſpective commands; the two *Scipios* remained in *Spain*; *Terentius Varro* in *Picenum*; *Mucius Scævola* in *Surdinia*; *Otacilius* commanded the fleet in *Sicily*, and *Valerius Lævinus* a ſquadron at *Brunduſium*, to watch the motions of the king of *Macedon*; the prætor *Fulvius* had the command of two legions near *Sueſſula*, and *Sempronius Tuditanus* was ſent with a body of troops into *Ciſalpine Gaul*. After the conſuls had continued at *Rome* as long as was neceſſary to calm the fears of the people, in relation to ſome odd events which ſuperſtition made formidable, young *Fabius* went to take upon him the command of the army, which was incamped near *Sueſſula*; and *Sempronius* at the ſame time ſet out for *Lucania*, where it had fallen to his lot to act. *Fabius*, purſuant to his father's directions, opened the campaign with the ſiege of *Arpi*, in which was a garriſon of five thouſand *Carthaginians*. As the city was weak on one ſide, but deemed impregnable on the other, the troops in the town, believing it would be undoubtedly attacked on the weaker ſide, all repaired thither; which gave the *Fabii* an opportunity of ſurpriſing the place in the night. After this the *Fabii* made it their whole buſineſs to follow *Hannibal*, who did not ſo much as attempt any conſiderable enterpriſe,

Arpi *taken by the* Romans.

[h] See Vol. VII. p. 253, & ſeq.
[i] Idem ibid. c. 41.

during this campaign, but contented himself with ſtanding on the defenſive. The prætor *Fulvius* near *Sueſſula* watched the motions of the *Capuans*, and was much ſurpriſed to ſee an hundred and twelve brave men of their nobility arrive at his camp, and, declaring an abhorrence of the revolt of their countrymen, demand to be received again into the friendſhip of the *Romans*. This change in the minds of the nobility plainly ſhewed how much *Hannibal* had loſt his credit. The prætor *Sempronius Tuditanus* beſieged and took by ſtorm the city of *Aternum*, in the country of the *Marrucini*; and with the booty he found there, and the ranſom of ſeven thouſand priſoners, much inriched the treaſury of the republic. The conſul *Sempronius* gained conſiderable advantages in *Lucania*, and obliged part of *Brutium* to return to its former obedience. In *Spain* the two *Scipios* not only made great progreſs, but extended their views even to *Africa*, where they engaged *Syphax* king of *Maſæſylia*, the weſtern part of *Numidia*, to take arms againſt *Carthage*. But, on the other hand, the *Carthaginians*, alarmed at the motions of *Syphax*, prevailed on *Gala* king of *Maſſylia*, the eaſtern part of *Numidia*, to join them. *Gala* himſelf was no warrior, but had a ſon in the flower of his age, whoſe inclinations were wholly for war. The young prince's name was *Maſiniſſa*; he was then only ſeventeen years old; but his genius and conduct were ſuch as made the *Maſſylians* conclude, that he would both inrich and inlarge his father's dominions. *Gala* put him at the head of his troops, and the young warrior, joining the *Carthaginians*, fell ſo vigorouſly and ſo ſeaſonably on the *Maſæſylians*, that they were intirely routed, and loſt thirty thouſand men in the action. The vanquiſhed king retired into *Mauritania*, made new levies, and prepared to paſs the ſtreights, and join the *Scipios* in *Spain*. But the great *Maſiniſſa* gave him a ſecond overthrow, which put him out of a condition of trying the fortune of arms again for a long time [k].

And Aternum.

Syphax defeated by Maſiniſſa.

And now the time for the new elections drawing near, as both conſuls were engaged abroad, *Sempronius*, the elder of them, nominated *C. Claudius Centho* dictator to hold the comitia, in which *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* and *Appius Claudius Pulcher* were choſen conſuls for the new year. At the ſame time *P. Cornelius Scipio* and his brother *Lucius*, the ſon of the proconſul in *Spain*, were elected curule ædiles, though the elder was but twenty years of age, and the laws required that every candidate for that office ſhould be thirty. The perſonal merit of young *Cornelius Scipio*, and that of his father and un-

[k] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 49

cle

cle, made the people diſpenſe with their old cuſtoms [1]. While the new conſuls were buſy at *Rome* in raiſing two legions to be added to the twenty one already on foot, and in proſecuting ſome publicans guilty of notorious frauds, *Hannibal* having made himſelf maſter of *Tarentum* by the treachery of the inhabitants, laid ſiege to the citadel, whither *Livius*, the commander of the *Roman* gariſon in the city, had retired. Hereupon the conſuls, leaving *Rome*, joined their forces; and, in order to divert the *Carthaginian* from purſuing the ſiege he had undertaken, entered *Campania*, laid waſte the country round *Capua*, and threatened that city with a ſiege. The *Capuans* immediately diſpatched deputies to *Hannibal*, intreating him to haſten to their aſſiſtance, and acquainting him, that, by the devaſtation of their fields, they began already to feel the miſeries of a ſiege. The *Carthaginian*, unwilling to raiſe the ſiege of the citadel, which began to be ſtreightened for want of proviſions, ordered *Hanno* with an army from *Brutium* to the relief of his favourite city. *Hanno*, purſuant to his orders, left *Brutium*; and, having collected an immenſe quantity of corn, pitched his camp near *Beneventum*, ordering the *Capuans* to ſend their waggons to fetch it from thence. In the mean time, the conſuls being informed by the people of *Beneventum* of all that paſſed, *Fulvius* marched thither with all expedition, and, entering the town in the night unknown to *Hanno*, appeared the next morning by break of day before the enemy's camp. Two thouſand waggons were arrived from *Capua*, and the peaſants, mixing with the ſoldiers, cauſed great confuſion. However, as the camp was ſituated upon an aſcent, and therefore very difficult to be taken by aſſault, the conſul was for quitting the enterprize, or at leaſt ſuſpending it till the arrival of his collegue. But the legionaries ſignalized their bravery, on this occaſion, beyond the expectation of their general. One *Vibius*, a centurion of the *Latin* troops, and after his example *Pulanius*, a centurion of the third *Roman* legion, threw each a ſtandard over the enemy's ramparts, crying out, Let us be the curſe of all men, if we do not recover theſe enſigns out of the enemy's hands. Hereupon the ſoldiers, encouraging each other, croſſed the ditch, and, climbing up the rampart, in ſpite of all oppoſition, forced the *Carthaginian* camp, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of their troops. Above ſix thouſand of them were killed, and about ſeven thouſand made priſoners. The booty was exceeding great; corn, forage, waggons, horſes, *Hanno*'s baggage, the utenſils of the *Carthaginians*,

Tarentum *betrayed to* Hannibal.

Hanno *defeated, and his camp taken by the Romans.*

[1] Liv. l. xxv c. 2. Polyb. l. x. c. 5.

thaginians, and whatever they had brought from the neighbouring countries, fell a prey to the *Roman* ſoldiers. As for *Hanno*, he made his eſcape, attended only by a ſmall body of horſe, and through by-roads returned into *Brutium* [m].

The taking of the *Carthaginian* camp, and the abſence of *Hanno*, threw the *Capuans* into the utmoſt conſternation. Being more apprehenſive of a ſiege than ever, they ſent a new deputation to *Hannibal*, preſſing him to come to their aſſiſtance. But he was ſo intent upon reducing the citadel of *Tarentum*, that he could not be prevailed upon to move from thence. Hereupon the conſuls drew near to *Capua*, with a deſign to beſiege it in form. As they did not doubt, but *Hannibal* would haſten to the relief of his faithful *Capuans*, they ordered *Sempronius Gracchus* to leave *Lucania*, and incamp with his army of *Volones* in the neighbourhood of *Capua*. *Sempronius* had already named his ſucceſſor to command in that province, and was preparing for his march, when one *Fulvius*, a *Lucanian*, who had been hitherto very zealous for the intereſt of *Rome*, changed his inclination on a ſudden, and, in order to recommend himſelf to the *Carthaginians* by ſome ſignal ſervice, reſolved to betray the proconſul to them. The traitor, abuſing the confidence *Sempronius* placed in him, told him, that before he left *Lucania*, he would fain procure him the glory of uniting all the hearts of his countrymen in the intereſts of *Rome*, and pretended, that the heads of the *Carthaginian* faction deſired a private conference. The brave *Roman*, not ſuſpecting any deceit, went to the place appointed, attended only with his lictors, and a ſmall body of horſe. But he no ſooner arrived, than he was ſurrounded by a great body of horſe and foot under the command of *Ildaga*, who had concealed himſelf behind a neighbouring hill. The preconſul, finding it impoſſible to make his eſcape, cried out to his ſmall troop, *We are betrayed and muſt die. Let us therefore ſignalize the laſt of our days with a behaviour worthy of Romans. Let us turn our arms chiefly againſt the traitor Fulvius*, and ſend him to the infernal regions before us. Having thus ſpoke he diſmounted, and, wrapping his left arm in his *paludamentum*, or military cloak, for want of a buckler, flew ſword in hand to the place where he ſaw *Fulvius*, in hopes of killing the traitor before he fell himſelf. But he periſhed in the attempt, the *Carthaginians* being obliged, by the great ſlaughter he made in the heart of their battalions, to diſpatch him, though they had been ordered by *Ildago* to take him alive. Thus periſhed one of the beſt

The proconſul Sempronius betrayed and killed.

[m] Liv. l. xxv. c. 13, 14. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2.

generals

generals of the republic, at a time when she abounded with great men [n]. The body of this great man was carried to *Hannibal*'s camp, who could not help shewing marks of esteem for so great a commander. He erected a funeral pile for him at the gate of his camp, and ordered his cavalry to make their evolutions round it in honour of the deceased. Upon his death, the *Volones* thinking themselves discharged from their military oath, disbanded, so that the consul's project of besieging *Capua* was a little disconcerted.

To this misfortune was added another on the side of *Spain*, which threw the republic into the utmost consternation. News was brought to *Rome*, that both the *Scipios* were killed. The circumstances of their death are thus related: The *Carthaginians* had three armies in *Spain* commanded by three officers of reputation, viz. *Asdrubal*, *Hannibal*'s brother, *Mago*, and another *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*. The two latter had united their forces and encamped together; the former commanded an army apart, but without removing far from his collegues. The two *Roman* generals likewise separated, and divided their troops. *Publius*, who was proconsul and the eldest, took two-thirds of the *Roman* soldiers, and, leaving his brother the rest with thirty thousand *Celtiberian* auxiliaries, marched towards the post, which *Mago* and his collegue possessed, about five days journey from the *Roman* camp. During his absence, the *Celtiberians*, being bribed by *Asdrubal* with large sums, deserted their general, and, marching away, left him in a melancholy situation. His brother *Publius* was already a great way off, and he was no-ways in a condition, having but a handful of *Romans* with him, either to keep thirty thousand *Celtiberians* in awe, or without them to defend his camp against the numerous forces of *Asdrubal*. His only refuge therefore was to retire, and keep at a distance from the enemy, which he did accordingly, passing the *Iberus*, and keeping that river between him and *Asdrubal*'s army. In the mean time, his brother *Publius*, arriving after five days march at the post, which *Mago* and *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, possessed, was informed, that *Masinissa*, after having conquered *Syphax* in *Africa*, had passed the straights, and joined the *Carthaginians* with his victorious army. This gave no small uneasiness to the proconsul, who expected to engage only the *Carthaginians*, under the command of *Mago* and the son of *Gisco*. Notice was brought him at the same time, that a *Spanish* prince, named *Indibilis*, was in full march from the

The two Scipios *defeated and killed in* Spain.

[n] Idem, ibid. c. 16.

country

country of the *Lacetani*, where he reigned; to join the *Carthaginians* with ſeven thouſand five hundred men. Upon this intelligence, he decamped in the night, with a deſign to obſtruct the march of *Indibilis*, and fight him before he reached the enemy's camp. Accordingly, the next morning he met him, and had already ſurrounded him on all ſides, when all on a ſudden *Maſiniſſa*, who had narrowly watched his motions, appeared at the head of a numerous body of *Numidian* horſe, and unexpectedly attacked the *Roman* army in flank. The fight was then renewed with great fury on both ſides. *Indibilis* returned with his *Lacetani* to the charge; and at the ſame time *Mago* and the ſon of *Giſco* arriving, contrary to the proconſul's expectation, attacked his army in the rear. The brave *Scipio*, thus ſurrounded by three armies, flew from manipulus to manipulus, fighting as a common ſoldier in one place, and giving orders as a general in another. Thus, by his activity and undaunted courage, he kept up the ſpirits of his legionaries, who withſtood with an unparallelled bravery the numerous forces of the enemy, till their gallant commander was run through with a lance, and left dead on the ſpot. Hereupon the *Numidian* horſe, who ſaw him fall, gave a great ſhout, crying out, *The* Roman *general is dead*. The death of ſo brave a commander damped the courage of the *Romans*, who thought of nothing now but retiring in good order. They cut their way, ſword in hand, through the enemy's infantry; but *Maſiniſſa*, falling upon them with his *Numidian* cavalry, put them in diſorder, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of them, that not one of the *Romans* would have eſcaped, had not night, which very ſeaſonably overtook them, obliged the *Numidian* to give over the purſuit.

In the mean time, *Cneius*, knowing nothing either of the death of his brother or the defeat of his legions, kept advancing on the banks of the *Iberus* towards the provinces of *Spain*, which were well affected to the *Romans*; when all on a ſudden he ſaw a very numerous army advancing towards him, and was ſoon after informed, that his brother was killed, his army intirely defeated, and his troops either diſperſed or cut in pieces. At this news he ſunk into a deep melancholy, and not being able to gain any better retreat, he poſted himſelf on the top of an eminence, where the nature of the ground, which was very rocky, would not ſuffer him to make any fortifications, but with the baggage of the army. In this poſt the ſmall body he commanded was attacked by all the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*, under the conduct of the two *Aſdrubals*, of *Aſſaga*, *Maſiniſſa*, and their ally *Indibilis*, who,

who, after the defeat of *Publius*, had united their forces, in order to fall upon *Cneius*, and put an end to the war in *Spain* at one blow. The *Romans*, though furrounded on all fides by numerous armies, forced their way through the enemies battalions, without fo much as offering to furrender; and, gaining the neighbouring mountains, efcaped through by-ways to the camp of the deceafed proconful, which they found guarded by a fmall number of troops, under the command of *T. Fonteius*, one of *Publius*'s lieutenants. As for the brave *Cneius*, he loft his life with a confiderable number of legionaries in the action. Some writers tell us, that he retired, with fome brave men, to a neighbouring tower, in which, the enemy having fet fire to it, he was either ftifled with the fmoke, or burnt. Thus all the hopes of the *Romans* in *Spain* feemed extinguifhed by the death of the two *Scipios*, who had been the chief fupport of the republic, and had done her greater fervices in thofe countries, than *Hannibal* had done her hurt in *Italy*. The confcript fathers now looked upon the affairs of *Rome* as quite ruined in *Spain*. But a young *Roman* knight, named *C. Marcius*, who had been brought up under *Cneius*, and had a wonderful genius for war, foon repaired the misfortunes which had made the wifeft men in the fenate defpond. *Marcius*, not difcouraged by the lofs of two battles, put himfelf in motion, and being unanimoufly chofen general by the troops, he gathered together the fugitives, and repulfed *Afdrubal*, the fon of *Gifco*, who came to attack him in his camp. The brave *Marcius*, encouraged with this fuccefs, formed a defign, which would have been deemed a rafh attempt, had not his prefent circumftances authorized it. The very next night he marched boldly to the enemy's camp, furprifed it, and, having fhut up all the paffages out of it, fet fire to the tents, which were covered with thatch. In the general confufion, which the flames and the fhouts of the *Romans* occafioned, fome of the *Carthaginians* haftened to the gates of the camp, where they were cut in pieces by the legionaries who guarded them. Others leaped down from the top of the ramparts, but in endeavouring to make their efcape, were intercepted by the fquadrons, which *Marcius* had placed in all the avenues leading to the camp. As they were unarmed, and moft of them naked, for *Marcius* furprifed the camp in the dead of the night, the maffacre was general. We are told, that the number of the dead on the fide of the *Carthaginians* amounted to thirty feven thoufand, and that of the prifoners to eighteen hundred and thirty. Thus the mighty projects of the *Carthaginian* generals were intirely defeated, and *Rome*, notwithftanding

The Carthaginians defeated in Spain by C. Marcius.

ing the great loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained, maintained herſelf in poſſeſſion of the provinces ſhe had given up for loſt o.

THE firſt care of the brave *Marcius* after ſo ſignal a victory was, to diſpatch couriers with letters to the ſenate, informing them of his ſucceſs, and demanding ſuccours and proviſions to enable him to maintain the war. In theſe letters he unluckily ſtyled himſelf *proprætor*, a title which he had acquired only by a military election in the camp; and this ſlight offence againſt the authority of the haughty republic was reſented to ſuch a degree, that, notwithſtanding the important ſervices of *Marcius*, the ſenate reſolved to recal him, and ſend another general in his room. Nay, ſome were for treating him as a criminal, and citing him as ſuch to appear forthwith before the tribes. But the greater number choſe to act a more moderate part, and, ſuppreſſing the title of *proprætor* in their anſwer, ſent *Marcius* word, that they would take care to ſupply the *Roman* ſoldiers in *Spain* with cloaths and proviſions. They thought it a dangerous precedent for the legions to aſſume the liberty of chuſing their own commanders; and therefore they thought it neceſſary to convene the tribes, as ſoon as they conveniently could, in order to appoint another commander in the room of *Marcius* p. But, in the mean time, the conſular year being ready to expire, *Appius Claudius* was recalled from *Capua* to preſide in the comitia, when *P. Sulpicius Galba* and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* were raiſed to the conſular dignity. *Apulia* was aſſigned to them for their province, while the late conſuls were, in quality of proconſuls, to continue the ſiege of *Capua*, which they ſhut up on all ſides, propoſing to reduce it rather by famine, than by force. But, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the two proconſuls, a *Numidian* horſeman, having croſſed the *Roman* camp in the night, without being diſcovered, carried the news to *Hannibal* of the extremity to which the city was reduced. This engaged him at length to leave the blockade of the citadel of *Tarentum*, and march to the relief of the diſtreſſed city with his horſe, his light-armed infantry, and thirty three elephants. He found means to give the beſieged notice when he intended to attack the *Romans*, ordering them to make a vigorous ſally at the ſame time. The proconſuls, upon the firſt notice of the approach of the enemy, divided their troops, *Appius* taking upon him to

Capua *ſhut up on all ſides by the* Romans.

o Liv. l. xxv. c. 30. Plin l. ii. c. 107. Val. Max. l. i. c 6. p Liv. l. xxvi. c. 27.

make

make head againſt the gariſon, and *Fulvius* to defend the intrenchments againſt *Hannibal*, who, at the time agreed on before-hand with the *Capuans*, began the attack with incredible fury, while the gariſon, under the command of *Hanno* and *Boſtar*, two *Carthaginian* generals, fell upon the *Romans* at the ſame time. *Appius* found no difficulty in repulſing the gariſon; and would have entered the city with them, had he not been wounded at the very gate, and by his wound diſabled from purſuing his deſign. As for *Fulvius*, he found it more difficult to withſtand the troops of *Hannibal*, who exerted themſelves with ſuch courage, reſolution, and intrepidity, as can hardly be expreſſed. A body of *Spaniards* and *Numidians* had even the boldneſs to paſs the ditch, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, climbing the ramparts, penetrated into the *Roman* camp. But, as they were not ſeconded by the other troops, they were all to a man cut in pieces, which ſo diſheartened the *Carthaginian* general, eſpecially after the gariſon was repulſed, that he ſounded a retreat, which was made in good order. Some writers tell us, that eight thouſand of *Hannibal*'s army, and three thouſand of the *Capuan* gariſon, were killed upon the ſpot, and that fifteen colours were taken from the former, and eighteen from the latter. Be that as it will; for there is a great diſagreement among authors as to the number of the dead; it is certain, that *Hannibal* was much perplexed what ſtep to take next, it being impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt long in a country, which was ruined and laid waſte. At length he formed a deſign worthy of himſelf, and the fitteſt to ſupport his glory and credit. He reſolved to march directly to *Rome*, and ſurpriſe that capital, while the inhabitants expected nothing leſs than to ſee *Hannibal* at their gates. One advantage at leaſt he concluded would attend this enterpriſe, which was a diverſion of the *Roman* forces before *Capua*; by which means proviſions might be conveyed more eaſily into that city. That the *Capuans* might not be ſo diſheartened by his abſence as to haſtily ſurrender, he found means to acquaint them with his deſign. The news of *Hannibal*'s approach cauſed great apprehenſions at *Rome*. Some of the ſenators were for calling all the armies in *Italy* into the neighbourhood of *Rome*. But the great *Fabius* oppoſed this opinion, telling the conſcript fathers, that *Hannibal*'s deſign was not to take *Rome*, but to deliver *Capua*. However, a middle way was taken, and meſſengers were ſent to the conſuls, informing them of the ſtate of affairs, and leaving it to their judgment, either to continue both before *Capua*, or for one of them, with ſuch forces as could be ſpared, to come to the re-

Hannibal *attempts in vain to relieve* Capua.

Hannibal *marches to* Rome.

lief of the capital. Upon this it was agreed by the two collegues, that *Appius* ſhould continue before *Capua*, and that *Fulvius*, with fifteen thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, ſhould march to *Rome*. He ſet out accordingly, but took a different rout from *Hannibal*, the latter going by the *Latin* way, and the former by the *Appian*. The *Roman* troops were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions on their march by the allies and ſubjects of *Rome*; ſo that they met with no obſtruction, except in paſſing the *Vulturnus*, *Hannibal* having ſeized and burnt all the boats, which obliged the proconſul to ſpend ſome time in cutting timber, and making rafts to convey over his troops. As for *Hannibal*, he took a great compaſs before he came in ſight of *Rome*. From *Capua* he went to *Cale*, and from thence to *Sidicinum*; from *Sidicinum* he directed his march to *Sueſſa*, then to *Allifæ*. From this latter place he returned to the *Latin* way, and paſſing through *Caſinum*, *Aquinum*, and *Interamna*, incamped in the plains of *Fregellæ*. Hereupon the *Fregellani*, having firſt ſent one of their citizens with orders to travel night and day, in order to acquaint the ſenate with the approach of *Hannibal*, broke down their bridge on the *Liris*, which ſtopped the enemy's march for ſome time. However, after he had laid waſte the lands of the *Fregellani*, and built a new bridge over the *Liris*, he arrived at length by the *Præneſtine* way within eight hundred paces of *Rome*. The alarm, which the approach of ſo formidable an enemy gave in all the quarters of the city, is not to be expreſſed. *Fulvius* was not yet arrived with his reinforcement, which occaſioned great uneaſineſs, and doubled their fears, the more timorous, eſpecially the women, whoſe ſhrieks were heard in all the ſtreets, believing he had been cut off with his whole army by *Hannibal*. But while the city was in the utmoſt alarm, the preconſul appeared with his troops, and entered *Rome* by the gate *Capena*, having firſt received from the ſenate an authority equal to that of the conſuls for the better diſcharge of his employment. He marched through the city, and incamped with his army between the gates *Eſquilina* and *Collina*. The ædiles were charged to ſupply the camp with proviſions and all ſorts of ammunition; and the two conſuls, who had not yet left *Rome*, with the ſenate, went thither to hold a council of war, in which due meaſures were taken for the defence of the city. The ſituation of *Fabius*'s camp was approved, and all the officers were aſſigned their poſts. The ramparts were lined with ſoldiers; troops were ſtationed at proper diſtances within the walls; and the ſenate thought it neceſſary to keep their aſſembly continually

tinually ſitting in the forum, to be ready againſt all emergencies. Theſe diſpoſitions ſo much intimidated *Hannibal*, that, deſpairing to compaſs his deſign of making himſelf maſter of *Rome*, he retired about three miles farther from it, and incamped beyond the *Anio*. Nevertheleſs, as he had the curioſity to ſatisfy himſelf of the condition of the enemy, he advanced at the head of two thouſand horſe towards the gate *Collina*, and appeared over-againſt the temple of *Hercules*. The proconſul *Flaminius*, provoked at this inſult, ſent out a detachment of cavalry to attack him; and at the ſame time ordered the twelve hundred *Numidians*, who had formerly deſerted from *Hannibal*, to ſupport the *Roman* cavalry. As they had been poſted by *Fulvius* on mount *Aventine*, they were obliged to march through the city; which they did in good order. But as the people did not know that the proconſul had any *Numidians* in his army, they imagined the city ſurprized, and ſuch was the fright and conſternation upon this falſe apprehenſion, that moſt of the inhabitants would have abandoned the city, had not *Hannibal* been at the gates. In this panic many of the citizens took arms, and falling upon the *Numidians*, killed ſome of them before they were undeceived. At length the *Numidians*, with the utmoſt difficulty, made their way through the terrified crouds, joined the *Roman* ſquadrons, and with them obliged *Hannibal* to retire in ſome confuſion to his camp. But as the *Carthaginian* general had no mind to give over the enterprize, without being obliged to it by the loſs of a battle, in which he entertained great hopes of ſucceeding, he repaſſed the *Anio*, drew up his troops within reach of the enemy, and bid them defiance. *Fulvius* readily accepted the challenge, thinking he might venture a battle, almoſt without any danger, in ſight, and at the foot, of the ramparts of the city. Never were combatants more nearly concerned in intereſt, than both parties now were, to exert all their courage and reſolution. To take or preſerve *Rome* was the great end which the two armies propoſed to gain by the victory. When all things were ready for the onſet, a ſudden and violent ſtorm prevented the armies from engaging. The ſame thing happened the next day, when the ſtorm returned with ſuch violence, that both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* were obliged to return to their tents. To complete this prodigy, for it is looked upon as ſuch by ſome declamatory hiſtorians among the *Latins*, as ſoon as the armies had left the plain, the clouds diſappeared, and the ſun returned. *Polybius*, who lived in, or ſoon after, thoſe times, and has given us a minute account of what paſſed on this occaſion, makes no mention

either of preparations for an engagement, or of prodigies that prevented it. It is therefore probable, that *Hannibal* continued quiet in his camp, watching ſome favourable opportunity of putting his project in execution. As *Rome* was no longer alarmed, the ſenate provided for all affairs abroad with as much tranquillity, as if the enemy had been at a great diſtance.

A good number of troops was ſent to reinforce the army in *Spain*; and this *Hannibal* looked upon as an inſult. But he was more concerned, when he was told by a deſerter, that a piece of land in the place, where he was then incamped, had been ſold at *Rome* as dear as if he had not been maſter of it. This exaſperated him to ſuch a degree, that he put up to ſale the bankers ſhops round the forum, and after this bravado drew nearer to the city, and incamped at a ſmall diſtance from the gate *Capena* (Q). But he ſoon retired again, and incamping on the banks of the *Turia*, about ſix miles from *Rome*, ravaged the neighbouring country, and then marched into the territory of *Capena*; where he rifled a temple conſecrated to the goddeſs *Feronia*, carrying thence a conſiderable booty in gold and ſilver. He then purſued his march, paſſed the *Liris*, and, drawing near *Capua*, fell unexpectedly on *Appius*'s camp in the night. A great number of *Romans* were killed on the ſpot, and *Appius* forced to leave his camp and fly to ſome eminences, where he intrenched himſelf, expecting every moment to be joined by his collegue

Hannibal *retires from before* Rome

(Q) *Feſtus* tell us, that *Hannibal*, when near the city of *Rome*, ſaw ſpectres in the air, which filled him with a ſudden terror, and obliged him to *turn back* immediately; and hence, according to that author, came the name *Rediculus*, which was given by the *Romans* to a new divinity of their own making. For, after *Hannibal's* retreat, the *Romans* erected a temple in the way to the gate *Capena*, where he had incamped, conſecrating it to the god *Rediculus*. Others derive this name from the word *ridiculus*, which ſignifies any thing that deſerves to be *laughed at*. The ill ſucceſs of *Hannibal's* enterpriſe, ſay they, made the *Romans* very jocoſe upon him; and to perpetuate his ſhame, they erected a temple to the god *Riſus* or *Laughter*, whom they ſtiled *rediculus* or *ridiculus*. *Varro*, in his ſatire called *Hercules tuam fidem*, gives this god the name of *Tutanus*, as if he had defended *Rome* againſt *Hannibal*. He makes this god ſpeak thus:

Nocte Hannibalis cum ſuperi exercitus
Tutanus hoc, Tutanus Romæ nuncupor.
Hoc profter omnes, qui laborant, invocant.

Feſtus,

Fulvius, who he apprehended could not be far off. But *Hannibal*, expecting to have all the *Roman* forces immediately upon him, abandoned all thoughts of relieving *Capua*, marched through *Lucania* and *Brutium*, and then entered the territory of *Rhegium* with such expedition, that he had like to have surprised the city. In the mean time, *Fulvius* having rejoined his collegue before *Capua*, that city was soon reduced to the utmost extremity. The proconsuls offered to spare the lives of all those who should repair to the *Roman* camp; but not one *Capuan* accepted the offer. The commanders of the *Carthaginian* garison wrote letters to *Hannibal*, full of reproaches, and pressing him not to desert them in so shameful a manner. But one of the *Numidians*, to whose care these letters were committed, being betrayed by his mistress, who had followed him into the *Roman* camp, both he and his companions were seized, and driven back into the city, after having been whipt, and had their thumbs cut off. At the sight of the maimed *Numidians*, the people in the utmost consternation obliged the senate to assemble, in order to deliberate about the proper means of delivering them from the calamities which threatened them. Fear brought the senators together, and the majority were for surrendering upon the best terms they could obtain. But *Vibius Virius*, the chief author of the revolt, opposed this motion, and in a long speech shewed them, that there was no room to hope for any favour from the *Romans* after so great provocations. He concluded his harangue, in which every thing savoured of rage and despair, with these words; *Death is our only remedy. I have prepared a great entertainment at my house; where after we have eat and drank plentifully, a cup of poison will end our days and misfortunes together. Let those who despise life, follow me. A glorious death will procure us respect from the enemy, and the perfidious* Hannibal *will lament the loss of allies, who did not deserve to be thus deserted and betrayed.* Twenty seven of the assembled followed *Virius*, and closed the entertainment, to which they were invited, with a cup of poison. The rest of the *Capuans* submitted to the *Romans*, who were no sooner in possession of the city, than they seized the *Carthaginian* garison and all the *Capuan* senators. The *Carthaginians* were made prisoners of war; but the senators were tried by the proconsuls, and fifty three of them, who had been the most active against *Rome*, were sent to two neighbouring cities, twenty five to *Cales*, and twenty eight to *Teanum*, to be kept there under close confinement, till their fate was determined. For *Appius* being inclined to clemency, and *Fulvius* to severity, the

Capua submits to the Romans.

the diſpute grew warm between them; and *Appius* to put an end to it, referred the matter to the conſcript fathers, and in the mean time ſent the priſoners to the above-mentioned cities. But his collegue, without waiting for the decree of the ſenate, marched out of the camp at midnight, and hattening with two thouſand horſe firſt to *Cale*, and then to *Teanum*, cauſed the fifty three ſenators to be firſt beaten with rods and then beheaded. He received, juſt before the execution of thoſe at *Teanum*, letters from *Rome* with orders to ſuſpend it; but he put the packet into his boſom, and did not open the letters till all was over. And yet the republic never blamed him for this inſtance of ſeverity; being, without all doubt, pleaſed to ſee herſelf revenged, without incurring the odious charge of inhumanity among her allies [q]. As to the city of *Capua*, the republic kept to herſelf the property of thoſe fruitful plains, and of the houſes in the city; and tranſplanted thither freedmen to manure the lands. Thoſe were governed by a præfect ſent thither annually to preſerve order in the place, and to hear cauſes. As to the ancient inhabitants, they were deprived of their eſtates and effects, and diſperſed without hopes of ever returning to their native city, ſome of them being ſold for ſlaves, and others confined to ſeveral priſons, where they periſhed with hunger.

The taking of *Capua*, in a manner before *Hannibal*'s face, ſunk his reputation in all the provinces of *Italy*. However, *Philip* king of *Macedon*, was preparing to come into *Italy*, purſuant to his engagements with the *Carthaginian* general. But the proprætor *Lævinus*, having drawn ſome of the *Greek* ſtates into a confederacy with *Rome*, found him ſo much work at home, that he gave over all thoughts of carrying his arms into *Italy*, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of *Macedon*.

Aſdrubal outwits the Roman commander in Spain.

In *Spain*, *Claudius Nero*, who had been ſent to ſucceed the *Scipios*, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhamefully outwitted by *Aſdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*. He had ſhut up the *Carthaginians* on a neck of land, where they were reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that *Aſdrubal* promiſed to leave *Spain* with all his troops, provided the *Romans* would only grant them their lives. *Claudius* accepted the propoſal; but the artful *Carthaginian*, ſtarting every day new difficulties about evacuating the cities he poſſeſſed, found means to convey in the mean while moſt part of his troops over the mountains in the night-time, without the knowledge of the enemy, who, after the ſigning of the

[q] Liv l. xxvi. c. 12, 13, 14, 15.

treaty,

treaty, did not keep ſo watchful an eye over them. At length all the infantry gained the plains, *Aſdrubal* being left in the camp with the cavalry only and the elephants; and even theſe he found means to ſave by the help of a thick fog, which covered both armies. When the weather cleared up, *Claudius* found the *Carthaginian* camp deſerted, and himſelf egregiouſly deluded. He purſued the enemy, but to no purpoſe; for *Aſdrubal*, having joined his infantry, retired in good order, and eſcaped with the loſs of a ſmall number of his men, who were killed in ſome ſkirmiſhes between his rear-guard and the van-guard of the *Romans* [r]. The ſenate and people of *Rome* were much mortified, when they received this news; the centuries were immediately aſſembled to chuſe a proconſul, capable of retrieving the glory of the *Roman* name in *Spain*. But no candidates appearing, by reaſon that employment was generally diſliked, young *Scipio*, the ſon of the deceaſed proconſul, courageouſly offered himſelf for that hazardous enterprize. He was then but twenty four years of age; and nevertheleſs, not only all the centuries, but every voter in each century, declared him proconſul of *Spain* [s]. He embarqued ſoon after at *Oſtia* with ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, on board a fleet of thirty quinqueremes, and ſet out for his province.

Young Scipio choſen proconſul of Spain.

AND now the time for electing new magiſtrates drawing near, *Fulvius Centumalus* was recalled from *Campania* to preſide in the comitia. The perſons raiſed to the conſular dignity were *Marcellus*, the fourth time, who had lately taken the city of *Syracuſe*, and *Lævinus*, the ſecond time, who lay ſick at *Anticyra* in *Greece*, after having ſignalized himſelf againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*, as we have related in the reign of that prince. As ſoon as *Lævinus* arrived, both conſuls applied themſelves wholly to the preparations for the approaching campaign. *Sicily* fell to *Lævinus*, and *Marcellus* was ordered to march againſt *Hannibal*, who, ſince the reduction of *Capua*, was marched into *Brutium*. *Marcellus* began the campaign with the ſiege of *Salapia* in *Apulia*, which was betrayed to him by two leading men in the place. The *Carthaginian* garriſon, which conſiſted of five hundred brave *Numidian* horſe, ſeeing themſelves betrayed, reſolved to ſell their lives dear; and accordingly, quitting their horſes, fought on foot, and made a great ſlaughter of the enemy, till they were all cut in pieces, except fifty, who ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. From *Apulia Marcellus* marched into *Samnium*, where he recovered many cities, and took above three thouſand *Carthaginian*

Salapia taken by Marcellus.

priſoners.

[r] Idem ibid. c. 17. [s] Polyb. l. x. c. 2

priſoners. But, in the mean time, the *Romans* received two very conſiderable checks; the one at *Tarentum*, where a ſquadron of ſhips, which they had ſent to ſupply the citadel with proviſions, was intirely defeated by the *Tarentine* fleet; the other in *Apulia*, where the proconſul *Fulvius Centumalus* was ſurpriſed by *Hannibal*, and cut off with eleven legionary tribunes, and a great number of private men, ſome ſay thirteen thouſand, others only ſeven thouſand. However that be, this victory retrieved the affairs and credit of *Hannibal*, and greatly diſcouraged the *Roman* ſenate and people, whoſe only hopes were now in *Marcellus*. This brave conſul was no ſooner informed of the defeat and death of *Fulvius*, than he marched in queſt of *Hannibal*, not doubting, as he wrote to the ſenate, but he ſhould ſoon damp the joy that ſwelled the mind of the proud conqueror. He came up with him near *Numiſtro* in *Brutium*, and, drawing up his men, offered him battle. The *Carthaginian* accepted the challenge; whereupon a bloody engagement enſued, which laſted the whole day, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. The next morning, *Marcellus* marched out his army at ſun-riſing, and drew it up in the ſame place, where the battle had been fought the day before. But *Hannibal*, not caring to hazard a ſecond engagement, kept his troops cloſe in their intrenchments, and decamped the night following. *Marcellus* purſued him from place to place; ſo that theſe two great generals ſpent the reſt of the campaign, the one watching for an opportunity to come to a general action, the other endeavouring to avoid it [t].

A Roman ſquadron defeated by the Tarentine *fleet.*

The progreſs of Scipio *in* Spain.

WHILE the *Carthaginians* were thus kept in awe by *Marcellus* in *Italy*, the arms of the republic in *Spain* proſpered beyond expectation, under the conduct of young *Scipio*; who, by the gracefulneſs of his perſon, and his wonderful complaiſance, gained, on his firſt arrival, the hearts both of the *Spaniards* and *Romans*. The firſt time he reviewed his troops, he aſked for the brave *Marcius*, tenderly embraced him at the head of the army, heaped marks of diſtinction upon him, took him near his perſon, and was not aſhamed even to conſult him, and on ſeveral occaſions follow his advice. When the ſeaſon allowed him to take the field, he bent all his thoughts on the executing a deſign, which he had formed before he left *Rome*. This deſign he now communicated to *C. Lælius*, the commander of his fleet, and his intimate and inſeparable friend; but carefully concealed it from all others. His ſcheme was to ſurprize *New Carthage*, the capital of the

[t] LIV. l. xxxvii. c 2. PLUT. in Marcell.

Carthagian

Carthaginian empire in *Spain*, where all the enemy's treaſures, machines of war, and naval ſtores were lodged. It was agreed, that *Lelius* ſhould ſhut up the port with his fleet, while *Scipio* inveſted the city by land. With this view the whole army paſſed the *Iberus*, and, marching always in the night, arrived the ſeventh day early in the morning before *New Carthage*. Then he imparted his deſign both to the officers and ſoldiers, repreſented to them of what importance the reduction of that city would be with regard to the intire conqueſt of *Spain*, and told them, that *Neptune* had appeared to him, adviſed him to that enterpriſe, and promiſed him ſucceſs. He added, that they would ſoon ſee a miracle wrought by the god in their favour. He knew the hour when the tide would ebb, and leave the city acceſſible to his land-forces on the ſide of the port; and he made uſe of this natural event, which was a myſtery to the ſoldiers, to perſuade them, that he had a ſupernatural knowledge. Having thus encouraged his troops, as ſoon as the tide ebbed, *Scipio*, at the head of five hundred reſolute men, entered the baſon, having learnt from ſome fiſhermen, that it was fordable when the tide was out, and marching up to the waiſt through the water, ſcaled the walls, which on that ſide were very low, while the *Carthaginians* were wholly intent on repulſing the *Romans*, who attacked the city on the land-ſide. The confuſion of the beſieged was ſo great, when they ſaw the *Romans* within the walls, that they abandoned the ramparts, and gave the reſt of the army an opportunity of breaking down one of the gates, and entering the city. *Mago*, who commanded in the town, retired with his gariſon, conſiſting of a thouſand regular troops and two thouſand of the inhabitants, to the citadel; but was ſoon obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The priſoners in all amounted to ſix thouſand men, beſides women, children, and ſlaves. The *Africans* were reduced to ſlavery; but the *Spaniards* were ſuffered to enjoy their eſtates, and live according to their own laws, only in ſubjection to *Rome*. Eighteen galleys belonging to the enemy were taken in the port, and an hundred and thirteen merchant-ſhips loaded with naval ſtores. In the granaries were found forty thouſand buſhels of wheat, and two hundred and ſixty thouſand buſhels of barley; and in the armouries an immenſe quantity of warlike machines of all ſorts, with ſeventy four ſtandards. As the city was taken by aſſault, *Scipio* gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, ordering them to bring all the booty into the market-place; where, upon taking an inventory of the whole, he found among other valuable effects,

Scipio *ſurpriſes* New Carthage.

two hundred and ſixty cups of gold, moſt of them weighing a pound, eighteen thouſand three hundred pounds weight of ſilver money, and a prodigious quantity of plate. All the braſs money was diſtributed among the ſoldiers, and the reſt of the rich ſpoils put into the hands of *Caius Flaminius* the quæſtor. The hoſtages likewiſe, whom the *Carthaginians* had demanded of the cities and provinces of *Spain*, were all found in the city, and ſent home by *Scipio* loaded with preſents. As for *Mago* and the other *Carthaginian* officers, they were put into the hands of *Lælius*, who treated them with great humanity [a].

After this glorious day, the proconſul, leaving *Lælius* to command in the city, returned with his army to the camp, and ſpent the night there. The next morning, his officers, knowing that he was a great admirer of the fair ſex, brought to him a young virgin of extraordinary beauty. Where-ever ſhe appeared, ſhe charmed the eyes of all, and *Scipio* was ſtruck at the firſt ſight of her. But, though he was in the prime of his age, unmarried, and under no reſtraint, he did not ſuffer himſelf to be blinded by his riſing paſſion. He examined the beautiful captive concerning her country, birth, and engagements; and finding that ſhe was betrothed to a *Celtiberian* prince, named *Allucius*, he ordered both him and the captive's parents to be ſent for, and put her untouched into their hands, telling them, that the only return he expected from them was, their friendſhip for his republic. The young *Spaniard* was ſo tranſported with joy, that he could not ſo much as return *Scipio* thanks. As for the parents of the captive, they had brought a conſiderable ſum for the ranſom of their daughter, which they offered to the generous proconſul as a preſent, ſince he had freely given her to her lover without ranſom. They preſſed and intreated him to accept of it, and at length, throwing the money at his feet, retired. But *Scipio* immediately beſtowed it on *Allucius*, as an addition on his part to his wife's fortune. This behaviour, truly heroic, did the *Roman* republic more ſervice than even the taking of *New Carthage*. *Allucius* declared in *Celtiberia*, that the gods had ſent into *Spain* a young conqueror almoſt equal to themſelves. Upon his report *Celtiberia* came over to the *Roman* party; *Allucius* joined the *Roman* troops at the head of fourteen hundred choſen horſe, and all *Spain* began to revolt from the *Carthaginians*. And now *Scipio* diſpatched *Lælius*, and with him *Mago* and the ſenators of *New Car-*

A remarkable inſtance of Scipio's continence.

[a] Liv. l. xxvi c. 43, & ſeq. Polyb l. x. c. 11. Appian. Ibericis

thage,

thage, in a quinqueremis to *Rome*, to give the ſenate an account of his ſucceſs. Never was news received with more applauſe. The republic little expected to recover her affairs in *Spain*, and feared ſhe had hazarded too much in the hands of a young general. The ſenate therefore was overjoyed to find, that the very firſt enterpriſe of their young commander had eclipſed the glory both of his father and uncle. At the ſame time, the republic received from *Sicily* the agreeable news of the total reduction of that iſland by the conſul *Lævinus*, the particulars whereof we have related at length in our hiſtory of the city and kingdom of *Syracuſe*.

Lævinus, having ſettled affairs in *Sicily*, was recalled by the ſenate to hold the comitia. But he was ſcarce arrived, when he was ordered to return to his province upon certain intelligence, that the *Carthaginians* were fitting out a new fleet, with a deſign to attempt the recovery of *Sicily*. He was commanded by the ſenate to name a dictator, before he left *Rome*, to preſide in the comitia for the new elections. But, as he inſiſted upon deferring the nomination till he was in *Sicily*, and it was not thought proper to interrupt *Marcellus* in his purſuit of *Hannibal*, the tribunes of the people took upon them to name a dictator in their aſſembly, viz. *Fulvius Flaccus*, the proconſul of *Campania*. Thus the conſuls loſt the prerogative, which they had enjoyed time out of mind, of appointing dictators. The dictator, having aſſembled the tribes, was himſelf named conſul with *Fabius Maximus*. Two of the tribunes oppoſed the election of *Fulvius* as contrary to law; but the ſenate, well pleaſed with the choice that had been made of two ſuch able commanders, declared, that the dictatorſhip did not by any means diſqualify *Fulvius* from being choſen conſul. In the mean time, *Lælius* arriving from *Spain* with *Mago*, the ſenators of *New Carthage*, and the rich booty which had been taken there, the ſenate, as a mark of diſtinction to *Scipio*, continued him in his commiſſion of proconſul of *Spain*, not for one year only, but till an order ſhould be made for recalling him.

The conſuls loſe the prerogative of appointing dictators.

AND now, the ſeaſon of the year being fit for action, the two conſuls left *Rome*. *Fabius* undertook the ſiege of *Tarentum*, while *Fulvius* on one ſide, and *Marcellus* on the other, watched the motions of *Hannibal*, intercepted his convoys, and prevented his men from going in parties to plunder at any diſtance from their camp. The *Carthaginian*, being thus haraſſed and reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions, reſolved at length to engage *Marcellus*, while the conſul *Fulvius* was at a great diſtance. Accordingly, having drawn

Tarentum beſieged by the Romans.

up his men, and exhorted them to complete the work of *Cannæ*, he fell upon the *Romans* with incredible fury. After the engagement had laſted two hours with equal ſucceſs, the right wing of the *Romans* began to give way. Hereupon *Marcellus* ordered the eighteenth legion, which was poſted in the ſecond line, to advance into the firſt, and take the place of the body that began to retire; but as the legion advanced too ſlowly, and the troops, which they were to ſucceed, retreated with too much precipitation, the enemy laid hold of this opportunity to penetrate a great way into the *Roman* manipuli, and to put the whole right wing into diſorder. *Marcellus* ſtrove in vain to make them keep their ranks, and lead them back to the charge. They fled in the utmoſt confuſion, and their example was followed by the reſt of the army; ſo that *Marcellus*, now unſucceſsful for the firſt time, was obliged to return to his camp, leaving two thouſand ſeven hundred auxiliaries and *Romans* dead on the field of battle. Among theſe were two of his lieutenants, four centurions, and many perſons of diſtinction. *Marcellus* the ſame night aſſembled his troops, and, in a very angry ſpeech, reproached them with the bad ſucceſs of that melancholy action, which he ſaid, was intirely owing to their cowardice. The ſoldiers readily owned their fault, and, aſking pardon for their ſudden flight, proteſted that they were ready to expoſe themſelves to any danger he ſhould think fit, with a firm reſolution either to die or conquer. Make ready then, replied the proconſul, to perform your promiſes to-morrow, and to deſerve the forgiveneſs you deſire. The next morning the legionaries were under arms, and ready to march, by break of day. The manipuli, which had behaved ſo ſhamefully the day before, were placed, *Plutarch* ſays, at their own requeſt, in the firſt line, that they might have an opportunity of wiping off the ſhame of the day before. *Marcellus*, after his men had taken ſome nouriſhment, without letting their ardour cool, marched out of his camp, and drew up his army as uſual. *Hannibal*, ſurpriſed at this unexpected ſtep of the *Roman* general, cried out, What a ſtrange man is this *Marcellus!* whether conqueror, or conquered, he is always ready to fight. Let us march out, and teach him not to inſult, but to fear and reſpect, his conquerors. Having thus ſpoke, he gave orders for the battle; the trumpets ſounded, and the attack began. The victory was for ſome hours diſputed with equal ſucceſs; but at length the *Romans* prevailed, and obliged the enemy to ſhelter themſelves in their camp. In this action *Hannibal* loſt eight thouſand of his beſt troops. However,

Marcellus *is routed by* Hannibal.

But the next day gains a complete victory over him.

Marcellus

Marcellus bought his victory dear; for three thouſand of his legionaries were killed upon the ſpot, and almoſt all the reſt wounded; ſo that he could not purſue *Hannibal*, who decamped the night after his defeat, retired into *Bruttium*, and there intrenched himſelf, while *Marcellus* led his troops to *Venuſia*, to give them ſome reſpite, and time to be cured [w].

IN the mean time, the conſul *Fulvius* recovered, without bloodſhed, the provinces of *Lucania* and *Hirpinia*, and great part of *Bruttium*. As for *Fabius*, who had undertaken the reduction of *Tarentum*, he was put in poſſeſſion of that wealthy and important city, by the commander of the *Brutian* troops in gariſon there, who let the *Romans* into the place in the night-time. The *Romans*, ſeeing themſelves maſters of the place, ſpared neither *Carthaginians*, *Tarentines*, nor *Brutians*; nay, ſome writers tell us, that thoſe among the latter, who had been privy to the treachery of their leader, were by *Fabius*'s orders maſſacred the firſt, leſt, if he ſpared them, this fine conqueſt ſhould be imputed more to treachery, than to his prudence and bravery. But this conduct is no-ways ſuitable to the character of that great man [x]. The riches found in this maritime city were immenſe. The quæſtors are ſaid to have received, for the public treaſury, eighty ſeven thouſand pounds weight of gold, and three thouſand talents of ſilver. As to the pictures and ſtatues, *Fabius*, who had no taſte for arts, and therefore neglected them, being asked by the quæſtors, What he would have done with thoſe maſter-pieces of painting and ſculpture? returned the following anſwer, which all the antients mention; *Let us leave to the* Tarentines *their angry gods*. He alluded to the attitudes, in which the gods of *Tarentum* were repreſented; for, after the *Lacedæmonian* manner, they were generally armed with ſwords, and in fighting poſtures. As for the inhabitants, thirty thouſand citizens, who eſcaped the general maſſacre, were reduced to ſlavery, and ſold to the beſt bidder. In ſhort the *Tarentines* were reduced to ſo low a ſtate, that they became a reproach among their neighbours, and were employed, by *Roman* magiſtrates in the provinces, only as lictors and executioners [y]. As for *Hannibal*, upon the firſt news of the ſiege of *Tarentum*, he had left *Bruttium*, and haſtened to its relief. But when he was within five miles of the city, an account was brought

Tarentum *reduced.*

[w] LIV. l. xxvii. c 12—15. APPIAN in Hannibal. PLUT. in Marcell. [x] Vide PLUT. in Fab. [y] LIV. ibid. PLUT. in Fab. AUL. GELL. l. x. c 3.

him,

him, that the *Roman* conſul had taked it by artifice. Upon which he cried out in great ſurprize; *What! have the Romans then their* Hannibal *too!* However, to ſave his honour, he did not immediately retire; but incamped on the place where he heard the news, and continued there ſome days. As *Fabius* did not offer to attack him, he marched at length to *Metapontus*, a city in his intereſt, and there contrived a ſtratagem, which had like to have proved fatal to *Fabius*. He ſent two of the inhabitants to the conſul with letters from the chief men of the city, offering to deliver up the place and the *Carthaginian* gariſon into his hands. *Fabius*, not ſuſpecting the cheat, fixed the day for his march, and would have fallen into an ambuſh prepared for him, had not the augurs and aruſpices, who doubtleſs were more ſuſpicious, and had better intelligence than the general, detained him in the camp, by declaring, that the preſages were all unfortunate. *Hannibal*, impatient of *Fabius*'s delays, ſent new emiſſaries; but theſe, being arreſted and threatened with ſevere puniſhments, confeſſed the ſecret *.

Farther progreſs of Scipio *in* Spain.

In *Spain*, *Scipio*, having fortified *New Carthage* and left a ſtrong gariſon in it, marched to *Tarracon*, where he ſpent the winter in exerciſing his troops, and teaching them the exacteſt diſcipline. Early in the ſpring he took the field, and as the *Carthaginian* forces were ſtill divided into three bodies under three generals, he marched to attack *Aſdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*, who was the neareſt to him, and whoſe army conſiſted almoſt wholly of *Spaniards*, except the *Numidians Maſiniſſa* had brought with him from *Africa*. The *Carthaginian* at his approach was much perplexed, not knowing what courſe to take. But at length he reſolved to hazard a battle, intending, if it proved unſucceſsful, to make the beſt of his way to the *Pyrenees*, and, croſſing *Gaul*, enter *Italy*. He poſted himſelf on on eminence, in the midſt of a plain watered by a river, which, winding round the eminence, made it a peninſula. This was a very advantageous poſt; but *Scipio*, after two days conſideration, reſolved to attack him before he was joined by the other *Aſdrubal* and *Mago*. He ſucceeded in the attempt; the enemy was intirely routed; and *Aſdrubal*, accompanied by *Maſiniſſa*, fled towards the *Pyrenees*, with as many troops and elephants as he could get together. The fame of this memorable action brought many of the petty princes of *Spain* to the *Roman* camp, and induced all the nations beyond the *Iberus* to renounce the *Car-*

Aſdrubal intirely defeated.

* Liv. l. xxvii c. 16. Cic. de ſenec. Plut. in Fab.

thaginian

thaginian party with great ſincerity. While *Scipio* continued in the camp of *Aſdrubal*, the quæſtor brought to him a youth, named *Maſſiva*, who had been found among the captives, and, by his comelineſs and an air of grandeur in his deportment, ſeemed to be of noble extraction. The proconſul, finding, upon examining him, that he was a nephew of *Maſiniſſa*, ordered him to be treated according to his rank; and when he had finiſhed ſome other affairs, he ſent for the young prince, and asked him, whether he deſired to return to his uncle? *Maſſiva* anſwered with tears in his eyes, that this was the utmoſt of his wiſhes. Upon this the proconſul, having ordered him to be richly dreſſed, preſented him with a horſe finely accoutred, and in this manner ſent him back under a guard. Theſe were the methods by which *Scipio* gained the affections even of his enemies. The flight of *Aſdrubal* towards the *Pyrenees* gave the proconſul no ſmall uneaſineſs; however, he would not purſue him, but choſe rather to lead his victorious army into the heart of the country, and fix the ſeveral nations in an alliance with his republic. As to the *Carthaginian* generals, they joined their armies, and, having conſulted together about the beſt meaſures to be taken, it was reſolved, that the ſon of *Gisco* ſhould reſign his troops to *Mago*, and repair to the *Baleuric* iſlands to make new levies there; that *Mago* ſhould poſt himſelf in *Luſitania*, and that *Aſdrubal* ſhould march for *Italy*, and there join his brother with as many *Spaniſh* troops as he could get together [a].

IN *Italy*, the time for the new elections drawing near, *Fulvius* was recalled to preſide in the comitia, when *Marcellus* was choſen the fifth time, and with him *T. Quinctius Criſpinus* the ſecond time. The new conſuls no ſooner entered upon their office, than they took the field, and, uniting their forces, formed a deſign of making themſelves maſters of *Locri*, a ſtrong city in the intereſt of *Hannibal*. With this view they ordered a body of troops thither, which was incamped before *Tarentum*. But *Hannibal*, being informed by the *Thurians* of the march of this detachment, ſurpriſed them near the river *Laiis*, killed two thouſand of them, and took twelve hundred priſoners. Hereupon the two conſuls advanced againſt *Hannibal*, and, drawing up their forces, offered him battle, which he declined, waiting for an opportunity to deceive the enemy by ſome ſtratagem; wherein he ſucceeded at length even beyond his expectation. Between his camp and that of the *Romans* was a little hill very con-

Hannibal *gains an advantage over the* Romans.

[a] Liv. ibid. c. 19. Polyæn. l. v. c. 37.

venient

venient for incampments, being well supplied with water. As it was nearest to *Hannibal*, the *Romans* were surprised that he had not taken possession of it at first; and murmured against their generals for not being so quick, as they would have them, to seize such an advantageous post. At length *Marcellus*, to comply with their importunity, proposed to his collegue to go with a guard of two hundred and twenty horse, and take a view of the eminence which seemed so inviting to the soldiery. *Quinctius* approving of the motion, the two consuls set out on an expedition, which would have better become a private centinel, or an inferior officer, than the heads of the republic. *Marcellus* was so little apprehensive of danger, that he left orders with his army to decamp on the first signal, and advance to take possession of this new post. *Hannibal* had hid a detachment of *Numidians* in the cavities of the hill, and under the bushes which covered it. These, coming out of their ambush, surprised and surrounded the two consuls and their guards; so that they could neither retreat, nor gain the top of the eminence. Being overwhelmed with showers of darts, they fell with fury on those who cut off their retreat; and perhaps the two consuls would have made their way through the enemy, had they not been deserted by the cowardly *Hetrurians*, of whom their guard chiefly consisted. The *Hetrurians* having fled or laid down their arms at the first appearance of danger, the consuls were left with only five or six *Roman* officers, and about forty soldiers. These brave men fought with great courage and resolution, and had already opened a passage, when *Marcellus*, being mortally wounded by a dart, fell from his horse and died. His collegue, though dangerously wounded in two places, and *Marcellus*, the son of the deceased consul, then a legionary tribune, behaved themselves so valiantly, that, with the assistance of their small guard, they returned, in spite of all opposition, to the camp.

Marcellus *is slain, and the other consul mortally wounded*

Thus died the renowned *Marcellus*, surnamed *The sword of the republic*, a man famous for many victories, the terror of *Hannibal*, and the conqueror of *Syracuse*. Though antiquity has taxed his prudence as a general, on account of this last rash attempt; yet it is certain, that on all other occasions he displayed the accomplished hero. *Hannibal*, upon the news of his death, flew to the place, where the body of his rival lay; and at the sight of it shewed no marks of joy, but seemed rather to pity the misfortune of so great a man, in losing his life in a manner unworthy of so renowned a commander. His first care was to take off the ring which the dead consul had on his finger, and with which he sealed his dispatches, not doubting,

THE BRITISH OCEAN

THE SEA OF AQUITAN

Caletes
Bellouaci
Leuouii
Biducsses
Eburonices
Abrincatui
Meldi
Parisii
Ossismii
Redones
Cenomani
Carnutes
Curiosolitæ Cariosuelites
Veneti
Andes
Turones
Senones
Tricasses
Lingones
Mandubii
Vadicasses
Aedui
Pictones
Britannes
Cubi
Santones
Lemouices
Aruerni
Petrocorii
Bituriges Vibisci
Vasates
Tarbelli
Nitiobriges
Rutheni
Cadurci
Gabali
Elusates
Ausci
Eleutheri
Volcæ Arecomici
Tolosates
Convenæ
Volcæ Tectosages
Bebrices
Pyrenean Mountains
PART OF SPAIN
GALLIA NARBONENSIS LVGDVNENSIS ET AQVITANIA
GALLICVS SINVS
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Vangiones
Mediomatrices
Nemetes
Triboci
Lenci
PART OF GERMANY
Rauraci
Sequani
Helvetii
Seduni
Veragri
Allobroges
Segalauni
Salyi
Alpes Maritimæ
Liguria
MARE LIGVSTICVM
Stœchades Insulæ

[redacted] some opportunity or object of [redacted] Then, having for some [redacted] simple [redacted] noble mien of the deceased, [redacted] [redacted] wrapt up in a rich stuff, laid on [redacted] [redacted] pile; [redacted] he gathered up the ashes, inclosed them in a [redacted] on which he placed a crown of gold, and another of [redacted] in this pompous manner sent the remains of the [redacted] to the son, who shewed them all those marks of distinction which the illustrious father deserved; [redacted] without mentioning any of these circumstances, only [redacted], that the body of the deceased consul was buried by the *Carthaginian* general [b]. The surviving consul, being dangerously wounded, decamped the following night, and posted himself among inaccessible mountains, and from his asylum dispatched messengers to all the neighbouring cities in the interest of *Rome*, acquainting them that *Marcellus* was killed, left *Hannibal*, who was master of his ring, should attempt to deceive them by letters sent to them in his name. This precaution preserved *Salapia* in *Apulia*. Nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the *Carthaginian* upon himself: for a *Roman* deserter having brought them a letter, as from the deceased consul, acquainting them, that he would be there the next day, and ordering them to make the necessary preparations for his reception, the *Salapians* admitted six hundred of *Hannibal*'s men, most of them *Roman* deserters, into the town, and then all on a sudden pulling up the draw-bridges, cut in pieces those who had entered, and with a shower of darts from the ramparts drove back the rest. *Hannibal*, being thus disappointed in his attempt upon *Salapia*, marched with all his forces to the relief of *Locri*, which the *Romans* had closely invested by sea and land. Upon his approach the *Romans* were so terrified, that *Cincius*, the admiral of the fleet, immediately sounded a retreat, and, having imbarqued all the land-forces on board his gallies, sailed away, and returned to *Rome*. In the mean time, the consul *Quinctius*, having left his post among the mountains, came and incamped near *Capua*, whence he sent letters to the senate, acquainting them with the death of his collegue, and desiring them to depute to him three men of prudence and integrity, with whom he might confer about the proper measures to be taken by the republic, since, his wounds proving mortal, he was drawing near his end. Accordingly, three senators were commissioned to receive his last advice; and at their request he appointed a dictator to hold the comitia for the next elections. The person

The Romans are forced to raise the siege of Locri.

[b] Plut. in Marcel. [c] Liv. ibid.

T. Manlius Torquatus *dictator.*

ſon he choſe was *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who named *C. Servilius* for his general of the horſe. Soon after the conſul died. However, the *Romans* were a little comforted for the loſs of both their conſuls, with news from *Sicily*, that *Lævinus*, who commanded a fleet of an hundred ſail, had made a deſcent on *Africa*, brought from thence an immenſe booty, and afterwards defeated a *Carthaginian* fleet off *Clypea* [d].

To retrieve the affairs of the republic, it was neceſſary, that two men of unexceptionable prudence and bravery ſhould be raiſed to the conſulate. The ſenate therefore caſt their eyes on *Claudius Nero* and *M. Livius Salinator*. The former was a man of uncommon bravery, but bold and enterpriſing, the latter more ſedate and calm, and therefore fit to temper the vivacity of his collegue. *Livius* had diſcharged the office of conſul twelve years before with great prudence; but being unjuſtly cenſured by the people for a pretended unequal diviſion of the ſpoils of *Illyricum*, he had, out of pique, retired to a country-houſe, and there, letting his hair and beard grow, lived like a man in diſgrace, till the cenſors obliged him to ſhave himſelf, and take his place in the ſenate; and even then he ſtill ſhewed his reſentment, giving his opinion by a *yes* or a *no*. As he was a man of unqueſtionable abilities, both the ſenate and the dictator thought him a proper perſon to be joined with *Nero*. But it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that they prevailed upon him to accept the dignity offered him. It fell to his lot to march againſt *Aſdrubal*, who was making the beſt of his way over the *Alps* into *Italy* to join his brother, and to *Nero*'s lot to act againſt *Hannibal* in *Brutium*. Levies were raiſed with great rigor, and the *Volones*, formerly diſciplined by *Sempronius*, were obliged to ſerve again. Beſides the forces raiſed in *Italy*, *Scipio* ſent from *Spain* to *Livius* two thouſand legionaries, eight thouſand *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, and about two thouſand horſe, partly *Numidians* and partly *Spaniards*. Early in the ſpring the two conſuls took the field. *Nero*, at the head of forty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, incamped within five hundred paces of *Hannibal*'s army; and having privately ſent a conſiderable detachment to fall upon the enemy in the rear from the eminences behind them, gained by this ſtratagem a victory, killed eight thouſand of the enemy, and took ſeven thouſand priſoners, with the loſs only of five hundred men. After this defeat *Hannibal* decamped in the night from the neighbourhood of *Grumentum* in *Lucania*, where

Hannibal *defeated by the conſul* Nero.

[d] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 28. Appian. in Hannibal. Plut. in Marcell.

the

the battle was fought. But the *Romans* purſued him with ſo much expedition, that they came up with him near *Venuſia*, and in another battle killed two thouſand of his men; which obliged him to make the beſt of his way to *Metapontus*, in order to join *Hanno*, whom he had ſent to make new levies in *Bruttium* [c].

WHILE the conſul was thus purſuing and haraſſing *Hannibal*, a courier fell into the hands of the *Romans* with letters from *Aſdrubal* to his brother, importing, that he had paſſed the *Alps*, and that he was repairing to *Umbria* in hopes that *Hannibal* would join him there. Upon this intelligence, the conſul *Nero*, having appointed one of his lieutenants to command the army, ſet out in the night with ſix thouſand of his choiceſt troops, cauſing a report to be ſpread, that he was going to attack a *Carthaginian* gariſon in a neighbouring city of *Lucania*. But his true deſign, which he diſcloſed to nobody, was to join his collegue, and give *Aſdrubal* battle, before his brother could come to his aſſiſtance. With this view he took the road to *Picenum*, and advanced with incredible expedition towards *Ciſalpine Gaul*; his ſoldiers, to whom he imparted his deſign, when he was got to a conſiderable diſtance from his camp, marching night and day at a great rate. At length he drew near his collegue's camp, and entered it in the night to conceal his arrival from the enemy. A council of war was held, in which it was reſolved to give the enemy battle without delay. But *Aſdrubal*, perceiving that the *Romans* were reinforced, decamped in the night, and after a long and tedious march came to the *Metaurus*, a river in *Umbria*, but poſtponed the paſſing of it till day-break. In the mean time, the *Romans* overtaking him obliged him to give battle in a diſadvantageous ſituation, and when his men were quite ſpent with hunger and want of reſt. The conſuls gained a complete victory, killed about fifty ſix thouſand of the enemy on the ſpot, and took a great many priſoners. As for *Aſdrubal* himſelf, as ſoon as he ſaw the total defeat of his army, he threw himſelf into the midſt of a *Roman* battalion, and died fighting. The *Romans* are ſaid by ſome writers to have loſt eight thouſand men in this action; but others reduce them only to two thouſand. The conſul *Nero*, after this glorious victory, did not continue ſo much as one whole night in his collegue's camp; but, having cut off *Aſdrubal*'s head, and taken it with him, he returned with ſuch expedition, that in ſix days time he reached his camp at *Canuſium*. On his return he ſent ſome of the natives of *Carthage*, whom he had

Aſdrubal defeated and ſlain.

[c] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 35.

taken priſoners in the late battle, to *Hannibal*'s camp in chains, that they might publiſh the victory there. At the ſame time, he ordered *Aſdrubal*'s head to be thrown into the enemy's trenches, or, as ſome ſay, to be fixed on a pole near them. This ſight, with the report of the captives, filled *Hannibal* with horror and ſadneſs. He is ſaid in the height of his grief to have cried out, *O* Carthage; *unhappy* Carthage! *I am ſinking under the preſſure of thy fate*; and then he immediately decamped and retired into *Brutium* [f].

Advantages gained by Scipio *in* Spain.

The republic for a whole year had received no account of any new exploits in *Spain*. But now, to add to her joy, *Lucius Scipio*, the brother of the proconſul, arrived at *Rome*, and brought news, that *Silanus*, the proprætor under *Scipio*, had, with a detachment of ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, routed the united forces of *Mago* and *Hanno*; that he himſelf with another detachment had beſieged and taken *Aurinx*, a city of importance on the confines of *Lower Bætica*; and laſtly, that *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, to whom *Mago* had fled after his defeat, was confined to a corner of *Spain* near the ſtreights of *Gades*. *Lucius Scipio*, who brought this news, came to *Rome*, attended by *Hanno* and many other *Carthaginians* of diſtinction taken in the war. Thus was the proſperity of the *Romans* complete in this happy year [g].

The next year the new conſuls, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* and *L. Veturius Philo*, carried on the war jointly in *Brutium* againſt *Hannibal*, who, though his troops were in a manner ſtarving, and in want of the common neceſſaries of life, with which *Brutium* could not ſupply them, gained notwithſtanding ſome advantage over the conſuls in the plains of *Conſentia*, where he continued incamped the reſt of the ſummer, the conſuls not daring to attack him. But, while *Hannibal* was upon the defenſive in *Italy*, *Scipio* gave the *Carthaginians* no reſpite in *Spain*. He marched at the head of forty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, againſt the united forces of *Mago* and *Aſdrubal*, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand foot and four thouſand five hundred horſe, engaged them in in a large plain near *Bæcula*, on the confines of *Bætica*, and

Scipio gains a compleat victory over the Carthaginians in Spain.

gained a complete victory over them. The *Carthaginians* indeed behaved with extraordinary valour, and made ſuch a reſolute reſiſtance, as almoſt diſheartened the *Romans*; inſomuch that *Scipio* was forced to diſmount, ſeize a buckler, and throw himſelf ſword in hand into the midſt of the *African* battalions, before he could engage his men to make the ne-

[f] Liv l. xxvii. c. 46—51. Polyb. l xi. c. 1. Appian in Hannibal. Oros. l. iv. Zonar. l. ix. c 9. [g] Liv. l. xxviii. c. 1.

ceſſary

ceſſary efforts to decide the day in their favour. *Aſdrubal* fled to his camp, but abandoned it in the night and, retired towards the ſea. *Scipio* purſued him cloſe, and coming up with him, made a ſecond furious havock of his men; inſomuch, that of his vaſt army only ſix thouſand were left about him, the *Carthaginians* being for the moſt part killed, and the *Spaniards* returned after the firſt battle to their reſpective countries. With theſe ſmall remains of ſo numerous an army, the three chiefs, *Aſdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Maſiniſſa*, gained the ſummit of a ſteep hill, and there intrenched themſelves as well as they could. As the ſea was near, firſt *Aſdrubal*, and afterwards *Mago*, eſcaped in the night by a ſhameful flight, and, finding ſhips ready to ſail, embarqued for *Gades*, leaving their men to ſhift for themſelves. *Maſiniſſa* continued on the hill, where he was inveſted by *Silanus*, whom *Scipio* left there with a detachment, while he himſelf returned to *Tarracon*. A few days after the departure of the proconſul, *Silanus* had a private interview with *Maſiniſſa*; and though we know not the conditions of the engagement, into which the *Numidian* king entered with *Rome*, it is certain he bound himſelf by ſuch ties as proved indiſſoluble. The effects of his good underſtanding with *Silanus* immediately appeared, the troops he commanded on the rock being allowed to diſperſe, and he to return into his own dominions, where he took proper meaſures to ſupport the party he had newly embraced [h].

Spain being now almoſt totally reduced, *Scipio* ſent *Lælius* into *Africa* to negotiate an alliance with *Syphax*, king of *Maſæſylia*, who had eſpouſed the *Carthaginian* party. As *Lælius* was only a ſubaltern in *Scipio*'s army, the king, for his greater ſecurity, inſiſted upon having a perſonal conference with the proconſul himſelf. Hereupon *Scipio*, whoſe great ſoul was above the fear of danger, having left the brave *Marcius* at *Tarracon* with part of the army, and ſent *Silanus* with the reſt to *New Carthage*, embarqued with *Lælius* for *Africa*, and arrived at the capital of king *Syphax*. As the fugitive *Aſdrubal* happened to arrive there at the ſame time, the *Numidian* king would fain have had *Scipio* enter into a conference with the *Carthaginian*, in order to an amicable accommodation. But the proconſul excuſed himſelf, as not having received any commiſſion to treat of peace. However, he accepted the invitation to dine at the king's table with *Aſdrubal*;

Scipio *paſſes over into* Africa *to treat with king* Syphax.

[h] LIV. l. xxviii. c. 15. & ſeq. APPIAN in Ibericis. POLYB. l. xi. c. 21.

on

on which occaſion he appeared as much ſuperior to his rival in the charms of converſation, as he had been in war. *Syphax* was ſo taken with his eloquence, addreſs, and noble behaviour, that he entered into a ſecret treaty with him, amuſing the *Carthaginian*, who had a fleet there, till the proconſul was ſafely arrived at *New Carthage*. Upon his return he marched in perſon to beſiege *Illiturgis*, and ſent *Marcius* to reduce *Caſtulo*; both which cities had revolted from the *Romans*. The former being taken by aſſault, all the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were put to the ſword, and the city razed. The latter capitulated, and was more favourably treated. *Marcius* in the next place appeared before *Aſtapa*, the inhabitants of which city, obſtinately devoted to the *Carthaginians*, ſallied out in good order to attack the *Romans*, and all died fighting, except fifty, who had been left in the city to guard their effects, their wives and children, whom they had brought into the market-place, deſigning to deſtroy them all with fire and ſword, in caſe the *Romans* ſhould prevail. This truſt they diſcharged upon the firſt news of the defeat of their countrymen, ſetting fire to a great pile, on the top of which they had placed the women, children, and their moſt valuable moveables. This done, they threw themſelves into the flames, leaving the *Romans* maſters of an empty city. While *Marcius* was thus executing vengeance on the rebellious cities, *Scipio* was returned to *New Carthage*, where he fell dangerouſly ſick; and a report being ſpread that he was dead, not only *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*, two petty kings mentioned above, immediately revolted from the *Romans*; but eight thouſand legionaries, who were encamped on the bank of the *Sucro*, mutinied, drove away their leaders, and choſe two common ſoldiers, *Atrius* and *Albius*, to conduct them. Theſe fellows, ſeeing themſelves at the head of eight thouſand *Roman* legionaries, had the inſolence to uſurp the conſular dignity, and to order lictors to march before them. The pretence for the mutiny was their not having received pay for ſix months. But, in the mean time, the proconſul, having recovered his health, and by a ſtratagem ſecured the ring-leaders of the revolt, cauſed their heads to be ſtruck off; which ſo terrified the reſt, that they all returned to their duty, and took a new military oath. As to the *Spaniſh* princes who had revolted, *Scipio* was informed, that they had raiſed an army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, and that they were living upon free quarter in the territories of the friends of *Rome*. Hereupon he marched againſt them, and, coming up with them in the country

Illiturgis *and* Caſtulo *taken by the* Romans.

A mutiny in Scipio's *army.*

country of the *Sedetani*, gained there a complete victory, seventeen thousand *Spaniards* being killed upon the spot. After this defeat, the two kings had no resource, but in the clemency of the conqueror, who contented himself with obliging them to supply him with money enough to pay his troops. After this the proconsul marched with part of his troops towards *Gades*, the only city of *Spain* in the *Carthaginian* interest. His chief design in this journey was, to have an opportunity of conferring with *Masinissa*, who had shut himself up in that city with *Mago*, and was impatient to have a conference with the *Roman* general. Accordingly the *Numidian* prince, under pretence of going out to forage, met *Scipio*, and entered into an alliance with *Rome*, advising the proconsul to pass over into *Africa*, and lay siege to *Carthage* itself, which, he said, would be easily reduced. The treaty being concluded, the proconsul returned to *Tarracon*, and *Masinissa* to *Gades*, after having pillaged some part of the continent to conceal the true design of his journey. Soon after *Mago* received orders to leave *Gades*, and hasten with all his forces to the assistance of *Hannibal* in *Italy*. Upon his departure, the *Gaditani* immediately submitted to the *Romans*, who were now become masters of all *Spain*. As *Mago* was coasting along *Spain* in his way to *Italy*, he formed a rash design of surprising *New Carthage*; but lost in the attempt eight thousand men; which misfortune obliged him to stop at the *Balearic* islands, where he forced ten thousand of the inhabitants into the service of his republic, and did not sail from those islands for *Italy* till the spring. At *Rome*, the senate no sooner received an account of the intire reduction of *Spain*, but they determined to recal *Scipio*; and accordingly, without giving him time to enjoy any rest after his fatigues, or even waiting for the new comitia, they dispatched two persons to succeed him, *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Manlius Acidinus*; the former was to govern the *Hither Spain*, from the *Pyrenees* to the *Sucro*, and the latter the *Further Spain*, from the *Sucro* to the *Ocean*. To these *Scipio* surrendered the fasces without murmuring, and, attended by his faithful *Lælius* and his brother *Lucius*, immediately set sail with a squadron of ten ships, and returned to *Italy*[1].

The Spanish *rebels defeated.*

Masinissa *confers privately with* Scipio, *and enters into an alliance with* Rome.

Scipio, *having reduced all* Spain, *is recalled.*

As *Scipio* arrived at *Rome* about the time of the new elections, it is not to be expressed with what zeal the centuries gave their suffrages in his favour, though he had not yet at-

Scipio *is chosen consul.*

[1] Liv. l. xxviii. c. 24, & seq. APPIAN. in Iberic. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 10, 11.

tained

tained to the years cuſtomarily required for the conſular dignity, being only between twenty eight and twenty nine years of age. The collegue appointed him was *P. Licinius Craſſus*, furnamed *Dives*, and at this time pontifex maximus. When the fathers came to ſettle the provinces of the new conſuls, *Scipio* deſired to be ſent into *Africa*. But old *Fabius*, now preſident of the ſenate, in a long and ſtudied ſpeech, laboured to ſet forth the dangers of ſuch an enterpriſe. It was very viſible, that jealouſy of a riſing merit, which already began to eclipſe his own, was what chiefly animated *Fabius* at this time; and *Scipio* in his anſwer did not fail to expoſe this infirmity of the old preſident. After long and warm debates, the affair of the provinces of the two conſuls was put to the vote, when it was decreed, that *Scipio* ſhould command in *Sicily*, and that, if he thought it for the advantage of the republic, he might, with the fleet there, conſiſting only of thirty ſhips of war, paſs over into *Africa*. As for *Licinius*, he was directed to carry on the war againſt *Hannibal* in *Bruttium*. *Scipio*, whoſe thoughts were wholly bent on *Africa*, notwithſtanding his collegue, at the perſuaſion of *Fabius*, did all he could to obſtruct his meaſures, obtained leave to take with him into *Sicily* as many voluntiers as he could get together, and a power to aſk of the allies all things neceſſary for building and equipping a new fleet. Many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themſelves to furniſh him with corn, iron, timber, cloth for ſails, &c. ſo that in forty days time after the cutting of the timber, he was in a condition to ſet ſail, with a fleet of thirty new galleys, and about ſeven thouſand voluntiers [k].

And ſent into Sicily.

Mago, *the brother of* Hannibal, *lands with an army in* Italy.

In the mean time, news was brought to *Rome*, that *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*, had landed in *Liguria* with twelve thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, and that his army was, ſoon after his landing, greatly ſwelled by the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, who flocked to him from all parts. At the ſame time, the conſul *Licinius* ſent the ſenate an account, that a plague raged in his camp, and obliged him to continue inactive. But, as *Hannibal*'s troops were affected with the ſame diſtemper, and had alſo a famine to ſtruggle with, eighty ſhips, loaded with proviſions for him and his brother *Mago*, having been lately taken by a *Roman* ſquadron, the fears of the people were intirely quieted [l].

During this inaction in *Italy*, *Scipio*, having diſciplined the

[k] Liv. l. xxviii. c. 43. & ſeq Plut. in Fab. [l] Liv. ibid. c. 45.

voluntiers

volunteers he had brought with him into *Sicily*, ſent *Lælius* with the choiceſt of them on board a fleet of thirty galleys, to make a deſcent in *Africa* and pillage the country. *Lælius* landed near *Hippo*, laid the territory about it waſte, and threw the people of *Carthage* into the utmoſt conſternation. *Maſſiniſſa* was no ſooner informed of the arrival of *Lælius*, than he went to confer with him; and expreſſed his ſurprize, that *Scipio* ſo long delayed his departure from *Sicily*, ſince there could never be a more favourable opportunity of attacking *Carthage*, which was deſtitute both of men and proviſions. The *Numidian* promiſed to join *Scipio*, the moment he arrived, with all his forces; but adviſed *Lælius* to imbarque his troops, and return without delay, ſince the *Carthaginian* fleet was getting ready to intercept him. *Lælius* followed his advice, and, weighing anchor the next day, arrived ſafe in *Sicily* with an immenſe booty. In the mean time, *Mago* in *Liguria* received from *Carthage* a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men, with vaſt ſums for raiſing troops in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. But, notwithſtanding all he could do, *Livius* and *Lucretius*, who commanded two *Roman* armies in the neighbourhood of *Ariminum*, took their meaſures ſo well, that he was forced to continue in *Liguria*, though he had been ordered by his republic to join his brother in *Brutium* [m].

Lælius makes a deſcent in Africa.

IN the mean time, *Scipio*, having ſurpriſed the city of *Locri*, which ſtood on the ſea-coaſt near *Sicily*, and left *Pleminius* governor of the place, returned to the ſaid iſland, and there went on with the preparations for his *African* expedition, hoping that, at leaſt the next year, the republic would ſuffer him to carry the war into the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. In *Spain*, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, deſpiſing the new proconſuls, revolted from the *Romans*; but were intirely defeated in a pitched battle, thirteen thouſand of the *Spaniards* being killed on the ſpot, among whom was *Indibilis* himſelf, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. After this defeat, the *Spaniards* ſeized *Mandonius* with the other heads of the revolt, and ſent them under a ſtrong guard to the camp of the proconſuls *Lentulus* and *Acidinus*, who had inſiſted on this as a condition of their obtaining mercy. In *Italy*, the plague made a dreadful havock in the camp of the conſul *Licinius*, as well as in that of the enemy; ſo that nothing was attempted on either ſide during this campaign. *Licinius*, not being in a condition to return to *Rome*, named *Cæcilius*,

The Spaniſh rebels intirely defeated.

[m] LIV. l. xxix c. 4.

the proconſul in *Bruttium*, to hold the comitia for the new elections. *M. Cornelius Cethegus* and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* were choſen conſuls. The latter was then in *Greece*, and, before he left that country, he entered into a treaty of peace with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, which was confirmed by the ſenate. *Licinius* in quality of proconſul was ordered to continue the war againſt *Hannibal*, *Livius* to watch *Mago* in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and *Scipio* to remain in *Sicily*. The latter was allowed to paſs over into *Africa*, and to chuſe ſuch of the *Roman* troops in *Sicily* as he thought fit for that enterpriſe. We have obſerved above that *Scipio* had gained over to the *Roman* intereſt the two *Numidian* kings, *Syphax* and *Maſiniſſa*. On the other hand, *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, undertook to draw off one of them at leaſt, by means of his daughter *Sophoniſba*, who is repreſented by hiſtorians as a woman of extraordinary beauty, ſublime genius, engaging manner, and of a courage above her ſex. Her father, to gain *Maſiniſſa*, had promiſed her in marriage to him; but, that prince being afterwards unfortunately diſpoſſeſſed of the throne of his anceſtors, *Aſdrubal* broke his word, and gave her to *Syphax*, who, forgetting his engagements with *Scipio*, entered into an alliance with *Carthage*. However, to keep ſome meaſures with *Rome*, he wrote to *Scipio*, acquainting him with his marriage, the new alliance he had made with the *Carthaginians*, and the neceſſity he was under of taking part with them, in caſe they were attacked. The proconſul received this letter with ſome ſurpriſe; but, concealing the contents of it from his army, he aſſembled his troops, and told them, that both *Maſiniſſa* and *Syphax* complained of his dilatorineſs, and preſſed him not to delay his departure, ſince they were ready to join him with all their forces. He then ordered his fleet to the port of *Lilybæum*, and commanded his troops to repair thither by land. It is not certain what number of men *Scipio* imbarqued; but never was imbarquation made with more order and ſolemnity. The concourſe of people, who came from all parts to ſee him ſet ſail, and wiſh him a proſperous voyage, was prodigious. Juſt before he weighed anchor, he appeared on the poop of his galley, and, after a herald had proclaimed ſilence, addreſſed a ſolemn prayer to the gods; which ended, he ordered a victim to be ſlain, threw the entrails into the ſea, and then, the trumpets ſounding, he weighed anchor, ſailed out of the harbour with a favourable wind, and, arriving ſafe on the coaſt of *Africa*, landed at the *Fair Promontory*, where we ſhall leave him a while to return to the affairs of *Italy*.

Sophoniſba *is given in marriage to* Syphax, *who enters into an alliance with* Carthage.

Scipio *imbarques for* Africa.

The

THE conſul *Sempronius* no ſooner arrived in his province, but he marched towards *Croton*, where *Hannibal* was incamped. The *Carthaginian* met him unexpectedly on his march, and having forced him to fight before he could draw up his men, killed twelve hundred *Romans*, and obliged the reſt to retire in diſorder. The conſul encamped at ſmall diſtance from the enemy, and reſolved to hazard a ſecond battle, when joined by the proconſul *Licinius*, who was not far off. Accordingly, he was no ſooner reinforced by the proconſular army, but he marched out of his intrenchments, and bid the enemy defiance. *Hannibal* was too proud of his late victory not to accept the challenge. The victory was long doubtful; but in the end the *Romans* prevailed, killed four thouſand of the enemy on the ſpot, and took about three hundred priſoners and eleven ſtandards. After this defeat *Hannibal* retired to *Croton*, and appeared no more in the field the whole campaign. But the conſul *Sempronius*, taking advantage of the enemy's inaction, made himſelf maſter of *Petilia*, *Clampetia*, *Coſentia*, and *Pandoſia*; and then returned to *Rome* to erect a temple to *Fortune*, which he had vowed before the laſt battle, in caſe it proved ſucceſsful. On the other hand, the conſul *Cethegus*, who acted againſt *Mago*, kept *Hetruria* and *Ciſalpine Gaul* in awe; ſo that the *Carthaginian*, who was not in a condition to force the *Roman* intrenchments, gave over all thoughts of joining his brother this campaign [n].

Hannibal gains ſome advantage over the conſul Sempronius.

But is afterwards defeated by him.

Several cities in Bruttium *taken by the* Romans.

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Italy*, *Scipio*, as we have obſerved above, arrived ſafe on the coaſt of *Africa*. The alarm and terror, which this unexpected deſcent cauſed at *Carthage*, is not to be expreſſed. The republic had no general to make head againſt *Scipio*, except *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, who was not a match for him; nor was ſhe provided with any regular and diſciplined troops. *Scipio*, having ordered his fleet to *Utica*, incamped with his land-forces on certain eminences at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt, and from thence ſent out a detachment of five hundred men to forage. Theſe were attacked by a flying party under the command of *Hanno*, a young warrior, who had been ordered to obſerve the enemy's motions. The *Romans* had all the advantage, and the young *Carthaginian* was killed in the engagement. *Scipio*, looking upon this firſt ſucceſs as a good augury, immediately drew near to *Locha*, a city which ſeemed to promiſe his ſoldiers a rich booty. But he had no ſooner plant-

Scipio *arrives in* Africa.

Hanno *defeated, and* Locha *taken.*

[n] LIV. l. xxix. c. 27—36. APPIAN. ibid.

ed his ſcaling-ladders for the aſſault, than the inhabitants ſent a herald to demand their lives with liberty to retire. Upon this *Scipio* ſounded a retreat; but the greedy ſoldiers carried on the aſſault, ſcaled the walls, and, entering the city, put all, even women and children, to the ſword. But ſo barbarous an action, and ſo ſignal a diſobedience, did not eſcape unpuniſhed. The centurions, who had encouraged the ſoldiers to carry on the attack, were ordered to draw lots, which of them ſhould die. Three of them were executed, and the guilty ſoldiers were deprived of the booty they had taken °.

After this expedition, *Maſiniſſa* came privately in the night to confer with *Scipio*. He had been deprived of his kingdom by *Syphax*, and reſtored to it by the mediation of the *Carthaginians*, who readily embraced that opportunity of obliging a prince, whoſe bravery and enterprizing genius gave them no ſmall umbrage. However, *Syphax* detained *Maſiniſſa*'s mother, whom he had taken priſoner, as a hoſtage to ſecure her ſon's fidelity. *Maſiniſſa* was ſenſible, that the *Carthaginians* were not ſincere at the bottom; and therefore he ſtill retained his former affection for *Rome*, tho', to comply with the times, he had joined *Aſdrubal* with a ſtrong reinforcement of horſe. In the private interview he had with *Scipio* it was agreed, that the *Numidian* ſhould continue to deceive the credulous *Carthaginians*, till a favourable opportunity offered of breaking openly with them, and till he could free himſelf from the conſtraint he was under by the captivity of his mother. In the mean time, *Aſdrubal*, at the head of twenty thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe, with an hundred and forty elephants, drew near to *Utica*, which *Scipio* was preparing to inveſt. *Maſiniſſa*, who was one of the council of war on all occaſions, perſuaded *Aſdrubal* to detach his ſon *Hanno* with a thouſand horſe, to watch the motions of the enemy, and attempt to enter *Utica* with that reinforcement, promiſing to favour the enterprize with all his *Numidian* cavalry. He then gave notice to *Scipio* of the deſign, who ſurpriſed the detachment, and took *Hanno* priſoner. And now *Maſiniſſa*, not doubting but *Aſdrubal* would willingly exchange his mother for *Hanno*, joined the *Romans* with all his forces (R). As for *Syphax*, when he ſaw that his rival had

Maſiniſſa *joins the* Romans.

° Appian. in Punic.

(R) We have followed *Appian* in this matter; but *Livy* relates it in a quite different manner. According to him, *Scipio* had no ſooner landed his troops in *Africa*, than he advanced towards *Utica*, and

had declared for the *Romans*, he endeavoured firſt to draw him off from the party he had embraced; but not ſucceeding therein, he attempted to bribe one of his ſervants to poiſon him. This treachery was diſcovered; and then *Syphax*, who had hitherto taken upon himſelf the office of mediator between *Rome* and *Carthage*, and incamped apart with his army, which conſiſted of fifty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, kept no longer any meaſures with the *Romans*. He led his troops before *Thebes*, a place where the *Romans* had a magazine of corn, ſurpriſed it, and put the garriſon to the ſword. In the mean time, *Scipio* was ſo harraſſed by the enemy, who ſurrounded him, that he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Utica*, after he had continued it forty days, and retire, as the winter approached, to a more commodious poſt. The place which he choſe was a promontory, under which his fleet was anchored.

And Syphax the Carthaginians.

and incamped within a mile of that city. The *Carthaginians*, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the *Roman* army, had recourſe to *Syphax*, who was intirely governed by *Aſdrubal*, his father-in-law, and his new wife *Sophoniſba*. *Aſdrubal*, who was then at the court of king *Syphax*, was ordered to leave it, and haſten to the defence of his country. Till he arrived, *Hanno* was appointed to watch the motions of the enemy, and ſecure the country againſt their incurſions. The *Carthaginian*, purſuant to his commiſſion, found means to draw together a body of four thouſand horſe; and with this ſmall army he took the road to *Solera*, and cantoned his troops in that neighbourhood, about fifteen miles from the *Roman* camp. Hereupon *Scipio* ordered *Maſiniſſa*, who, according to *Livy*, had already declared openly for the *Romans*, to march with a troop of *Numidian* horſe towards *Solera*, while he himſelf, at the head of a choice body of *Roman* horſe, followed him at ſome diſtance through by-ways among the hills, in order to conceal his approach from the enemy. *Maſiniſſa*, as had been concerted, advanced with his troop to the very gates of *Solera*, as it were to inſult *Hanno*, who had retired with his troops into that city. *Hanno* did not fail to ſally out againſt him; and then the *Numidian* king, retiring in good order, drew the enemy by degrees into the plain, when *Scipio*, who lay in ambuſh among the rocks, ſtarting up, cut off their retreat, and ſurrounded them on all ſides. Two thouſand of the enemy were either killed or taken, and among the former was, according to *Livy*, *Hanno* himſelf, with ſeveral *Carthaginians* of diſtinction. This is the account *Livy* gives us of this action; but that of *Appian* ſeems to us to agree better with the precedent and ſubſequent events. Beſides, *Celius* and *Valerius*, two ancient annaliſts quoted by *Livy* himſelf, tell us, that *Hanno* was not killed, but taken priſoner; as does alſo *Zonaras*, whoſe authority is an additional weight to incline the balance in favour of *Appian*.

There

There he fortified his camp, and waited for the return of the ſpring to renew the war with vigour [p].

In the mean time, cloaths, corn, and proviſions of all ſorts were ſent from *Rome* to *Scipio*'s army, in ſpite of the peeviſh jealouſy of old *Fabius*, who was ever inveighing againſt the proconſul, and even moved in the ſenate to have him recalled. When the comitia had elected the new conſuls, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Servilius Geminus*, and came to appoint the proconſuls, *Scipio* was honoured with a particular mark of diſtinction; for while the others were nominated only for one year, he was continued proconſul in *Africa*, till the war was ended. The whole winter was ſpent in fruitleſs negotiations between *Scipio* and *Syphax*, who had aſſumed anew the quality of mediator. Early in the ſpring, the proconſul ſent a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the old poſt, where he had incamped when he beſieged *Utica*. Both the *Romans* and *Africans* imagined, that his intention was to renew that enterprize. But his deſign was to attack the two camps of the enemy in the night; for *Syphax* was incamped with his army apart from the *Carthaginians*. This ſcheme he imparted to his troops the night before the attack; and the motion being approved of by all, tho' there were more men in each camp than the whole of the *Roman* army, *Scipio* divided his troops, and gave the command of one part to *Maſiniſſa*, and of another to *Lælius*, ordering them to inveſt the camp of *Syphax* on different ſides, and to ſet fire to their barracks, which were of wood, mats, burdles, and ſuch combuſtible materials. As for himſelf, he told *Maſiniſſa* and *Lælius*, that he would watch the motions of *Aſdrubal*'s army, but ſuſpend the attack of his intrenchments, till he received advice, that they had penetrated to the centre of the *Numidian* camp. The whole ſcheme was happily executed. The camp of *Syphax* firſt, and then that of *Aſdrubal*, was ſurpriſed and burnt. Many of the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* were burnt alive in their beds, ſome were ſuffocated with the ſmoke, others ran to the gates, and were either ſtifled in the croud, or maſſacred by the enemy. Men, beaſts of burden, and elephants, all periſhed, either in the flames, or by the ſword. Thoſe who leaped down from the top of the ramparts, to avoid periſhing in the flames, were cut in pieces by parties of *Roman* troops, who had ſeized all the avenues to the two camps. The plain was all covered with dead bodies, and the two camps filled with heaps of aſhes and bones. Forty thouſand of the enemy were deſtroyed either by fire or ſword, and five thouſand made priſoners.

Scipio *ſurpriſes and burns the camps of* Syphax *and* Aſdrubal.

[p] Liv. l. xxix. c. 35. Appian. in Punic.

priſoners. Among the latter were many perſons of diſtinction; particularly eleven *Carthaginian* ſenators. The *Romans* ſaved out of the flames a hundred and ſixty ſtandards, two thouſand ſeven hundred *Numidian* horſes, and ſix elephants. *Scipio* did not loſe a hundred men in this deciſive action. The two *African* commanders, *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax*, found means to make their eſcape, with two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. The conſternation of the people at *Carthage* was inexpreſſibly great, when they ſaw *Aſdrubal* arrive there, with the poor remains of his ſhattered army. The *Suffetes*, or ſupreme magiſtrates, immediately aſſembled the ſenators, who were divided in opinion, ſome being for recalling *Hannibal* without delay, others for propoſing a truce with the enemy; but the *Barcan* faction, which was for purſuing the war and continuing *Hannibal* in *Italy*, prevailed. *Hanno*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, was appointed to command the troops in the room of *Aſdrubal*, who was ſentenced to die for his ill conduct; but, the troops being for him, he avoided the execution of the ſentence, and, having aſſembled about eight thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, he endeavoured to ſerve his country, without any commiſſion from the republic. As for *Syphax*, he had retired, after his defeat, to *Abbas* or *Obba*, where he was ſoon joined by *Aſdrubal* and other troops; ſo that the two *African* commanders found themſelves in a very ſhort time in a condition to appear anew in the field, having drawn together from ſeveral parts near thirty thouſand men. With this army they incamped in a place called the *Great Plain*, about five days march from *Utica*, which *Scipio* had beſieged anew. However, the proconſul was no ſooner informed of their motions, than he turned the ſiege into a blockade, and haſtened to attack them. After ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes, the two armies came to a general engagement, in which the *Romans* prevailed, and gained a complete victory. After this ſucceſs, the proconſul diſpatched *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſa* after *Syphax*, who, with the beſt part of his troops, haſtened back into his own country. *Scipio* reſolved to make himſelf in the mean time maſter of the towns in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. With this view he marched to *Tunis*, from whence *Carthage* could be ſeen, and took it without the loſs of a ſingle man, the gariſon having deſerted it in a fright at his approach. The *Carthaginians*, in order to divert *Scipio* from laying ſiege to their capital, having equipped with incredible expedition a fleet of an hundred galleys, ſent it, under the command of *Hamilcar*, the father of *Hanno*, to burn the *Roman* fleet, which lay under the promontory formerly mentioned. *Scipio*, perceiving from *Tunis* the courſe which the

Hanno *appointed commander of the* Carthaginian *forces.*

Scipio *gains a complete victory over* Aſdrubal *and* Syphax *Tunis taken by* Scipio.

Carthaginians

Carthaginians steered, made what haste he could to preserve his fleet; and reaching the port by land, before the enemy arrived there by sea, drew up his galleys as near to the shore as he could, and repulsed the enemy, who, nevertheless took six of his galleys. With this small prize *Hamilcar* returned to *Carthage*; and the proconsul thought it advisable to continue where he was, till he could receive from *Italy* a reinforcement of ships, his whole fleet consisting now but of fourteen galleys [q].

In the mean time, *Lælius* and *Masinissa*, who, with the third part of the legions, were gone in pursuit of *Syphax*, penetrated, after fifteen days march, into the heart of *Numidia*. *Syphax*, at the head of a very numerous army, advanced to meet them; but was vigorously repulsed in a general action which ensued, forced to fly, and pursued to the banks of a river, where *Masinissa* himself took him prisoner, with his son *Vermina*. After this, the victorious *Numidian*, with the approbation of *Lælius*, who was to follow him by slow marches, hastened to appear before *Cyrtha*, the capital of *Syphax*'s dominions. As he had taken the captive king with him, the city, being destitute of all hopes of relief, readily surrendered. *Masinissa* entered it in triumph, and hastened to the palace, with full intention to punish *Sophonisba*, for entering into engagements with his rival, after she had been betrothed to him. But he was soon disarmed; for he no sooner entered the palace, than the beautiful queen, set off with all the charms of dress, fell at his feet, and, embracing his knees, conjured him in the most moving manner not to deliver her up to the *Romans*, but rather to free her by death from the chains of an insulting enemy. These words made a deep impression on *Masinissa*; he looked tenderly on her, and, feeling his former flame revive, he reached out his hand to her; which was a token that her request was granted. But as the fair captive properly belonged to *Scipio*, and *Masinissa*, who was but a subaltern in the *Roman* army, had no right to make such a promise, he was greatly perplexed to know how he should perform it. At length he resolved to follow the dictates of his love, and marry her, thinking that neither *Scipio* nor *Lælius* could lay any claim to her, after he had, by a lawful marriage, made her his own. The public rejoicings on this occasion were not over when *Lælius* arrived. He was so shocked at so precipitate a marriage, that he re-

Syphax *defeated, and taken prisoner.*

Masinissa *marries* Sophonisba.

[q] Liv. l. xxx. c. 10. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. l. ix. c. 10.

solved

ſolved at firſt to ſnatch the queen from the nuptial bed, and ſend her away with the other captives to *Scipio*; but, upon ſecond thoughts, he determined to refer the matter to the judgment of the proconſul, and in the mean time let the prince enjoy his amours. As for *Syphax*, he was ſent under a ſtrong guard to *Scipio*'s camp, where he was treated with great politeneſs and reſpect, the proconſul remembering the hoſpitable entertainment this prince had formerly given him at his court. As *Scipio* took frequently pleaſure in converſing with his royal captive, he learned of him, that if he had been left to his own judgment, he would have continued faithful to *Rome*; but that his wife *Sophoniſba*, having by her irreſiſtible charms made herſelf miſtreſs of his heart, had induced him to prefer *Carthage* to *Rome*. Hereupon *Scipio*, fearing ſhe might gain ſuch an aſcendant over her new huſband, reſolved to take her from him. It was not long before *Maſiniſſa*, having reduced all *Numidia*, arrived at the proconſul's camp with his new queen. *Scipio* received him with all poſſible marks of diſtinction, but took no notice of *Sophoniſba*, tho' ſhe entered his tent together with *Maſiniſſa*. From the proconſul's tent ſhe wa ſconducted to *Maſiniſſa*'s quarters, and there reſpected as his wife; but *Scipio*, by no means liking to ſee a *Carthaginian* woman with the title of queen in the midſt of a *Roman* army, had a private conference with *Maſiniſſa* a few days after his arrival. He complimented him in the firſt place on his heroic behaviour, and then, expoſtulating with him on his late conduct, exhorted him to conquer the love of pleaſure, and not ſuffer himſelf to be enſlaved by a woman, after having ſubdued a vaſt kingdom. At the ſame time, he put him in mind, that the ſpoils and captives taken from the enemy belonged not to him, but to the *Romans*. He concluded his ſpeech thus: I am very ſenſible, that your heart trembles at the thought of the ſacrifice I require of you; but return, *Maſiniſſa*, return to your reaſon. Hitherto your weakneſs deſerves pity; but it may become unpardonable. Your perſeverance in it may be attended with a long repentance. The *Numidian* prince bluſhed and wept. His heart was rent with oppoſite paſſions; but at length his virtue and his intereſt gained the aſcendant over his love. He promiſed the general to ſhake off his chains; and ſo far got the maſtery over his paſſion, as to carry in perſon to his beloved *Sophoniſba* the decree, which *Scipio* had pronounced againſt her, declaring, that ſhe belonged to the *Roman* people. When he entered his tent, Receive now, ſaid he, the laſt teſtimony of my affection and

fidelity. It is abſolutely out of my power to deliver you from the ſlavery with which you are threatened, any other way than by death. Remember only whoſe daughter and whoſe queen you are, and then ſurely you cannot be afraid to deſcend to the ſhades. *Maſiniſſa* will ſoon follow you thither. Tears flowed down the prince's cheeks while he uttered theſe words; and, as ſoon as he had ſpoke them, he ruſhed out of the tent, where all things were prepared to give the unhappy princeſs the moſt ſpeedy and eaſy death. A ſlave, whoſe buſineſs it was to prepare poiſon, entered the tent as ſoon as *Maſiniſſa* went out, and preſented to the queen the fatal cup, which ſhe took with an air of great compoſure, upbraiding her weeping nurſe for diſhonouring her death with her tears. Then turning to the ſlave, Let my huſband, ſaid ſhe, know that I die contented, ſince I die by his orders. Aſſure him, that I was forced, contrary to my inclinations, to enter into engagements with another. My heart has been enſlaved to none but him; and as for my body, I readily abandon it to the fury of the *Romans*. Having thus ſpoke, ſhe drank the poiſon, and almoſt inſtantly expired. *Scipio*, to conſole the *Numidian* prince, careſſed and diverted him; and, when he had aſſembled his troops, ſtyled him king for the firſt time in a juridical way, and preſented him with a crown of gold, a curule chair, an embroidered robe, and a tunic adorned with palm-branches. Theſe honours counterbalanced in the prince's heart the remembrance of his dear *Sophoniſba*, and he now conceived hopes of becoming ſole maſter of all *Numidia* [r].

The Carthaginians *make a fraudulent propoſal of peace.*

And now, that the winter kept both armies from entering upon action, *Scipio* diſpatched *Lælius* with *Syphax* and the reſt of the captives to *Rome*, and returned himſelf to his old poſt near *Tunis*. The *Carthaginians*, alarmed at his neighbourhood, endeavoured to gain time by a fraudulent treaty of peace, till *Hannibal* and *Mago* ſhould arrive from *Italy*. The better to impoſe upon the proconſul, they ſent deputies to *Rome*, and with them a ſmall number of *Roman* captives and deſerters; but at the ſame time they prepared to renew the war with vigour, ſtrengthened their alliances on all ſides, and once more prevailed upon *Philip* of *Macedon* to engage in their intereſt. While *Scipio*, deceived by the fraudulent propoſals of the *Carthaginians*, was ſuſpending hoſtilities in *Africa*, *Lælius*, arriving at *Rome*, gave the conſcript fathers

[r] Liv. ibid. c. 14. Appian. in Punic. Zonar l. ix. c. 12.

a pompous

a pompous, but true, account of his friend's exploits. This occasioned an universal joy in the city. The prætor published a decree for a general supplication, and the people crouded to the temples to return thanks for the proconsul's success. As for *Syphax*, the senate ordered him to be conducted to *Alba*, in the country of the *Marsi*, and there kept to grace the triumph of the *Roman* general at his return. At the same time, the senate confirmed the title which *Scipio* had given to *Masinissa*, and sent him new presents in the name of the republic [r].

IN *Italy*, *Hannibal* was now wholly confined to a corner of *Bruttium*, and had not attempted any thing this campaign. As for his brother *Mago*, he did not venture to give battle to the consul *Sergilius Geminus*, who commanded an army in *Hetruria*; but falling down upon *Insubria*, engaged two *Roman* armies there, under the conduct of the proconsul *Corn. Cethegus*, and the prætor *Quintilius Varus*. The victory was long disputed; but at length, *Mago* himself being wounded, the *Carthaginians* were routed, and obliged to take shelter among the mountains of *Liguria*. There he received strict orders to repair forthwith to *Carthage*; but he had scarce doubled the island of *Sardinia*, when he died of his wound. *Hannibal* received the same orders, and complied with them, but not without great reluctance. He resolved to take a body of *Brutian* troops with him; but these, refusing to abandon their native country, took refuge in the temple of *Juno Lucina*, where the barbarous *Carthaginian* caused them all to be cruelly massacred. When he was out at sea, he often looked back on the country he had hoped to conquer, and is said to have uttered bitter execrations against gods and men. The joy at *Rome*, on the news of his departure, was inexpressibly great; but old *Fabius* endeavoured to allay it, by exclaiming, that the *Roman* state was never in a more deplorable condition; but the people confided in the abilities of *Scipio*, and public thanks were appointed to be offered to the gods for *Hannibal*'s departure [s].

Mago *embarques for* Africa, *but dies of a wound at sea.* Hannibal *recalled.*

Scipio had granted the *Carthaginians* in *Africa* a truce, till their embassadors returned from *Rome*; but, in the mean time, an accident discovered the insincerity of their intentions. *Scipio* had sent for a reinforcement of ships both from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The squadron from *Sicily* was dispersed by a tempest, and many of the ships being driven near the port of *Carthage*, the *Carthaginians* seized and plundered them. Hereupon the proconsul sent *M. Babius* with two

The Carthaginians *break the truce.*

[r] Liv. l. xxx. c. 18. [s] Idem ib. c. 19.

other deputies to *Carthage*, to complain of the injuſtice, and require ſatisfaction; but the ſenate, depending on the return of *Hannibal*, agreed to ſend them back without an anſwer; nay, the quinqueremis, which carried the envoys, was attacked by the *Carthaginian* admiral, and, after ſome reſiſtance, forced to run aground near the ſhore, where moſt of the *Romans* were killed; but the embaſſadors themſelves had the good luck to eſcape [u]. This perfidiouſneſs was too plain a proof, that the war would be renewed with freſh vigour, as ſoon as *Hannibal* arrived; and it was not long before that general, ſo much wiſhed-for, came within ſight of *Africa*, which he had left at nine years of age, and had not ſeen for thirty three years paſt. He landed at *Little Leptis*, a city between *Suſa* and *Adrumetum*. About the ſame time *Lælius* and *Fulvius* returned from *Rome*, the latter to continue in his poſt of lieutenant in *Scipio*'s army, and the former in quality of quæſtor as well as lieutenant. As for the troops which *Mago* commanded in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, the fleet, which carried them, was diſperſed by a ſtorm, and moſt of the ſhips were taken by the *Romans*.

Hannibal *lands in* Africa.

And now the eyes of all nations in *Europe* and *Africa* were fixed on the two heroes of the age, *Scipio* and *Hannibal*, who were to enter the liſts. The latter, being informed that hoſtilities were begun anew, gained over as many of the princes of *Numidia* as he could, and among the reſt the ſecond ſon of *Syphax*, who joined him with a conſiderable body of *Numidian* horſe. On the other hand, *Scipio* purſued the war with all the fury, which the perfidiouſneſs of the *Carthaginians* deſerved. He took ſeveral towns by aſſault, put the gariſons to the ſword, and made the inhabitants paſs under the yoke. However, he diſmiſſed the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors, who had been arreſted by *Bæbius* on their return from *Rome*, after having treated them with great humanity and politeneſs, tho' moſt of the officers were for retaliating upon them the injuries which their embaſſadors had ſuffered.

In the mean time, *Tib. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Servilius Pulex* being choſen conſuls for the next year, they drew lots for their provinces, and it fell to the latter to conduct the army in *Hetruria*, and to the former to command the fleet in *Africa*; but, by a decree both of the ſenate and people, he was to leave the direction of all affairs at land wholly to the proconſul.

[u] Idem ibid. c. 25. Polyb. l. xv. c. 1.

As

As *Scipio* continued ravaging the territories of *Carthage* and taking her cities, *Hannibal* was ordered to advance towards the enemy, and ſtop their progreſs. Accordingly he left *Adrumetum*, marched a hundred and ſeventy five miles, and incamped near *Zama*, a town in *Africa Propria*, about ſeventy five miles from *Carthage*. From his new camp he ſent out ſpies to obſerve the ſituation and ſtrength of the enemy. Theſe ſpies, being diſcovered and apprehended, were, by *Scipio*'s orders, led into all the quarters of the camp, and, after they had been ſhewn every thing which they came to learn, diſmiſſed with money to defray the expences of their journey. *Hannibal* was ſo ſtruck with admiration at the magnanimity and confidence of the *Roman* general, that he immediately reſolved to aſk an interview with him, in order to a peace. With this view he addreſſed himſelf to *Maſiniſſa*, begging him to intercede with the proconſul, and perſuade him to come to an interview. *Maſiniſſa* diſcharged his commiſſion with zeal; but the people, having got the aſcendant at *Carthage*, would hearken to no meaſures that tended to a reconciliation; nay, orders were diſpatched to the general to continue the war, and come to a deciſive battle without delay. But, notwithſtanding theſe orders, which had been extorted from the ſenate by the people, *Hannibal*, having obtained the proconſul's conſent to an interview, drew near, and incamped with his army about five miles from the *Romans*. There was between the two camps a large plain, intirely open, and where no ambuſh could be laid. Thither the two generals repaired, eſcorted by a like number of guards, and then, ſeparating from their attendants each with his interpreter, they held a private conference. Perhaps two greater men never met, nor was ever any deliberation of more importance. Theſe two heroes had never ſeen one another; but fame had given each a high eſteem of the other. *Hannibal* is ſaid to have been ſtruck with admiration at the firſt ſight of *Scipio*. His hair flowed down his back to a great length; he had an equal mixture of majeſty and ſweetneſs in his countenance; he was in his full ſtrength and bloom, and deemed one of the moſt comely men of his age. There was nothing affected or too negligent about him. His habit was plain, but neat, and ſuch as became a ſoldier, who deſpiſed the ſtudied elegancies of dreſs. Their ſurpriſe at meeting kept them for ſome moments in a profound ſilence, which *Hannibal* firſt broke with a long deſcant on the viciſſitudes of fortune; and then, having artfully flattered the *Roman*, he propoſed the ceſſion of *Spain*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and all the iſlands between *Italy* and *Africa*,

An interview between Scipio *and* Hannibal.

Africa, as the terms of a peace. *Scipio* anſwered, with all the haughtineſs of a conqueror, that he offered nothing but what the *Romans* already poſſeſſed; that if he had made ſuch a propoſal before he left *Italy*, it might perhaps have been thought a tolerable one; but now that his republic would inſiſt upon conditions of a different nature, which he propoſed, adding, If you like theſe conditions, the *Roman* ſenate and people will condeſcend to enter into a treaty with your republic; if not, let us fly to arms, and decide the controverſy by the ſword. At theſe words the two generals parted, and each returned to his camp to prepare for a general action. Early the next morning, *Scipio* marched out his troops into the plain, and ſent a detachment to ſeize an eminence between the two camps. Theſe meeting with a detachment ſent by *Hannibal* for the ſame purpoſe, repulſed them, and made themſelves maſters of that poſt. This brought on a general action, contrary, as ſome ſay, to the inclination of *Hannibal*. Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we conſider the generals, the armies, the two ſtates that contended, or the importance of the victory. Both generals diſplayed an uncommon ſkill in drawing up their men, and chuſing their ground, and no leſs courage and reſolution in charging the enemy. They both repreſented to their men, that this battle muſt decide, whether *Rome* or *Carthage* ſhould give law to the world. Never was victory more obſtinately diſputed. The *Carthaginians*, eſpecially in the ſecond line, performed wonders, repulſing three times the *Roman* legionaries with great ſlaughter. As for *Hannibal*'s firſt line, which conſiſted of mercenaries, it was put to the rout at the firſt onſet, which occaſioned at length the defeat of the ſecond line; for the *Romans*, puſhing on the routed mercenaries with their bucklers, forced them back on the *Carthaginians*, and by that means put the ſecond into confuſion, and at length obliged them to give ground, and betake themſelves to flight; but the greateſt difficulty was to break into the enemy's phalanx, where *Hannibal* commanded in perſon. The phalanx was the choice of *Hannibal*'s army, the *Carthaginian* general having formed it of thoſe veterans, who had often made the *Romans* tremble in the plains of *Italy*. However, *Scipio* advanced boldly at the head of his haſtati to attack this formidable body; but the ground, he was to croſs to come at the phalanx, being covered with dead bodies, bucklers, and darts, and the earth ſoaked with blood, and ſo ſlippery that his men could ſcarce keep their feet, *Scipio* commanded the principes and triarii to join the haſtati; and having drawn up all his men in

The battle of Zama.

in one great front, marched over heaps of dead bodies againſt *Hannibal*, who, at the head of his phalanx, kept his men cloſe, and waited for the enemy. The *Romans* fell upon this laſt body with a fury not to be expreſſed; but the *Carthaginians*, encouraged by the preſence and example of their leader, kept their ground, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the whole *Roman* infantry. *Scipio*, reſolving either to compleat the victory or die in the attempt, exerted at the head of the legionaries, all his ſkill and perſonal bravery; but could not by any means break into that impenetrable body. The attack was often renewed, but to no purpoſe. The ground was covered with heaps of dead bodies; but not one of the *Carthaginians* offered to fly, or even quit his rank. The proconſul, finding all his efforts unſucceſsful, was at a loſs what to do; but while he was under the greateſt concern to ſee his brave legionaries fall in great numbers, without being able to gain the leaſt advantage over the enemy, *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſa*, returning from the purſuit of the *Carthaginian* and *Numidian* cavalry, appeared very ſeaſonably on the field of battle, and attacked the phalanx in the rear. And now *Hannibal* could hold out no longer; his phalanx was put in diſorder, and ſo terrible a ſlaughter was made of thoſe brave men, that few of them eſcaped. *Hannibal*, after having ſignalized himſelf by a thouſand acts of valour, was at length obliged to ſave himſelf by flight. *Maſiniſſa*, tho' wounded, purſued him cloſe, being extremely deſirous to crown his other exploits with the taking of the general himſelf; but the *Carthaginian*, being favoured by the darkneſs of the night, got ſafe into *Thon*, a ſmall city in that neighbourhood, attended only by twenty horſemen. From thence he fled, with one man only in whom he could confide, and taking the road to *Adrumentum*, reached that city in two days and two nights. In this action above twenty thouſand men were ſlain on the ſide of the *Carthaginians*, and as many priſoners taken, among whom were many *Macedonians*, and *Soſipater* their commander. The *Romans* did not loſe above two thouſand men; a memorable victory, which raiſed *Scipio* above *Hannibal*, and paved the way for the *Romans* to the conqueſt of the world [w].

Hannibal *totally defeated.*

Hannibal was ſoon called from *Adrumetum* to *Carthage*, where he declared in the ſenate, that they had no reſource but in a peace. Theſe words, in the mouth of the warlike *Hannibal*, were deciſive; and *Carthage* now thought of no-

[w] POLYB. l. xv c. 9. LIV. l. xxx. c. 30. APPIAN in Punic. ZONAR. l ix. c. 19.

thing

thing, but uſing all means to ſoften the *Roman* general, whoſe humane temper was well known. Thirty of the chief nobility were diſpatched away in haſte to *Tunis*, where *Scipio* then was. Theſe deputies ſpared neither ſubmiſſions, proteſtations, nor promiſes. *Scipio* received them at firſt with the haughty air of a conqueror, and ſeemed not to give ear to their propoſals; but, at the bottom, he was as fond of concluding a peace as they; for he had certain intelligence from his friends in *Rome*, that the conſul *Nero* was equipping a fleet with all expedition, in order to come into *Africa*, and rob him of the glory of finiſhing the war there. The next day therefore he ſent for the deputies, whom he had rejected the day before, and imparted to them the conditions, on which he was willing to grant them a peace. Theſe were as follow: 1. The *Carthaginians* ſhall live according to their own laws, and enjoy all the cities and provinces which they had in *Africa* before the war; but the *Romans* ſhall hold *Spain*, with all the iſlands in the *Mediterranean*. 2. The *Carthaginians* ſhall deliver up to the *Romans* all their deſerters, fugitive ſlaves, priſoners of war, and all the *Italians* whom *Hannibal* forced to follow him. 3. They ſhall deliver up into *Scipio*'s hands all their ſhips of war, except ten triremes, with all their tamed elephants, and tame no more. 4. The republic of *Carthage* ſhall enter into no war, either in *Africa* or elſewhere, without the conſent of the *Roman* people. 5. They ſhall reſtore to *Maſiniſſa* all they have uſurped from him and his anceſtors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 6. They ſhall ſupply the *Roman* legions with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the embaſſadors they ſhall ſend to *Rome*. 7. They ſhall pay the *Romans*, in the ſpace of fifty years, ten thouſand talents, at equal payments. 8. They ſhall deliver up to *Scipio* a hundred ſuch hoſtages as he ſhall chuſe, the youngeſt of which ſhall not be under fourteen, and the oldeſt not above thirty years of age. 9. Neither the peace nor the truce ſhall take place, till the *Carthaginians* have reſtored to the *Romans* the ſhips and effects taken from them during the late truce. 10. The *Roman* armies ſhall leave *Africa* within fifty days after the concluſion of the treaty. Theſe were hard conditions, but readily complied with, *Hannibal* himſelf declaring zealouſly for a peace. Purſuant to his advice, deputies were ſent to *Scipio*'s camp, to make ſatisfaction for the ſhips and effects taken from the *Romans* during the laſt truce; and the whole ſum amounted to twenty five thouſand pounds weight of ſilver [a]. Then the ſuſpenſion of arms took place,

Articles of peace between Rome *and* Carthage.

[a] Polyb. l. xv. c. 18. Appian. in Punic. Liv. l. xxx. c. 37. Zonar. l. ix. c. 14.

and

and embaſſadors were diſpatched to *Rome*, to obtain of the ſenate and people a ratification of the treaty. When the deputies were introduced into the ſenate, *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *The Rum*, who was at the head of them, and had always oppoſed the *Barcan* faction, made a modeſt ſpeech, in which he laid all the blame of the late war on the family of *Hamilcar*, and endeavoured to move the *Romans* to compaſſion, by repreſenting the deplorable condition to which the city and republic of *Carthage* were reduced. The conſcript fathers were divided in opinion; ſome were for concluding a peace on the terms propoſed by *Scipio*, who, ſaid they, is certainly the beſt judge, in the preſent caſe, of what is moſt for the intereſt of *Rome*. But, as *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Ælius Pætus* had been lately choſen conſuls, and the command of the fleet had fallen to the former, all his friends and relations were for continuing the war, that he might have the glory of completing the great work begun by *Scipio*. Among the reſt, *C. Lentulus* maintained, that nothing could be more for the intereſt of *Rome*, than utterly to deſtroy *Carthage*, and put it out of the power of the perfidious *Africans* to hurt *Rome* for the future. In the cloſe of his ſpeech, turning to the chief of the embaſſy, *What gods*, ſaid he, *will you call to witneſs the ſincerity of your oaths?* To which *Aſdrubal* immediately replied, *The ſame who have ſo ſeverely puniſhed us for the breach of them.* This anſwer was applauded by the aſſembly; and the ſenate plainly ſeeing, that *Lentulus* had no other view in declaiming with ſo much zeal againſt a peace, but to give the conſul, his relation, an opportunity of finiſhing the war, to the prejudice of *Scipio*, paſſed a decree, granting the *Carthaginians* their requeſt. The conſul *Lentulus* appealed from it to the people; who being aſſembled gave their conſent to a peace with *Carthage*, declaring, that they would ſuffer none but *Scipio* to conclude it, or bring back the troops to *Rome*. The *Carthaginian* embaſſadors were therefore diſmiſſed with a favourable anſwer, and ten deputies, attended by the feciales of the republic, ſent with them, to aſſiſt *Scipio* in ſettling the articles of the treaty. Upon their arrival at the proconſul's camp, the *Carthaginians* began to execute the articles they had agreed to. In the firſt place, they delivered up all deſerters and priſoners of war, and then their elephants, of which *Scipio* ſent ſome to *Rome*, and gave the reſt to *Maſſiniſſa*, but nothing was more mortifying to the *Carthaginians*, than the delivering up all their ſhips, galleys, and frigates, except ten triremes, to the number of five hundred ſail. Then *Scipio* burnt all

The ſenate and people of Rome conſent to a peace with Carthage.

The articles of the treaty are executed, and put in the hands of Maſſiniſſa.

Year of the flood 2803. Before Chriſt 196. Of *Rome* 552.

ſea, within ſight of *Carthage*. The laſt thing that remained was, to diſcharge the firſt payment of the tribute, which the *Romans* had required for fifty years; and this article was alſo executed, a tax being laid on all the citizens of *Carthage* for the raiſing of this ſum. And now *Scipio* prepared for his departure; but before he left *Africa*, with the conſent of the ten commiſſioners, he ſettled *Maſiniſſa* in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions, and of all the places he had taken from *Syphax*. This done, he ſailed to *Lilybæum*, and thence to *Italy*. The news of his landing was no ſooner ſpread in the neighbouring places, but the people flocked from all parts to ſee the deliverer of *Rome*, and the conqueror of the formidable *Hannibal*. From the port where he landed to *Rome*, the roads were crouded with infinite numbers of people, not only the citizens, but even the peaſants, running to behold and applaud the man, to whom they owed their liberty and preſervation. As he drew near *Rome*, the whole city went out to meet him; and ſuch of the citizens and ſenators, as had at firſt oppoſed his expedition, were the moſt earneſt to congratulate him on the ſucceſs of it. He wanted only to have received the congratulations of the great *Fabius*; but he was dead. However, the conqueror had the ſatisfaction to find, that the predictions of this old general had proved falſe, and ſerved only to augment his glory. Both ſenate and people concurred in decreeing him a triumph, which was the moſt magnificent one that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*. *Polybius* tells us, that king *Syphax* was carried in triumph, and that he died a few days after in priſon; but he is therein contradicted by all the antients, who ſay, that the captive king died before the triumph at *Tibur*, whither he had been removed from *Alba*, the place of his confinement. Among the captives was, according to ſome writers, the famous poet *Terence*, at that time very young; at leaſt it is certain, that he was a native of *Africa*, and was afterwards infranchiſed by *Terentius Lucanus*, whoſe name he took. The ſenator *Terentius Culleo*, who had been taken by the *Carthaginians*, and delivered by *Scipio* from a cruel captivity, to ſhew his gratitude, wore, in the triumphal proceſſion, the *pileus*, as a ſymbol of his having obtained his freedom. The booty *Scipio* brought from *Africa* was immenſe; among other things he delivered to the quæſtors one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds weight of ſilver. The republic, to ſhew her gratitude to a man, who had done her more important ſervices than all her other commanders together, would have raiſed him above the level of other citizens, by beſtowing on him, as ſome authors write,

Scipio *triumphs, and gets the ſurname of* Africanus.

the

the perpetual dictatorſhip, and erecting ſtatues to him, in the comitium near the roſtra, before the ſenate-houſe, and even on the capitol; but *Scipio* wiſely declined theſe extraordinary honours, contenting himſelf with the glorious name of *Africanus*, which hiſtory has preſerved to him, as a laſting monument of his conqueſts in *Africa* y.

y Vide LIV. l. xxx. c. 43. POLYB. l. xvi. c. 12. APPIAN. in Punic. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 14.

CHAP. VII.

The history of Rome, *from the end of the second* Punic *war, to the destruction of* Carthage.

ROME, by the peace she concluded with *Carthage*, was delivered from those continual alarms she had long been under from so powerful a rival. However, she was not yet in such a state of peace and security as to shut the temple of *Janus*. While the treaty with the *Carthaginians* was executing, the *Boii*, entering the territories of the allies of *Rome*, laid them waste; which obliged the consul *Ælius Pætus* to take the field. He detached *Oppius* with two legions and about two thousand auxiliaries, to go before him and ravage the enemy's country; but that general was surprised by the *Boii*, surrounded on all sides, and cut off with seven thousand of his men. The consul advanced to revenge his defeat; but the *Gauls* appearing no more in the field, he pillaged their country, and then falling down on *Liguria*, he obliged the *Ingauni*, who inhabited a small canton of *Liguria Maritima*, to enter into an alliance with *Rome* [a]. These were the only exploits of the consul *Ælius* during this campaign. Upon his return to *Rome*, a decree was passed, impowering him to name a general to go with a fleet into *Macedon*; for the senate had just received advice, by embassadors from the *Rhodians*, and from *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, that *Philip* of *Macedon* was soliciting the states of *Asia* to join him against *Rome*. The person, whom the consul named for this expedition, was *Lævinus*, who no sooner appeared on the coasts of *Macedon*, than he was joined by *Aurelius*, who

The Boii *gain a considerable advantage over the* Romans.

[a] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 2.

had

had long reſided in *Greece*, to defend it with a ſmall ſquadron and a few *Roman* troops. Theſe two, having conſulted together about the ſtate of *Macedon* and *Greece*, agreed to write to the ſenate, that they thought it neceſſary to declare war, without delay, againſt king *Philip*, who was preparing to make a deſcent upon *Italy*. Theſe letters arrived ſoon after the election of the new conſuls, *P. Sulpicius Galba* and *C. Aurelius Cotta*, who, having aſſembled the people, prevailed upon them to vote for a war with the king of *Macedon*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of *Bæbius*, a tribune of the people, who endeavoured to perſuade the centuries, that the nobility, from party-views, hindered them from enjoying any repoſe. The conſul *Sulpicius*, to whoſe lot *Macedon* fell, paſſed over into that kingdom with two legions; and, being aſſiſted by *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Ætolians*, gained great advantages over *Philip*, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

The Romans *reſolve upon a war with the king of* Macedon.

WHILE the conſul *Sulpicius* was employed in *Macedon*, the *Gauls*, headed by *Humilcar*, whom *Hannibal* had left in *Italy*, made a ſudden irruption into the lands of the allies of *Rome*; and having ſeized *Placentia*, put all the citizens to the ſword. From thence they advanced to *Cremona*; but the inhabitants of that city, ſhutting their gates againſt them, gave notice of their danger to *Furius Purpureo* the *Roman* prætor, who commanded five thouſand men of the allies in the neighbourhood of *Ariminum*. *Furius*, before he marched to their relief, wrote to the ſenate deſiring ſuccours, the *Gauls* being above forty thouſand ſtrong. Hereupon the fathers decreed, that either the conſul *Aurelius*, who was ſtill in *Rome*, ſhould put himſelf at the head of his legions, which were incamped in *Hetruria*, and haſten to the relief of *Cremona*; or, in caſe he declined it, that thoſe legions ſhould march to *Ariminum* without him, and he commanded in that expedition by *Furius*, who ſhould ſend his five thouſand men into *Hetruria*. As *Aurelius* choſe rather to continue at *Rome*, *Furius*, at the head of his legions, marched againſt the enemy, defeated them in a pitched battle near *Cremona*, and killed above thirty thouſand of them on the ſpot. The victorious prætor returned to *Rome*, where, after a warm debate in the ſenate, he was decreed a triumph. This is the firſt inſtance we find in the *Roman* hiſtory of a triumph granted to a general, who had fought under the auſpices of another; and on this account it was, that the oldeſt ſenators oppoſed it, though to no effect, the majority being for honouring the brave prætor with that mark of diſtinction.[a]

The Gauls *intirely defeated by the prætor* Furius.

[a] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 48. Eutr. Caper.

IN

In the following conſulate of *Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Villius Tappulus*, the *Ætolians* took part with the *Romans* againſt the king of *Macedon*; but *Villius*, to whoſe lot *Macedon* fell, ſtaid at *Rome*, till the ſeaſon was too far advanced to undertake any thing of moment this campaign. The other conſul *Lentulus*, who remained in *Italy*, inſtead of marching againſt the *Gauls*, who were not yet quelled, ſtaid at *Rome*, though there was no buſineſs of ſufficient moment to detain him there. The conſular year being expired, the republic beſtowed the faſces on *Quinctius Flaminius* and *Sext. Ælius Catus*, though neither of them had been in the prætorſhip, and the former, who was but thirty years of age, had never been ſo much as ædile. The war of *Macedon* fell to the lot of *Flaminius*, and that of *Italy* to *Ælius*. *Cato* was at the ſame time appointed prætor of *Sardinia*, where he made himſelf remarkable for his frugality, auſterity of life, and ſtrict juſtice in puniſhing offenders. His only amuſement was to hear the inſtructions of the poet *Ennius*, under whom he learned the *Greek* ſciences, and perfected his fine genius. He baniſhed uſurers from his province, and reduced the intereſt upon loans almoſt to nothing [b].

The progreſs of Flaminius *in* Macedon.

As for *Flaminius*, he immediately ſet out for his province, where he forced the intrenchments of king *Philip*, opened himſelf a way into the heart of *Macedon*, took ſeveral towns in *Theſſaly*, and, by his inſinuating manner, gained over the *Achæans* to the intereſt of *Rome*, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of the *Achæans*. His collegue *Ælius*, who had performed nothing worth mentioning in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, when the time of the elections drew near, was called home to aſſemble the centuries. The perſons raiſed to the conſulate this year were *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Q. Minucius Rufus*. They were both ſent into *Ciſalpine Gaul* againſt *Hamilcar*, who ſtill headed the revolt there. *Flaminius* was continued, in quality of proconſul, general of all the *Roman* forces in *Greece*, till the ſenate and people ſhould think fit to recal him. They alſo granted him a ſupply of five thouſand foot, three hundred horſe, and three thouſand ſeamen and rowers, and appointed his brother *Quinctius* to command the fleet under him. With this reinforcement *Flaminius*, having firſt gained over the city of *Thebes* and all *Bœotia* to the *Roman* intereſt, marched into *Theſſaly* in purſuit of *Philip*, and came up with him in the plains of *Cynocephalæ*. Here the two armies came to a general engagement, in which the *Macedonians* were

[b] Plut. in Caton.

intirely

intirely defeated, eight thouſand of them being killed upon the ſpot, and five thouſand taken priſoners. At the ſame time *Androſthenes*, one of *Philip*'s generals, whom that prince had left in *Corinth* with ſix thouſand men, was defeated by *Nicoſtratus* prætor of the *Achæans*. Hereupon the *Macedonian*, having no other reſource but in a peace, ſubmitted to ſuch terms as *Flaminius* was pleaſed to impoſe upon him [c]. Thus ended the firſt *Macedonian* war, of which we have given a very particular account in our hiſtory of *Greece*.

Philip *ſubmits to the terms of peace propoſed by* Flaminius.

IN *Italy* the war, which was carried on with the *Gauls* by the two conſuls, gave the people more concern than that of *Macedon*. But their fears were ſoon quieted; for *Cethegus*, who marched againſt the *Inſubres* and *Cenomani*, gained a complete victory over them on the banks of the *Mincius*. Thirty thouſand of thoſe *Gauls* were killed upon the ſpot, and five thouſand ſeven hundred made priſoners, with their general *Hamilcar*. *Minucius*, the other conſul, having no opportunity of coming to a pitched battle with the *Ligures* and *Boii*, over-ran their country, and laid it waſte. For theſe ſucceſſes the ſenate and people ordered public thankſgivings in all the temples of *Rome* for four days [d]. The republic thought fit at this time to increaſe the number of prætors to ſix, by creating two new ones for the government of *Spain*, which ſhe divided into two provinces, by the names of *Hither Spain* and *Further Spain*. But the *Spaniards*, highly diſpleaſed to ſee their country reduced to the ſtate of *Roman* provinces, took arms, and falling upon *Sempronius*, prætor of *Hither Spain*, cut him off with moſt of his troops. In *Further Spain* ſeveral towns revolted; and there was almoſt a general diſpoſition to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke.

The Ciſalpine Gauls *defeated.*

The Spaniards *revolt.*

THE new conſuls, *L. Furius Purpureo* and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, were ordered to continue the war with the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, who were not yet totally ſubdued; but *Flaminius*, by a new decree, was appointed to act as general in *Greece*, till ſuch time as the treaty with *Macedon* ſhould be concluded. Ten commiſſioners were ſent from *Rome* to aſſiſt him in this undertaking. Theſe, by the advice of *Flaminius*, decreed, that all the *Greek* cities, both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, ſhould be reſtored to perfect liberty. This decree was ſoon after proclaimed by a herald in a vaſt aſſembly of *Greeks*, met together from all parts to celebrate the *Iſthmian* games. Their amazement and joy on this occaſion was inexpreſſible. Ma-

[c] LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 14. PLUT. in Flamin. POLYB. l. xiii. JUSTIN. l. xxx. [d] LIV. l. xxxii. c. 13—29. POLYB. JUSTIN. ibid.

ny ſpeeches were made in praiſe of the *Roman* greatneſs and generoſity. The *Ætolians*, who had been refuſed ſome towns which they claimed, were the only people diſſatisfied with the peace. They complained of it, and at length had recourſe to *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, who, at their inſtigation, paſſed over into *Europe*, under pretence of recovering *Thrace*, which his great-grandfather *Seleucus Nicator* had conquered from *Lyſimachus*.

In *Italy*, the two conſuls carried on the war with great ſucceſs againſt the *Gauls*, and intirely deſtroyed two conſiderable armies of thoſe rebels, plundered their country, and returned to *Rome* loaded with booty. After this, the republic was wholly employed in publiſhing ſome new edicts. The pontifices and augurs were now required, for the firſt time, to pay a tax towards the expences of the war; but they were at the ſame time eaſed of one burdenſome part of their function, a new ſort of ſacerdotal college being erected, under the name of *Epulones*, whoſe office was confined wholly to the care of religious feaſts. At firſt theſe *Epulones* were three only, and all choſen out of plebeian families. The three firſt were *C. Licinius Lucullus*, *T. Rondileius*, then tribune of the people, who had got the law paſſed, and *Porcius Læcas*, who, two years before, while he was tribune of the people, had, in ſpite of all oppoſition, carried a law, forbidding, under ſevere penalties, any magiſtrate to cauſe a *Roman* citizen to be whipt with rods. This law, which *ſecured the ſhoulders of the people*, to uſe the expreſſion of one of the antients [e], was called the *Porcian* law, not from the famous *Porcius*, known afterwards by the name of *Cato the cenſor*, as ſome have falſly imagined, but from *Porcius Læcas*, firſt tribune of the people, and afterwards one of the *Epulones* [f]. However, this privilege did not extend to the armies, where the generals had an abſolute power of life and death.

The Epulones *inſtituted.*

The Porcian *law.*

The conſul *Marcellus*, when the time for the new elections drew near, aſſembled the centuries, who raiſed to the conſular dignity *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Porcius Cato*. The conduct of the war in *Spain* fell by lot to the latter; but while he was making the neceſſary preparations for his departure, the *Roman* ladies took a ſtep, which obliged him to ſtay longer at *Rome* than he expected. About eighteen years before, when *Hannibal* was ravaging *Italy*, and the treaſury was exhauſted, a tribune of the people, named *Oppius*, had got a law paſſed, forbidding even the richeſt of the

[e] Sext. Pomp faſt. [f] Cic. de orator. l. iii. Liv. ibid. c. 30.

Roman

Roman ladies to uſe above half an ounce of gold in their apparel, to wear habits of various colours, or to make uſe of chariots, either at Rome or in the neighbouring villages, unleſs they were to aſſiſt at a public ſacrifice a mile off. The women of diſtinction, thinking it intolerable to be under this reſtraint, now that the republic abounded with riches, made a great ſtir to get the law repealed. *Fabricius* and *Fundanius*, two of the tribunes, preſented their requeſt to the comitia; and never was an aſſembly more divided. The capitol, where it was held, was full of people, crying out for and againſt the law. Even the women, neglecting the orders of their huſbands, the rules of decency, and the public authority, ran thither, beſet the paſſages which led from the capitol to the voting place, ſolicited the men, as they paſſed, for their ſuffrages, and urged the juſtice of their pretenſions. As the affair was more than one day under deliberation, the women flocked to *Rome* from all the neighbouring colonies and towns, and offered petitions to the conſuls and prætors. But *Cato* was inexorable; he made a long harangue to the aſſembly in behalf of the law, full of ſatyrical reflections on the women, for their appearing in public to ſolicit votes. But the tribune *Valerius* made a very eloquent ſpeech in behalf of the women, in which he excuſed their appearing in public to ſolicit their own cauſe, and urged the reaſonableneſs of repealing the *Oppian* law. His harangue made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the people, that they all voted for the abrogation of the law, *Cato* being the only man who diſſented [s].

The Oppian law repealed.

AND now the conſul ſet out for *Spain* with two legions, five thouſand auxiliaries, and five hundred horſe. He imbarqued at *Luna* in *Hetruria*, and landed at *Rhoda*, now *Roſes*, in *Catalonia*. From thence he marched by land to *Emporiæ*, where he was joined by the prætor *Helvius*, who had juſt gained a conſiderable victory over the *Spaniards*. As *Cato*'s troops conſiſted for the moſt part of raw ſoldiers, he took great pains to diſcipline them, conſidering, that they had to deal with the *Spaniards*, who, in the wars with the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, had learned the military art, and were naturally brave and courageous. The general himſelf was a pattern to his men of vigilance, ſobriety, and aſſiduity in labour. His dreſs was always plain, he readily expoſed himſelf to the inclemencies of the ſeaſon, and his proviſions were the ſame which the common ſoldiers had. When a camp was to be pitched, he was always the firſt to take up the ſpade, and the laſt to lay it down. By this management,

[s] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 2—7.

the conſul ſoon put his troops on the foot he deſired, and then marched in queſt of the enemy, but firſt ſent away his fleet, that his ſoldiers might place all their hopes in their bravery. With this ſame view, when he came near the enemy, he took a compaſs, and poſted his army behind them in the plain; ſo that the *Spaniards* were between him and his camp. In the general action which enſued, the *Spaniards* were, by *Cato*'s admirable conduct, intirely defeated, and driven out of the field. After this victory, deputies flocked to his camp from all the neighbouring cities, intreating him to pardon them; but he did not accept their ſubmiſſions, till they had given him hoſtages. As the dread of his name procured him great reſpect in all the provinces beyond the *Iberus*, he wrote the ſame day private letters to the commanders of ſeveral fortified towns, ordering them to demoliſh without delay their fortifications, aſſuring them, that he would pardon none, but ſuch as readily complied with his orders. Every one of the commanders, believing the order to be ſent only to himſelf, immediately beat down their walls and towers; ſo that all the places in whole provinces beyond the *Iberus* were left defenceleſs, and ſeized by the *Romans* without oppoſition [h]. After this, the conſul marched into *Further Spain*, to aſſiſt *Manlius* the prætor, who commanded in thoſe parts; but not being able to bring the enemy to a battle, he returned to his old camp upon the banks of the *Iberus*. In his way he took ſeveral towns, and a prodigious booty, beſtowing on each of his ſoldiers, beſides the ſpoils, a pound weight of ſilver. When ſome of the officers ſeemed ſurpriſed at this liberality, he told them, *It is better that many of the* Romans *ſhould return home with ſilver, than a few only with gold.* Of all the booty he appropriated nothing to his own uſe, but continued to live in as frugal a manner as the meaneſt ſoldier [i]. The campaign being ended, he ſailed back to *Rome* with his troops, and was honoured the next year with a triumph; after which he led a private life, employing his leiſure in ſtudy. He wrote a book of the origin of the cities of *Italy*, and another of agriculture, in which he took great pleaſure. He often pleaded before the ſenate and people, and was always ready to ſerve his country, even as a private ſoldier [k].

Cato *defeats the* Spaniards.

But to return to *Flaminius*: Tho' a peace was concluded with *Philip*, yet the ſenate, being well appriſed, that, ſooner or later, they muſt break with *Antiochus*, judged it neceſſary, that *Flaminius* ſhould continue in *Greece*; and as there was

[h] Liv. ibid. c. 15. Appian. in Iberic. Plut. in Caton.
[i] Plut. ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

reaſon

reason to suspect, that *Nabis*, tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, would join the king of *Syria*, orders were sent to the proconsul to attack and crush that tyrant. Pursuant to these orders, *Flaminius* marched with all his forces to besiege *Lacedæmon*; and at the same time his brother *Quinctius* appeared on the coast with forty ships of war. Upon their appearance, several cities on the coast of *Laconia* submitted to the *Roman* admiral, and among the rest *Gythium*, a strong town, and, as it were, the port of *Lacedæmon*. Hereupon *Nabis* sent deputies to desire a conference with the proconsul; which being granted, a peace was soon after concluded upon such terms as *Flaminius* thought fit to impose. And now the proconsul, having entirely rescued *Greece* from slavery, and put it out of the power either of *Philip* or *Nabis* to disturb the peace he had established in all parts, returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with a triumph, which lasted three days [l].

Nabis, *tyrant of* Lacedæmon, *submits to the terms of peace proposed by* Flaminius.

THE following year, when *Scipio Africanus* and *Tiberius Sempronius Longus* were consuls, nothing happened worth mentioning, except a victory which the latter gained over the *Cisalpine Gauls*. The enemy lost eleven thousand men, and the *Romans* five thousand. *Scipio* hoped to be sent against *Antiochus*; but as that prince had not yet openly declared against *Rome*, that illustrious *Roman* had no opportunity to signalize himself in his second consulate. In the beginning of the next year, when *Cornelius Merula* and *Minucius Thermus* were consuls, three embassadors came to *Rome* from *Antiochus*, to propose an alliance with the republic; but the *Romans* requiring him to renounce all his pretensions to *Thrace*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*, to which he had an undoubted right, the embassadors returned to *Antioch*, much dissatisfied with the reception they had met with at *Rome* [m]. This year *P. Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed *Nasica*, gained a considerable victory over the *Lusitanians*, who inhabited the country we now call the kingdom of *Portugal*. After this he left *Spain*, and resigned his army to *Fulvius* his successor, who defeated in a pitched battle the united forces of the *Vaccæi*, *Vectones*, and *Celtiberians*, and took *Hilermus*, one of their kings, prisoner. In *Hither Spain*, *Flaminius* came late into his province; but nevertheless made himself master of *Illucia*, a strong town, and cleared the country of some banditti who infested it. In *Cisalpine Gaul* the consul *Merula* defeated the *Boii* near *Mutina*, killed fourteen thousand of them on the spot, made near two thousand prisoners, among whom were three of their ge-

The success of the Romans *in* Spain *and* Cisalpine Gaul.

[l] Liv. ibid. c. 24—36. Polyb. l. iv. c. 81. Plut. in Flamin. [m] Liv. ibid. c. 58. Appian. in Syriac.

nerals, and took two hundred and twelve colours, with fifty three *Gallic* carts loaded with baggage. However, this victory was much disputed, and cost the conquerors dear; for they lost five thousand men, legionaries and auxiliaries, among whom were twenty three centurions, two tribunes of the second legion, which was most exposed, and many officers of the allies. Notwithstanding this victory, *Merula* was refused a triumph, being charged by *Marcellus*, one of his lieutenants, with some misconduct during the action. *Q. Minucius Thermus*, the other consul, marched against the *Ligures*, who, to the number of fifty thousand men, were incamped near *Pisa*; but, as the consular army consisted for the most part of raw and undisciplined troops, *Thermus* acted only upon the defensive.

When the time for electing new consuls drew near, two patricians, of high birth and great merit, offered their service to the republic, viz. *Scipio Nasica* and *L. Quinctius*. Two other illustrious citizens contended for the plebeian consulship, *Lælius* and *Domitius Ænobarbus*. *Nasica* and *Lælius* were supported by *Africanus*, who was cousin-german to the former, and united to the latter by the ties of an intimate and strict friendship. *Quinctius* was recommended by his brother *Flaminius*, who had lately been so successful in *Greece* and *Macedon*. When the day appointed for the elections came, it appeared, that *Flaminius* had more interest than the great *Scipio*, who had the double mortification of not succeeding either for his cousin or his friend; so that *Quinctius* was preferred to *Nasica*, and *Ænobarbus* to *Lælius*, tho' the plebeian consul was not recommended by any extraordinary merit of his own or his friends. Time had somewhat lessened the esteem and veneration of the people for the conqueror of *Hannibal*; besides, he had disobliged the commons, by the invidious distinction he had procured the senators the year before, of sitting in the orchestra at the scenic shews, apart from other spectators. The new consuls were scarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome* of the defeat of the *Ligurians* by *Thermus*, now proconsul. He had been drawn by the enemy into a kind of *Caudine Forks*, but rescued out of danger by a stratagem of the *Numidian* horse in his army. These advancing towards the posts the *Ligurians* had seized, galloped up and down the plain, without offering to attack them; so that they were rather an entertaining sight, than matter of terror. Nothing could be more contemptible in appearance than the *Numidian* squadron; the men had no arms but one dart each; their horses were small and lean, and as they had no bridles, they thrust out their necks, and hung

hung down their heads where they galloped. The *Numidians* added to the ridiculousness of their appearance out of defign, affecting to fall off their horfes, to raife the laugh and fhouts of the enemy. This fcene was fo agreeable to the *Ligurians*, that many of them, not apprehending any danger from fo contemptible an enemy, quitted their arms and ranks, and, fitting down on the grafs, entertained themfelves with fo diverting a fight. On the other hand, the *Numidians*, advancing nearer and nearer, as if they could not govern their horfes, all on a fudden clapping their fpurs to them, flew through the *Ligurian* battalions with incredible fwiftnefs, and entering the plain, fet fire to the enemy's magazines. This created fuch a diverfion, that one pafs was left unguarded, which gave the *Romans* an opportunity of feizing it, and getting out of the fnare. After this, *Rome* fent the proconful a reinforcement of four thoufand foot and two hundred horfe; and then he forced them to come to a battle, and gained a compleat victory over them. Nine thoufand of the enemy were killed on the fpot, their army was difperfed, and their camp befieged, which they valiantly defended till night; but quitted it by favour of the darknefs, and left it to be plundered by the *Romans* [n].

The Ligurians defeated.

WHILE thefe things were tranfacting in *Italy*, the *Etolians* raifed new difturbances in *Greece*. They refolved, in a general diet of the nation, to renounce their alliance with *Rome*, and form a new confederacy againft her. With this view they fent deputies to *Philip*, *Nabis*, and *Antiochus*. *Nabis* immediately took arms and befieged *Gythium*. Upon this beginning of a general commotion in *Greece*, the fenate fent three embaffadors to the king of *Syria*; and on this occafion it was, that *Scipio Africanus*, who accompanied them without a commiffion, had the famous conference with *Hannibal*, who, being perfecuted at home by the *Romans* and the enemies of the *Barcan* faction, had taken refuge in the court of *Antiochus*, as we have related in the hiftory of *Syria*. As *Rome* would not abate any thing of her firft pretentions, the conference between the king and the *Roman* embaffadors was warm, but not long. From this time *Antiochus* refolved to declare war againft *Rome*, and began to make the neceffary preparations for paffing over into *Greece*, contrary to the advice of *Hannibal*, who preffed him to invade *Italy*. Purfuant to the refolution he had taken of making *Greece* the feat of the war, he tranfported himfelf thither with only ten thoufand foot, five hundred horfe, and fix elephants, there being all the forces he had

Antiochus lands in Greece.

[n] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 21.

ready,

ready. Hereupon war was immediately declared at *Rome* againſt *Antiochus*. The new conſuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica* and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, drew lots for their provinces; and *Greece* falling to the latter, he immediately ſet out for his province with twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and fifteen elephants. On his arrival in *Greece*, he was joined by the allies of the republic there, and with their aſſiſtance he ſoon ſubdued all *Theſſaly*. In the mean time, *Antiochus* ſeized the famous ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*; but the conſul, by the advice and aſſiſtance of *Cato*, who ſerved in no higher a ſtation than that of a legionary tribune, forced the *Syrian*'s ſtrong intrenchments, and obliged him to abandon *Greece* and retire to *Epheſus*. Much about the ſame time, *Livius*, the *Roman* admiral, gained a complete victory over the *Syrians* at ſea. The joy of the *Roman* people, for theſe ſucceſſes in the *Levant*, was greatly heightened by the account they received from *Ciſalpine Gaul* of the intire reduction of the *Boii* by *Scipio Naſica*. This whole nation being ſubjected, their lands were ſhared among *Roman* colonies ſent thither for that purpoſe. The ſame year, the proconſul *Thermus* finiſhed the war with the *Ligurians*, by the reduction of their whole country; ſo that *Italy* now enjoyed a profound tranquillity. Endeavours were uſed by one of the tribunes to have *Naſica* and *Thermus* triumph jointly; but the ſenate granted that honour to the former only. His proceſſion was ſet off with all ſorts of ſpoils, with chariots made after the *Gallic* faſhion, ſtandards, vaſes of braſs, fourteen hundred and ſeventy collars of gold, twelve hundred and twenty horſes taken from the enemy, two thouſand three hundred and forty pounds weight of gold, and laſtly, a great number of captives, among whom were many of the chief nobility of the country. The conqueror beſtowed on each of his ſoldiers a hundred and twenty five aſſes of braſs, that is, about eight ſhillings; to every centurion twice as much, and to every horſeman three times that ſum. At the ſame time, the ſenate granted an ovation to the proprætor *Fulvius Nobilior*, for having ſubdued the *Vettones* and *Oretani* in *Spain*. His proceſſion was adorned with ſpoils of great value, *viz.* a hundred and thirty thouſand pieces of ſilver money, ten thouſand pounds weight of ſilver in bars, and a hundred and twenty five pounds weight of gold in ingots [o].

Is defeated at the paſs of Thermopylæ.

The Boii *intirely ſubjected.*

The conſuls choſen for the new year were *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Lælius*, the former brother, the other friend, to the great *Scipio*. As *Lælius* had the re-

[o] Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 46. & l. xxxvi. c. 40. Tab. triumph.

putation

putation of being the abler commander, he artfully propoſed to his colleague, that, inſtead of drawing lots, they ſhould leave the matter to the deciſion of the ſenate. *Scipio Africanus* adviſed his brother to accept the propoſal; and when the affair was laid before the ſenate, he offered to ſerve under his brother in quality of his lieutenant. There needed no other argument; the conſcript fathers immediately aſſigned *Aſia* to the two *Scipios*, as their common province. Thus the great *Africanus* ſhewed more regard to the honour of his family, than partial affection to his friend. It would have caſt a blemiſh on his brother, if he had not been judged fit to command the army againſt *Antiochus*; beſides, *Lælius* had been a little wanting in point of friendſhip, by expoſing his friend's brother to an affront. The two brothers immediately imbarqued at *Brunduſium* with thirteen thouſand men, and landed at *Apollonia*. From thence they marched through *Epirus* and *Theſſaly*, and at length arrived before *Amphiſſa*, a city of the *Ætolians*, which *Acilius* was beſieging. Hither came deputies from the *Athenians* to intercede for the *Ætolians*; and the conſul was prevailed upon to grant them a truce, that they might ſend embaſſadors to *Rome* to treat of a peace with the ſenate. By this truce the ſiege of *Amphiſſa* was raiſed; and then *Acilius* reſigned the command of his two legions to the conſul, and returned home. The *Scipios* purſued their march through *Macedon* and *Thrace*, and croſſed the *Helleſpont* without oppoſition. *Scipio Africanus* fell ſick near *Elæa*; but his brother *Lucius*, being ambitious of gaining a victory in his abſence, purſued *Antiochus*, and, coming up with him near *Magneſia*, gave him a total overthrow. The *Syrian* loſt on this occaſion fifty thouſand men, including priſoners of war, and the *Romans* not above three hundred foot and twenty five horſe. Tho' the ſucceſs of this action was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, and his brother *Attalus*, yet *Lucius Scipio* gained by it the ſurname of *Aſiaticus*, as his brother had done, by his victories in *Africa*, that of *Africanus*. *Antiochus*, after his defeat, readily ſubmitted to ſuch conditions of peace as the conſul thought fit to impoſe upon him, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Syria*, to which we refer our readers. The *Ætolians*, hearing of the defeat of *Antiochus*, ſued for peace in good earneſt; which was granted them at the interceſſion of the *Athenians*, but upon very ſevere conditions; which the reader will find in our hiſtory of *Ætolia*. *Acilius*, who had overcome *Antiochus* at the paſs of *Thermopylæ*, was honoured on his return with a triumph, in which

Antiochus *totally defeated in the battle of* Magneſia

Year of the Flood, 2814
Before Chriſt, 185.
Of Rome 568

which were carried many valuable ſpoils of *Greece* and *Aſia*, a great many ſilver vaſes carved after the *Greek* faſhion, all the plate of the king of *Syria*, and his moveables, which were of an inеſtimable value, two hundred and thirty ſtandards, three thouſand pounds weight of ſilver in bars, a hundred and thirteen thouſand *Attic* tetradrachmes, amounting to fourteen thouſand five hundred and ninety five pounds ſixteen ſhillings and eight pence, and two hundred and forty eight thouſand ciſtophori, pieces of ſilver coin current in *Aſia*, and amounting in the whole to four thouſand two hundred and ſeventy one pounds two ſhillings and two pence. *Acilius* alſo brought home with him forty five crowns of gold, which were preſents made him by cities in alliance with *Rome*. Thirty ſix *Ætolian* chiefs, taken priſoners in war, walked before the triumphant victor's chariot [9].

THE conſular year being expired, the faſces were tranſferred from *Scipio* and *Lelius* to *M. Fulvius Nobilior* and *Cn. Manlius Vulſo*. The former was ſent into *Ætolia*, to ſettle affairs there, and the latter into *Aſia*, where he took upon him the command of the army, which had defeated *Antiochus* at *Magneſia*. As no nation had ſent *Antiochus* more powerful ſuccours than the *Gallo-Greeks* or *Galatians*, the conſul reſolved to march againſt them, and attempt the reduction of their country. They were originally *Gauls*, who, to the number of twenty thouſand, had in the time of *Brennus* croſſed the *Alps*, and, paſſing through *Thrace*, entered *Aſia*, and ſettled in an inland country beyond *Caria* and *Phrygia*. The conſul, being aſſiſted in his long march by *Seleucus*, the king of *Syria*'s ſon, and by *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*, arrived at length on the confines of *Galatia*. Upon his approach, the *Galatians* retired with all their effects and proviſions to the tops of high mountains, with a deſign to tire out the patience of the *Romans*, by leaving them to languiſh away their time in deſolate plains. The conſul marched firſt againſt thoſe *Galatians*, who were called *Toliſtobii*, and were poſted on mount *Olympus*, forced their intrenchments, ſlew great numbers of them, and took forty thouſand priſoners, including women and children. After the defeat of the *Toliſtobii*, the conſul led his army againſt the *Tectoſagi* and *Trocmi* poſted on mount *Magaba*, attacked their intrenchments with the ſame ſucceſs as he had done the other, and forced the whole nation to ſue for peace. He would not treat with them on the ſpot; but ordered their deputies to follow him to *Epheſus*, whither he retired with his army, the wea-

The Romans *carry the war into* Galatia.

The Galatians *implore peace.*

[9] Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 48.

their

ther beginning to be very cold in *Galatia*. The *Galatians* obeyed the commands given them, and concluded a peace with the conſul on his own terms [q].

THE war with the *Gauls* in *Aſia* was ſcarce finiſhed, when a new one broke out with the *Gauls* and *Ligurians* in *Italy*. *M. Valerius Meſſala*, one of the new choſen conſuls, was ordered to *Piſa*, to watch the motions of the latter, and *C. Livius Salinator*, the other conſul, to march againſt the former. *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were continued in their reſpective provinces in quality of proconſuls. *Fulvius* had, during his conſulſhip, eſtabliſhed all the cities on the continent of *Greece* in their antient freedom; but had added the iſland of *Cephalenia* to the demeſns of the republic. Hither he tranſported his troops, and now, being proconſul, made it the place of his reſidence, giving from thence law to all *Greece*. All diſputes between the *Greek* cities and ſtates were brought to his tribunal; ſo that in reality they had only an appearance of liberty. The conſuls of this year performed nothing worthy of notice againſt the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*; and therefore the new conſuls, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius*, were both ordered againſt the *Ligurians*, whom they reduced in one campaign, and made all quiet between *Hetruria* and the *Alps*. During their conſulate, the proconſul *Manlius* arrived at *Rome*. After the reduction of *Galatia*, he had croſſed the *Helleſpont* in his way home. As he was paſſing through *Thrace*, a body of ten thouſand *Thracians* attacked him in a narrow paſs between woods, where the *Romans* could not form themſelves in order of battle. However, he eſcaped the danger, with the loſs only of ſome ſpoils, and, continuing his march through *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*, arrived at *Apollonia*, where he was to embarque; but, the ſeaſon being now far advanced, he paſſed the winter there, and arrived in *Italy* early in the ſpring. He halted in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and demanded, as uſual, a triumph of the ſenate, aſſembled in the temple of *Bellona*; but his requeſt met with great oppoſition. It was objected, that he had undertaken his expedition againſt the *Galatians*, without the orders of the republic, and had carried it on more like a robber, than a *Roman* conſul. It was alſo urged, that he had been wanting in conduct, ſince he had ſuffered the *Thracians* to rob him of part of the ſpoils. But *Manlius* ſhewing that the *Gauls* had aſſiſted *Antiochus*, and excuſing, as well as he could, his diſaſter in *Thrace*, after a long debate, a triumph was decreed him by a majority of votes [r].

The Ligurians *ſubduced.*

[q] LIV. l. xxxviii. c. 26, & ſeq. POLYB. legat. xxxv. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 1. [r] LIV. ibid. c. 43.

And now, *Rome* being diſengaged from all foreign wars, the moſt zealous republicans took pleaſure in proſecuting the chief men in the ſtate. They thought it perhaps a refined policy to humble thoſe in times of peace, whom they had exalted in times of war. *Cato*, who had always been a ſecret enemy to *Scipio Africanus*, no ſooner ſaw the republic in a condition to do without him, but he reſolved to deſtroy him. With this view he engaged two tribunes of the people, both *Petiliuſes*, to cite him before the tribes, to anſwer to a charge of miſdemeanour. One of the tribunes made it matter of accuſation againſt him, that he had ſpent a whole winter in effeminacy and pleaſures at *Syracuſe*, before he went into *Africa*. The other charged him with the pillage of *Locri*, and many violences, which had been committed in that city by *Pleminius*, whom he had appointed governor of the place; but the grand accuſation was, that he had received from *Antiochus* great ſums to procure him an advantageous peace. The number of the accuſers was ſo great, that the whole day was ſpent in their ſpeeches; ſo that the trial was poſtponed to twenty ſeven days after. In the mean time, the tribunes moved in the ſenate, that *Scipio* ſhould be obliged to give an account of the ſpoils he had brought from *Aſia*, and produce the book, in which he had ſet down the ſums he had received from *Antiochus*; and the ſenate complied with the motion. When the time came for determining the affair, it happened to be the ſame day of the year, on which he had obtained the famous victory over *Hannibal* at *Zama*. *Scipio* brought his book of accounts with him, and having only ſhewed it to the people, he tore it in pieces before them, ſaying, *On this day* Hannibal *was conquered, and* Carthage *ſubdued: why then do we trifle it away in hearing idle declamations? The gods expect us at the capitol: follow me*, Romans; *let us go thither, and jointly offer up our vows and thankſgivings*. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when the tribes began to move, and the whole aſſembly followed him; even the apparitores and other officers, whoſe buſineſs it was to attend the tribunes, deſerted them. This was a glorious triumph for the accuſed. However, he was cited to appear a third time; and then he gave way to the ſtorm, and retired to his country houſe near *Liternum*, in the neighbourhood of *Naples*. The tribunes proceeded in order to condemn him as by default, tho' *Lucius Scipio* appeared, and alledged, that his brother was ſick. This fury againſt ſo venerable a man raiſed the compaſſion even of his enemies. A tribune of the people, named *Tib. Gracchus*, tho' an avowed enemy to the *Cornelian* family, declared

Scipio Africanus is accuſed before the tribes.

But comes off with great glory

declared, to the great surprise of all, that he thought *Scipio Asiaticus* ought to be believed concerning the sickness of his brother; and then went on thus: *If* Scipio *were at* Rome, *I would oppose his appearing to take his tryal. What! shall the conqueror of* Carthage *appear at the foot of our tribunal, to be reviled there by an insolent populace? Did he conquer* Hannibal *and* Antiochus, *to fall a sacrifice to the two* Petilius? *Shall we pretend to triumph over a man, who has been honoured with so many triumphs of the noblest kind? Let him at least find a safe retreat for his old age, in the port to which he is retired for refuge.* This unexpected declaration, from an old enemy of the *Scipios*, had such an effect on the rest of the tribunes, that they dismissed the tribes, telling them, that they would consider more maturely of the matter. Whether *Scipio*'s sickness was feigned or real, we cannot determine; but it is certain that he died soon after, in the forty eighth year of his age. He is said to have been so dissatisfied with the cowardice of the senate, the iniquity of the people, and the ingratitude of both, that, at his death, he desired his wife *Æmilia*, the daughter of *Æmilius Paulus*, who died so gloriously at the battle of *Cannæ*, not to carry his bones to *Rome*. She erected a mausoleum for him at *Liternum*, and there placed his statue, with that of the poet *Ennius*, who was probably his faithful friend, and companion of his retreat. Such was the end of the greatest commander, and the most accomplished citizen, the republic had ever produced [f].

Scipio Africanus *dies at* Liternum.

BUT even the death of the great *Scipio* did not extinguish the hatred of the implacable *Cato* to the *Cornelian* family. He thought the vast authority of the *Scipios* might prove dangerous to the republic, and therefore was resolved to humble them. In republican states precaution is often carried to ingratitude and injustice. To have done great services is sometimes enough of itself to make a man suspected. The eyes of *Africanus* were scarce closed, when *Cato* turned his fury, or, as some call it, the bitterness of his zeal, against *Asiatus*. He drew up a petition to the people, which was presented by the two *Petiliuses*, *That the tribes would solicit the senate to order an inquiry concerning what money had been received from* Antiochus, *and from the cities in his dominions.* This petition was accepted, and a decree passed pursuant to it, with an additional clause, *That an inquiry should be likewise made after the money received from the allies of* Antiochus. *Furius*

Scipio Asiaticus *is arraigned before the people.*

[f] Vide LIV. l. xxxviii c. 50 APPIAN. in Syriac. AUL. GEL. l. iv. c. 18. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 5. PLUT. in Cat. & Gracch.

And Manlius.

Purpureo, one of the ten commiſſioners, who had been ſent into *Aſia* to ſettle the conditions of peace with *Antiochus*, got this clauſe added, in order to include *Manlius* in the proceſs, who was ſuppoſed to have drawn great ſums from the *Galatians*. The perſon whom the faction pitched upon was *Terentius Culeo*, at that time prætor, but a ſecret enemy to the *Cornelian* family, tho' he had been formerly delivered out of ſlavery in *Africa* by *Scipio Africanus*, as we have related above. Before this unjuſt and partial judge *Scipio Aſiaticus* was cited to appear, and with him *Aulus* and *Lucius Hoſtilius*, two of his lieutenants, and *C. Furius* his quæſtor. The prætor, having heard the charge, and received the depoſitions, declared *Scipio*, *Aulus Hoſtilius*, and *Furius*, convicted; the firſt of having received from *Antiochus*, to procure him a favourable peace, ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold, and four hundred and eighty pounds weight of ſilver; the ſecond of having received twenty pounds weight of gold in ingots, and four hundred and three pounds weight of ſilver in bars; and the third of having received a hundred and thirty pounds weight of gold, and two hundred of ſilver. The prætor condemned them to pay large fines. The two latter immediately gave ſecurity; but *Scipio*, ſtill inſiſting on his having accounted with the republic for all the money he had brought from *Aſia*, and refuſing to give bail, the officers were ordered to carry him to priſon; but then *Scipio Naſica* appealed from the prætor's ſentence to the people. While he was pleading his couſin's cauſe, the prætor *Culeo* ordered the houſe of the accuſed to be ſearched, and his goods to be confiſcated. But he did not find effects enough to pay the fine laid upon him; and it was much to his juſtification, that, among all his moveables, not one thing was to be found, which could be judged to have been brought from *Aſia*. *Naſica*, being informed of this, took thence an occaſion to juſtify his relation. At the ſame time, *Gracchus*, diſſenting from the other tribunes, ſpoke with great eloquence in his favour. The multitude applauded what *Gracchus* ſaid; truth ſeized their minds all at once, and changed their affections. However, the prætor would not repeal his decree; ſo that *Scipio*'s effects remained confiſcated, by which means he was reduced at once to a ſtate of beggary. His relations and clients endeavoured to perſuade him to accept of their preſents; and, had he done ſo, he would have been richer than he was when his effects were confiſcated: but it was in vain; he had courage enough not to fear poverty, and therefore would accept of nothing more than bare neceſſaries. *Rome* afterwards acknowledged his

Scipio *is fined.*

And his effects confiſcated.

his innocence and merit, ſent him embaſſador to terminate ſome differences between *Eumenes* and *Seleucus*, and, upon his return, took pleaſure to inrich him; inſomuch, that he was in a condition to celebrate games for his victory over *Antiochus* for ten days together at his own expence. All the ſhame of his diſgrace fell on the ungrateful *Culeo* and the tribunes. As for *Cato*, he only kindled the fire, and diſappeared when it burnt with moſt fury; and, the people being diſpoſed to think he meant well, he loſt no reputation; nay, he was ſoon after promoted to the greateſt honours. The *Scipios*, to expreſs their gratitude to *Gracchus*, beſtowed on him *Cornelia*, the younger daughter of the great *Africanus*, the elder being already married to *Scipio Naſica* [t].

BEFORE the conſular year expired, the proconſul *L. Fulvius Nobilior*, being returned from *Greece*, obtained a triumph, but not without great oppoſition, for having reduced *Ætolia*. His triumphal proceſſion was ſet off with a great number of crowns of gold, a vaſt quantity of gold in ingots, and ſilver in bars, immenſe ſums of *Attic* and *Macedonian* money, multitudes of marble and braſs ſtatues, &c. *Fulvius* made rich preſents to his officers, gave twenty five denarii, that is, ſixteen ſhillings and one penny, to every common ſoldier, fifty to every centurion, and ſeventy five to every horſeman. As for his games, they were celebrated with the greateſt magnificence and judgment. On this occaſion the combats of the *athletæ* were ſeen for the firſt time in the arena at *Rome*, and the people were likewiſe entertained with the hunting of lions and panthers. The conſulſhip of *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus* and *Q. Marcius Philippus* was ſpent in making preparations for carrying on the war againſt the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*, who began to move anew. In the beginning of the following conſulſhip of *Appius Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, three commiſſioners were ſent into *Greece*, to terminate ſome diſputes between the king of *Macedon* and the *Greek* republics. The commiſſioners choſe the vale of *Tempe* for the place where the contending parties ſhould meet; and *Philip* had the mortification to be cited before the tribunal of three *Roman* citizens. The ſeats in the court of judgment were ſo diſpoſed, that the commiſſioners ſat uppermoſt, the accuſers next, and the king the loweſt, as a criminal; for the *Greeks* pretended, that he had ſeized and detained many cities belonging to them. *Philip* anſwered the charge brought againſt him with an air of threatening; whereupon the com-

The combats of the athletæ introduced at Rome.

[t] LIV. l. xxxviii. c. 54—60. PLUT. in Scip. & Gracch. VAL. ANTIAS apud LIV. l. xxxix. c. 22.

miſſioners,

missioners, thinking it neceſſary to humble him, pronounced the following decree: *Our will and pleaſure is, that the* Macedonian *gariſons evacuate forthwith all the places in diſpute, and that the kingdom of* Macedon *be reduced to its antient limits.* *Philip* made no reply, but readily ſubmitted to the ſentence pronounced againſt him. Thus the citizens of *Rome* began to determine the fate of monarchs, and treat them as their vaſſals [n]. In *Spain*, the two new prætors, *Quinctius* and *Calpurnius*, fought two battles with the *Luſitanians*. In the firſt they were defeated, and loſt five thouſand men; but in the ſecond they gained a complete victory, killed and took thirty thouſand of the enemy, and quieted the country for ſome time. In *Italy*, both conſuls marched againſt the revolted *Ligurians*. *Sempronius* carried the war into the country of the *Apuans*, in the eaſt of *Liguria*, and *Claudius* into the territory of the *Ingauni*, more to the weſt. The former ravaged the enemy's fields, pillaged their villages, burnt down the woods, and opened a way into the heart of the country. The latter fought ſeveral ſucceſsful battles with the *Ingauni*, took ſix of their cities, made a great many priſoners, and put to death forty three of the ringleaders of the revolt. The campaign being ended, both conſuls returned to *Rome* to hold the comitia for the great elections, in which *P. Claudius Pulcher* and *L. Porcius Licinius* were choſen chief magiſtrates for the new year. When the cenſors came to be elected, *Cato* and *L. Valerius Flaccus* were, by a great majority, preferred to *Scipio Aſiaticus*, and other men, who had done the republic eminent ſervices. The cenſors immediately drew up a new liſt of the ſenators, and degraded ſeven of that illuſtrious body, among whom was *Quinctius*, the brother of *Flaminius*, for having killed with his own hand, when he commanded in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, a *Boian* nobleman, who fled to him for protection. This treacherous murder he had committed, only to gratify the curioſity of a young *Carthaginian*, for whom he had conceived an execrable paſſion, the infamous pathic expreſſing a deſire to ſee a man die a violent death. *Manlius*, or as others call him, *Manilius*, was degraded, and his name ſtruck out of the liſt of the ſenators, only for having ſaluted his wife in the preſence of his daughters. *Scipio Aſiaticus*, ſince his diſgrace, had been made a *Roman* knight; but the rigid cenſor, out of an inveterate hatred to the *Cornelian* family, took away, upon what pretence is not known, the horſe which the

The Roman *arms proſper in* Spain *and* Liguria.

The cenſorſhip of Cato.

[n] Liv. l. xxxix. c. 31.

public

public kept for him; ſo that the conqueror of *Antiochus* was now reduced to the condition of the moſt private perſons. After this, his ſeverity fell on multitudes of people; he laid a heavy tax on fine moveables, jewels, and all ſuperfluities both of men and women; and, by ſuch popular acts, made himſelf ſo acceptable to the people, that they erected a ſtatue to him in the temple of *Health*. After the expiration of his cenſorſhip, he ſpent the reſt of his days in a private life. He found exerciſe enough for his philoſophy in his own family, his wife, who was of a high birth, being very expenſive and ill-tempered. He took upon himſelf the education of his only ſon, whom he would not ſuffer to be taught the learning of the *Greeks*, ſaying, That the only ſtudy of a *Roman* ſhould be how to conquer, and how to govern conquered nations. He was a great ſoldier, an able ſtateſman, an eloquent orator, a learned hiſtorian, and well ſkilled in rural affairs: but theſe accompliſhments were counter-balanced by great defects; he was extravagantly ſevere, jealous of the merit of others, and ambitious to a high degree. As a private perſon, he lived frugally; but it was only to lay up money. He uſed to ſay to his ſon, That no man deſerved any eſteem till he had doubled his fortune. In public he was ever extolling continence; but in private was familiar with a beautiful ſlave. To revenge himſelf on his ſon and daughter-in-law for treating her contemptuouſly, he married a ſecond time in his old age; and when his ſon aſked him by what act of diſreſpect he had incurred his diſpleaſure, he replied, *I have no manner of complaint to make againſt you; your conduct is ſo prudent, that I am reſolved to have other children like you.* As his merit and virtues were known, and his vices concealed, he acquired the eſteem of the multitude; ſo that, though four and forty times accuſed before the people, he was always acquitted [w].

His character.

THE following conſulſhip of *Q. Fabius Labeo* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* was remarkable for the death of two famous men, *Philopœmen*, of whom we have ſpoke in the hiſtory of the *Achæans*, and *Hannibal*, who, perſecuted by the *Romans*, had taken refuge in the court of *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*; but that prince being obliged by the *Romans*, contrary to the laws of hoſpitality, to withdraw his protection from him, the illuſtrious *Carthaginian*, to avoid falling into the hands of his implacable enemies, either drank a poiſonous draught, or took a ſubtile poiſon, which he is ſaid to have al-

The death of Philopœmen *and* Hannibal.

[w] PLUT. in Cat. LIV. l. xxxix. c. 44.

ways

ways carried about with him in his ring [x]. Thus died, to the eternal reproach of the *Roman* name, in the ſeventieth, or, as others will have it, in the ſixty fifth year of his age, a hero, who, to his laſt breath, was the terror of *Rome*. He is ſaid to have upbraided the *Romans*, before he took the poiſonous potion, with degenerating from the virtue of their anceſtors, who had honourably prevented the murder of their mortal enemy *Pyrrhus*; whereas they forced a king to violate the moſt ſacred laws of hoſpitality, to get rid of an old man in a treacherous and cowardly manner.

The following year, when *L. Æmilius Paulus* and *Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus* were conſuls, proved barren of great events. But the conſulate of *P. Cornelius Cethegus* and *M. Bæbius Tamphilus* was remarkable for conſiderable victories, gained by the *Roman* armies in *Spain* and *Liguria*, and for the ſuppreſſing of a revolt in *Sardinia*. The ſame year a ſtop was put to immoderate expences in feaſts and entertainments. At the motion of one *Orcius*, a tribune of the people, it was enacted, that no man ſhould ſpend more than one hundred aſſes of braſs, that is, ſix ſhillings and five pence, at an entertainment; and the number of gueſts was likewiſe limited. In the ſucceeding conſulſhip of *A. Poſthumius Albinus* and *C. Calpurnius Piſo*, the proconſul *Paulus Æmilius* defeated the *Ligurians*, and reduced the whole country of the *Ingauni*. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, the prætor of *Hither Spain*, was attended with equal ſucceſs againſt the *Celtiberians*, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, killed twenty five thouſand of them on the ſpot, made four thouſand eight hundred priſoners of war, and took above five hundred horſes, and ninety eight ſtandards. The *Romans* loſt two hundred legionaries, ſeven hundred of the *Latin* troops, and two thouſand four hundred of the *Spaniſh* auxiliaries [y]. This ſame year *Gentius*, one of the kings of *Illyricum*, who had countenanced ſome piracies in the *Adriatic*, made his ſubmiſſions to the ſenate, and was pardoned. Before the conſular year was expired, the famous *plebiſcitum* was publiſhed, called the *Villian* law, from *Villius Tappulus*, tribune of the people, who got it paſſed in the comitia. It enacted, that no man ſhould be quæſtor before he was one and thirty years of age, curule ædile before thirty ſeven, prætor before forty, conſul before

The Orcian *law.*

The Ingauni *reduced.*

The Celtiberians *defeated.*

The Villian *law.*

[x] Liv. l. xxxix c. 51. Corn Nep in Hannibal. Plut in Flamin. [y] Liv. l. xl. c 33.

forty

forty three; and this law continued in force till the fall of the republic [a].

Two brothers chosen consuls.

WHEN the time came for the elections, two brothers, the first instance of this kind, were promoted to the consular dignity, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, who had lately triumphed for his victories in *Spain*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus*. The latter was called *Manlius*, because he had been adopted into the *Manlian* family. Both consuls marched against the *Ligurians*. *Manlius* performed no memorable exploits; but *Fulvius*, who was a great soldier, defeated the *Ligurians* in a pitched battle, killed three thousand two hundred of them, and forced the rest to leave their mountains, and settle in the flat country. In *Spain*, the prætors *Sempronius* and *Albinus* made themselves masters of *Munda* and *Certima*, two important places belonging to the *Celtiberians*, over whom they gained several considerable victories. *Sempronius* is said to have killed near forty thousand of the *Vaccæi* and *Lusitani*; and *Albinus* to have destroyed about the same number of *Celtiberians*. The former, on his return, brought into the public treasury forty thousand pounds weight of silver, and the latter twenty thousand. They were both honoured with a triumph [a]. In *Italy*, *M. Junius Brutus* and *A. Manlius Vulso* being chosen consuls, the latter, without any orders from the senate or people, marched against the *Illyrians* and *Istrians*, commanded by *Gentius* their king. The consul was shamefully surprised in his camp, and driven out of it; but he soon after recovered it again, and killed eight thousand of the enemy, while they were drunk with the wine they had found in it. The king, drunk as he was, was put on horseback, and conveyed away by his guards. Notwithstanding this victory, the war was not finished, before the succeeding consulship of *C. Claudius Pulcher* and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. *Claudius*, by taking three towns, *Nesattium*, *Mutila*, and *Faveria*, brought the whole *Istrian* nation under subjection to *Rome*. The consul *Sempronius* maintained in *Sardinia* and *Corsica* the glory he had acquired in *Celtiberia*. He either took or killed twenty thousand of the rebels, and was on that account honoured on his return with a triumph, which was set off with a prodigious number of *Sardinian* captives, who were all sold by auction; and hence came the proverb, *Sardinians to sell*, though others carry the origin of it higher, as we have observed elsewhere.

The Istrians subdued.

[a] Cic. Philip. II. [a] Liv. l. xli. c. 7.

The conſul *Claudius*, having ſubdued *Iſtria*, led his forces into *Liguria*, where he gained a complete victory over the rebels, having killed or taken fifteen thouſand of them. He then returned to *Rome* to preſide at the comitia, when *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hiſpalis* and *Q. Petilius Spurinus* were choſen conſuls; but the former dying ſoon after of an apoplectic fit, *C. Valerius Lævinus* was elected in his ſtead. *Petilius*, jealous of the glory which *Claudius* gained in *Liguria*, where he acted as proconſul, haſtened thither, and took upon him the command of the army; but having attempted to force the *Ligurian* intrenchments, he was run through with a javelin, and killed, while he was leading on his men, after a repulſe, to renew the attack. However the *Romans*, tho' deprived of their general, gained a conſiderable victory, and killed above five thouſand of the enemy, after they had made themſelves maſters of their camp [b]. The two following years were barren of military exploits. In the firſt *P. Mucius Scævola* and *M. Æmilius Lepidus* were conſuls; and in the ſecond *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus* and *Q. Mucius Scævola*. During the conſulſhip of the latter, the ſtreets of *Rome* were paved, which had never been done ſince the building of the city. *L. Poſthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lænas* being choſen conſuls for the new year, the latter marched againſt the *Stelliates*, a people in *Liguria*, bordering on the river *Tanarus*, and in a ſharp conflict, which laſted three hours, killed ten thouſand of them, and took ſeven thouſand priſoners, and eighty two ſtandards. The *Romans* loſt three thouſand men, and the number of their wounded was exceeding great. After this defeat, the *Stelliates*, finding the forces of their nation reduced to ten thouſand men, ſubmitted to the conſul, without ſettling any terms. Hereupon *Popilius* took away their arms, diſmantled their cities, reduced them all to ſlavery, and ſold them and their goods to the beſt bidder; but this ſevere proceeding was reſented by the ſenate, and a decree paſſed, commanding *Popilius* to reſtore the money he had received for the ſale of the *Stelliates*, to ſet them at liberty, return to them their effects, and even to purchaſe new arms for them. The ſenate concluded their decree with words, which poſterity ought never to forget: *Victory is glorious, when it is confined to the ſubduing of an untractable enemy; but it becomes ſhameful, when it is made uſe of to oppreſs the unfortunate* c.

The Stelliates ſubdued.

The equity of the Roman ſenate.

[b] Idem ibid. c. 16.

[c] Liv. l. xlii. c. 8.

The

THE following year, the *Romans* chose for the first time two plebeians to the consulate, *P. Acilius Ligus*, and *C. Popilius Lænas*. From this time to the dictatorship of *Julius Cæsar*, nothing was more common than to see two plebeian consuls together. During the present consulate, *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* came to *Rome*, out of pure zeal to acquaint the senate, that *Perses*, who had succeeded his father *Philip* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, was soliciting alliances in *Greece* and *Asia*, and making great preparations for war. Tho' the senate kept the intelligence they had received from *Eumenes* an inviolable secret, yet *Perses*, not doubting but he had acquainted the conscript fathers with his designs, resolved to be revenged on him; and accordingly employed ruffians to murder him as he was going to *Delphos*, to pay his homage to the god worshipped there. The king, tho' dangerously wounded, was afterwards cured; but the senate was so exasperated at this wicked attempt upon the life of their friend and ally, that they commanded *Solon* and *Hippias*, two deputies sent by *Perses* to clear him of the crimes laid to his charge, to leave *Rome* immediately. They were scarce gone, when war was formally declared with the king of *Macedon*, for having usurped from the allies of *Rome* several cities, and refused to restore them to their lawful owners. The prætor *Sicinius* was ordered to sail from *Brundusium*, with ten thousand men for *Apollonia*, and begin hostilities. In the mean time, the consular year being near expired, *P. Licinius Crassus* and *C. Cassius Longinus* were raised to the supreme magistracy. *Macedon* falling by lot to the former, two legions were appointed him, of six thousand foot and three hundred horse each, to which were added sixteen thousand auxiliary foot and six hundred horse. Leave was likewise given him to chuse as many as he pleased of the veterans, who were not yet fifty years old. When the necessary preparations were made for imbarquing, new embassadors came from *Perses*, representing, that it was needless to send an army into *Macedon*, since the king their master was ready to give the republic all the satisfaction she could require; but the senate ordered them back with the following answer, That a consul would soon be sent into *Macedon*, and that *Perses* might treat with him, if he was sincerely disposed to give the *Romans* satisfaction [d].

Two plebeians chosen consuls.

The Romans *declare war with* Perses *king of* Macedon.

SOON after, the consul *Licinius* imbarqued with his troops at *Brundusium*, landed at *Apollonia*, and marched to the Ro-

[d] Idem ibid c. 10 — 36.

man camp at *Nymphæum*; which poſt the prætor *Sicinius* had ſeized ſome months before. Hereupon *Perſes* aſſembled his army at *Citium*, conſiſting of forty thouſand *Macedonians*, and ſome thouſands of *Gauls*, *Thracians*, *Cretans*, *Bœotians*, and *Ætolians*. With theſe forces, which formed the moſt conſiderable army that had been ſeen in *Macedon* ſince the time of *Alexander the Great*, *Perſes* marched againſt the conſul *Licinius*, who, having left *Nymphæum*, was advanced into *Theſſaly*, and had incamped on the banks of the *Peneus*. As the king was much ſuperior to the conſul in cavalry, he drew near his camp, and inſulted him ſo far, that he was obliged to ſend out his light-armed troops to oppoſe thoſe of the enemy; and then a ſmart action enſued, in which the *Macedonians* had all the advantage. The *Romans*, full of ſhame and confuſion, left their camp in the dead of the night, croſſed the river *Peneus*, and intrenched themſelves on the other ſide of it. The next morning the king paſſed the river after them; but they removed to a ſtronger and more inacceſſible place, where they received a reinforcement of a thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and twenty two elephants, under the command of *Miſagenes*, the natural ſon of *Maſiniſſa*. The king, not being able to force the *Roman* intrenchments, and hearing that troops were marching from all parts to join the conſul, ſent, by the advice of his wiſeſt counſellors, a new embaſſy to him, offering to maintain inviolably the treaty which had been made with his father, and to reſtore to the allies of *Rome* all the places which *Philip* had yielded to them; but *Licinius* returned the following anſwer to the deputies, *There is no peace for* Perſes, *till he ſurrenders up himſelf and his dominions to the* Romans *at diſcretion*. Hereupon *Perſes*, laying aſide all thoughts of peace, prepared to renew hoſtilities. He attempted to bring the enemy to a general engagement; but the conſul declining it, he ſet out in perſon, with two thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, to fall upon ſome parties of the *Romans*, who were buſy in reaping. *Licinius*, having timely notice of his deſign, haſtened with the greater part of his army to the aſſiſtance of his foragers, met the king, and cut in pieces the beſt part of his life-guard, who were thought invincible. This defeat ſo diſheartened the king, that he retired into *Macedon* to ſpend the winter there. As for the conſul *Licinius*, after ſome inconſiderable expeditions in *Theſſaly*, he took up his winter-quarters in *Bœotia*. His collegue *Caſſius*, tho' confined by his lot to *Italy*, had attempted to make his way into *Macedon* through *Illyricum*; but was recalled by the

Perſes gains ſome advantages over the Romans.

The Romans gain ſome advantages over Perſes.

the ſenate, and ſeverely reprimanded for engaging in ſuch an enterprize without orders [c].

THE following year, *A. Hoſtilius Mancinus* and *A. Attilius Seranus* being choſen conſuls, *Macedon* fell by lot to the former, who immediately ſet out for his province, and, arriving in *Theſſaly*, took upon him the command of the army; but was attended with no ſucceſs in two attempts which he made to enter *Macedon*. He firſt tried to force the paſs of *Elymea*; but his troops were put to flight by *Perſes*. After this, he endeavoured to make his way into *Macedon* through *Theſſaly*; but the king oppoſed him there likewiſe, and offered him battle; which the conſul, either out of cowardice or an exceſs of precaution, declined; ſo that this campaign was chiefly ſpent in vain projects. *Hoſtilius* was recalled, under pretence of aſſiſting at the elections, when *Q. Marcius Philippus* and *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* were choſen conſuls. Theſe, when the levies came to be made, found the *Roman* youth, through ſome unaccountable humour, very obſtinate in refuſing to inliſt themſelves. Hereupon two laws were enacted by the people for regulating the inrolments. The firſt required all thoſe, who were under forty ſix, to appear, in order to be incorporated in the legions; the ſecond ordered all thoſe who were come from *Macedon*, within three years laſt paſt, to return to their duty. The publication of theſe laws had ſo good an effect, that, in the ſpace of eleven days, a ſufficient number of ſoldiers were raiſed to recruit the armies in *Spain* and *Macedon*, and to form four legions, which were to be ready to march any-where upon the firſt orders. The levies being made, the conſul *Marcius*, to whoſe lot *Macedon* fell, haſtened into *Theſſaly*, reſolving, in ſpite of all difficulties, to force a paſſage into *Macedon*. *Perſes*, which is very ſurpriſing, never once appeared to oppoſe his march, tho' the roads were ſo bad, the paſſes ſo narrow, and the mountains ſo ſteep and craggy, that, by *Marcius*'s own confeſſion, the *Macedonian* might have deſtroyed the whole conſular army with a handful of men. The conſul, having entered *Macedon*, marched firſt to *Dium*, and afterwards to *Heraclea*, made himſelf maſter of both theſe places, and then returned towards the frontiers of *Theſſaly*, his army being greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. As he had no account of the king's army, he turned his thoughts wholly to the making of roads from *Theſſaly* to *Macedon*, in order to facilitate the conveyance of proviſions from one country to the other. He erected maga-

The conſul Hoſtilius attempts in vain to enter Macedon.

[c] Liv. ibid. c. 42-58. Plut. in Æmil.

zines

zines all along the road, fortified them, and built houſes for the convenient lodging of thoſe who guarded the convoys. By this means he opened for his ſucceſſors an eaſy entrance into a kingdom, which had hitherto been deemed inacceſſible. In the mean time, *Perſes* continued inactive in his camp on the banks of the *Enipeus*, where he ſpent the greater part of the ſummer, without ſo much as offering to diſturb the conſul in the proſecution of a work, which ſecured to the *Romans* the conqueſt of *Macedon*. And now, both armies being retired into their winter-quarters, *Perſes*, thinking it ſafeſt for him to ſue for a peace, engaged *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia* and the *Rhodians* to be his mediators. The former employed intreaties, and the latter menaces; but neither the one nor the other prevailed. As for the *Rhodians*, the ſenate threatened to chaſtiſe them for their inſolence, as ſoon as the conqueſt of *Macedon* ſhould be finiſhed [t].

The conſul Marcius Philippus *opens a way into* Macedon.

At *Rome*, the people were very uneaſy at the ſlow progreſs of their generals in the conqueſt of *Macedon*, and therefore applied themſelves wholly to find out a man, who ſhould be capable of recovering the glory of the republic, and putting a ſpeedy end to this war. The perſon they caſt their eyes upon was *Paulus Æmilius*, a patrician of conſummate virtue, bravery, and prudence, who had been conſul thirteen years before. He was the ſon of the conſul *Æmilius*, who periſhed in the battle of *Cannæ*, and the father of the famous *Scipio Æmilianus*, who was afterwards known by the name of the *Second Africanus*. This latter was named *Scipio*, from his adoption into the *Cornelian* family by the ſon of the great *Scipio*. The perſon raiſed to the conſulate with *Æmilius* was *Licinius Craſſus*, a man of great probity, who thought himſelf obliged to yield the conduct of the war in *Macedon* to his collegue, without drawing lots. Early in the ſpring, *Æmilius* ſet out for *Macedon*, and the prætor *Anicius* for *Illyricum*; *Gentius*, the king of that country, having openly declared for *Perſes*. The prætor reduced all *Illyricum* in thirty days. Having firſt defeated the *Illyrian* fleet, he marched his land-forces to *Scodra*, the metropolis of the kingdom, whither *Gentius* had retired with an army of fourteen thouſand men. Though the place was ſtrong, and defended by ſuch a numerous garriſon, yet the king was ſo terrified at the approach of the *Roman* army, that he ſubmitted to the prætor at diſcretion, who committed him to the care of a legionary tribune. Some days after, the king, the two queens, his mother and

The Romans *conquer* Illyricum.

[t] Liv. l. xliv. c. 18---46. Plut. in Æmil. Polyb. in legat. 87.

his

his wife, with three princes of the royal family, were sent captives to *Rome*, to grace in due time the prætor's triumph [g]. As for the consul *Æmilius*, as soon as he arrived in *Thessaly*, where his army was incamped on the banks of the *Enipeus*, he detached five thousand men, under the conduct of his eldest son *Fabius Æmilianus* and of his son-in-law *Scipio Nasica*, to surprise *Pythium* on the top of mount *Olympus*. The king, who was incamped on the opposite side of the *Enipeus*, having notice of this motion sent out a more numerous detachment to intercept that of the consul; but the *Macedonians* were defeated and cut in pieces. This disaster, and the news the king received at the same time of the misfortunes of *Gentius*, so disheartened him, that he abandoned his camp, and retired in great haste into *Macedon*, under the walls of *Pydna*. Thither *Æmilius* followed him; but restrained the impetuosity of his men, who were eager to fight the very moment they arrived. He first formed a camp, and, having finished his lines, made his troops retire within them to repose themselves that night. As the enemy's forces were drawn up in battalia, *Scipio Nasica* took the liberty to tell the consul, That his declining an engagement would bring the reproach of cowardice upon him and the whole army; but the general made only this short reply, *At your age I talked as you do; and you at mine will act as I do.* The next day, a mere accident brought on a general engagement. A horse, having got loose from a *Roman* who was leading him, ran pretty far into a river between the two camps. Two *Thracians* of the enemy's guard, posted on the other side, went into the water to seize the horse, and three *Romans* at the same time hastened to recover him. One of the *Thracians* being killed, his countrymen on guard, to the number of eight hundred, advanced to revenge his death. This put the *Romans* in motion, and by degrees brought on a general engagement. The king's army consisted of forty five thousand men, the finest troops that had been seen in *Macedon* since the time of *Alexander the Great*. However, the *Romans*, by the excellent conduct of their general, obtained a complete victory, though they were considerably inferior in number. The *Macedonians* lost near twenty five thousand men in the battle, five thousand were taken prisoners in the plain, and six thousand more in *Pydna*. The *Romans* are said not to have lost above a hundred men. As for *Perses*, he fled first to *Pella*, from thence with his family and his treasures to

Perses entirely defeated in the battle of Pydna.

[g] Liv. ibid. c. 30—37. APPIAN in Illyric.

Amphipolis,

Amphipolis, and laſtly, being abandoned by all his troops, to the iſland of *Samothrace*, which was dedicated to the mother of the gods, and on that account reſpected by all nations. The fugitive prince took up his habitation in a temple dedicated to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and there waited for ſome favourable turn of fortune. In the mean time, the conſul, having ſent orders to *Octavius* the *Roman* admiral to inveſt the iſland of *Samothrace* with his fleet, marched into the heart of *Macedon*, and made himſelf maſter of *Pella*, *Theſſalonica*, and many other important places. When he arrived at *Siræ*, a town in the moſt eaſtern part of the kingdom, he was met there by embaſſadors from *Perſes*, who preſented him a letter from their maſter; but *Æmilius* no ſooner read the direction of the letter, where *Perſes* ſtyled himſelf king, than he turned his back upon the embaſſadors, and diſmiſſed them without an anſwer. Hereupon the unhappy prince changed his ſtyle, and wrote as a private perſon, Perſes *to the conſul* Paulus Æmilius. This letter was well received, and the conſul, in compliance with the king's requeſt, ſent three officers to confer with him. Theſe demanded by way of preliminary, that *Perſes* ſhould abdicate the title of king, and leave his fate to be determined by the ſenate and people of *Rome*. This *Perſes* would not by any means comply with, inſiſting, that a lawful ſovereign could not lay down his ſovereignty, but with his life. In the mean time, *Octavius*, having landed his men in *Samothrace*, and inveſted the iſland with his fleet, preſſed *Perſes*, in an amicable manner, to throw himſelf on the clemency of the *Romans*. But the king being inflexible on that head, *Octavius* tried all means poſſible to perſuade the inhabitants to drive him out of their iſland. The king, apprehending they might be prevailed upon to drive him away or deliver him up, privately contracted with a *Cretan* merchant, whoſe ſhip lay at anchor under *Demetrium*, a promontory of *Samothrace*, to convey him and his effects into *Thrace*, to *Cotys*, his old friend and ally. He ſent part of his treaſures before him, and in the dead of the night ſet out himſelf accompanied only by his eldeſt ſon *Philip*, and three men, in whom he could confide. His other children, his pages, who were the ſons of the chief lords of the kingdom, and all his retinue, he left behind him to the mercy of the *Romans*. But when he came to the ſhore, to his great ſurpriſe, he found no ſhip there. The perfidious *Cretan* had ſet ſail in the dead of the night, and carried off the treaſure he had on board. Hereupon the king, having rambled about the ſhore for ſome time in great perplexity what

what to do, returned at laſt into the temple, and concealed himſelf in a corner of it. In the mean time, *Octavius*, having cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet, *That all* Macedonians *in* Perſes's *retinue, who ſhould ſurrender themſelves voluntarily to the* Romans, *ſhould have life and liberty*, not one remained with *Perſes*, except his eldeſt ſon: The unhappy prince, ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned by his domeſtics, and even his children, ſurrendered himſelf at length to *Octavius*, and conſented to be carried, with his eldeſt ſon and the remains of his treaſure, to *Amphipolis*, whither the conſul came to meet him, and receive his ſubmiſſions. *Æmilius* received him with great honour and reſpect; entertained him the firſt day at his own table, and then committed him and his children to the care of an officer, till the time he had fixed for tranſporting them to *Italy* [b]. Thus ended the ſecond *Macedonian* war, and with it the *Macedonian* monarchy, after it had continued in ſplendor about an hundred and ninety three years, reckoning only from *Philip*, the father of *Alexander the Great*.

Perſes *ſurrenders himſelf to the* Romans.

AND now, the conſular year being near expired, the comitia were held for the new elections, when *Q. Ælius Pætus* and *M. Junius Pennus* were raiſed to the conſulate. *Liguria* fell by lot to the latter; and *Ciſalpine Gaul* to the former. *Æmilius* was continued in the command of the army in *Macedon* as proconſul, and *Anicius* and *Octavius* in their reſpective provinces in quality of proprætors. During this conſulate, princes and embaſſadors came to *Rome* from all parts of the *Levant*, ſome to be rewarded, others to return thanks, ſome with compliments and preſents, and others to make apologies for their conduct. *Pruſias*, king of *Bithynia*, came to *Rome* in perſon, and carried his flattery to a monſtrous exceſs of meanneſs. The *Rhodians*, who had ſtood neuter, and ſhewed a great inclination to aſſiſt *Perſes*, were deprived of all dominion over *Lycia* and *Caria*, formerly granted them. But the chief buſineſs of the ſenate was, to ſettle the government of the two conquered countries, *Illyricum* and *Macedon*. Inſtead of reducing them to *Roman* provinces, it was determined to change them into republics. Accordingly, ten commiſſioners were appointed to aſſiſt *Paulus Æmilius* in ſettling *Macedon*, and five to aſſiſt *Anicius* in *Illyricum*. When the affairs of *Macedon* and *Illyricum* were ſettled, and the proconſul was preparing to con-

The kingdoms of Illyricum *and* Macedon *changed into republics.*

[b] LIV. l. xliv. c. 32--46, & l. xlv c. 6--8. PLUT in Æmil POLYB. legat 71.

duct his army back to *Rome*, he received poſitive orders from the ſenate to go into *Epirus*, and to plunder and demoliſh the cities of that country, for having aſſiſted *Perſes*, after they had by repeated oaths promiſed to be faithful to the *Romans*. *Æmilius* executed his inſtructions with great prudence and ſeverity, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Epirus*, and then ſet out for *Italy*. *Anicius* and *Octavius* arrived at *Rome* much about the ſame time, and they were all three honoured with triumphs. That of *Æmilius* was the fineſt *Rome* had ever ſeen. The city was ſo much in riched by the valuable ſpoils brought from *Macedon*, that ſhe had no occaſion to lay any tax on the people from this time to that of *Auguſtus*. *Perſes* ſent from the common gaol, where he was kept, to intreat the victor to ſpare him the confuſion of appearing in his triumphal proceſſion. *Æmilius* gave the meſſenger the following anſwer; *Tell* Perſes, *that it long has been, and ſtill is, in his power to free himſelf from our chains.* This was telling him, that death alone could deliver him from the diſgrace he feared. But the cowardly king, preferrin g the moſt ſhameful of all indignities to what was then deemed an honourable death, was led in triumph with his ſons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, his little daughter, and the chief nobility of *Macedon*. The triumph of *Æmilius* was followed the next day by that of the proprætor *Octavius*, admiral of the *Roman* fleet. The triumphal proceſſion of *Anicius*, the conqueror of *Illyricum*, was poſtponed for three months. King *Gentius* with his wife, children, his brother *Caraventius*, and ſeveral lords of his court, were led before the triumphant victor's chariot. *Gentius* was ſent with his family to *Iguvium*, a city of *Umbria*; but *Perſes* was ſhut up in a cloſe priſon in *Alba* a city of the *Marſi*, where he died miſerably, as we
Perſes *dies* have related in the hiſtory of *Macedon* [i]. *Philip* his eldeſt ſon is ſaid to have died before him; but his ſecond ſon, being put out to a turner, gained his livelihood, firſt by that profeſſion, and afterwards by doing the buſineſs of a ſcribe. And thus ended the race of the kings of *Macedon* [k].

THE following year, when *C. Sulpicius Gallus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were conſuls, proved barren of memorable events. In the ſucceeding conſulſhip of *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Cn. Octavius Nepos*, *Terence*, the famous dramatic poet, was in his higheſt reputation. The faſces were afterwards transferred to *A. Manlius Torquatus* and *Q. Caſſius Longinus*; during whoſe adminiſtration a cenſus was

[i] Vide Vol. VIII p. 413. [k] Liv. l. xlv. c. 40, & ſeq. Plut. in Paulo. *Æmil*

made,

made, by which there appeared to be in *Rome* 337552 citizens fit to bear arms. *Paulus Æmilius*, who was at this time one of the cenſors, ſoon after the expiration of his cenſorſhip, fell ſick of a lingering diſeaſe, which in the end carried him off. Notwithſtanding the prodigious ſums with which he had filled the treaſury of the republic, he continued poor himſelf, and after his triumph led a private life. In the height of his glory, his two ſons by a ſecond marriage died, the elder five days before his triumph, and the younger three days after it. Juſt before his retreat he harangued the people, and taking notice of this ſevere ſtroke of fortune on himſelf, expreſſed an acquieſcence to it, provided it might ſatisfy the gods, and avert any evils from the republic, which in ſo much proſperity ſhe might have reaſon to expect [1].

Paulus Æmilius *dies.*

Tib. Sempronius Gracchus and *M. Juventius Thalna* being raiſed to the conſulate, the latter was obliged to ſail with an army into *Corſica* to quell a rebellion there; while the other marched againſt the *Ligurians*, who had taken arms anew. But theſe wars were in reality no more than an amuſement. During this conſulate, *Antiochus Epiphanes* died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Antiochus Eupator*, who was but nine years old. *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Seleucus*, the late king's elder brother, had an indiſputable right to the crown of *Syria*. But the *Romans*, thinking it more for the intereſt of their republic to have a child upon the throne, excluded *Demetrius*, who had been twelve years a hoſtage at *Rome*, and, without the conſent or privity of the *Syrians*, declared young *Antiochus* the ward of the republic, and appointed *Cn. Octavius* and two other *Roman* ſenators to govern, as his guardians, the kingdom of *Syria*, in the name and under the direction of the republic. Nor were the *Romans* ſatisfied with doing this injuſtice to *Demetrius*; they gave inſtructions to *Octavius* and his collegues to burn all the ſhips with decks belonging to their ward, diſable his elephants, and, in a word, to weaken, as much as poſſible, the forces of his kingdom. In the following conſulſhip of *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, *Octavius* ſet out for *Syria*, and arriving at *Laodicea*, a maritime city between *Tripolis* and *Antioch*, began to put the ſevere orders of his republic in execution, under pretence, that, in virtue of the treaty with *Antiochus the Great*, the *Syrians* were to build no more ſhips of war, nor tame more elephants. The *Syrians* were highly exaſperated at this preſumption, eſpecially *Lyſias*, the young king's guardian, who, being encouraged by the rage of the

The Romans *declare young* Antiochus, *king of* Syria, *their ward*

[1] Plut. ibid. Liv. ibid.

Cn. Octavius *one of his guardians aſſaſſinated.*

people againſt *Octavius*, hired an *African* to aſſaſſinate him. When the news of his murder reached *Rome*, *Demetrius*, who was ſtill there, applied once more to the ſenate for leave to go and take poſſeſſion of the kingdom, which of right belonged to him. But being a ſecond time refuſed, by the advice of his friend *Polybius* the hiſtorian, he made his eſcape from *Italy*, got ſafe into *Syria*, and was there received and proclaimed king. The year following, when *M. Valerius Meſſala* and *C. Fannius Strabo* were conſuls, the new king of *Syria*, to ingratiate himſelf with the *Romans*, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, with a rich preſent of a crown of gold, and at the ſame time delivered up the *African*, who had murdered *Octavius*. The ſenate accepted the preſent, but ſent back the aſſaſſin, telling the deputies, that ſuch a victim was not an adequate ſatisfaction to the republic for the affront ſhe had received [m].

The Romans *enter into an alliance with the* Jews.

THE conſuls for the new year, *L. Anicius Gallus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, went rather to encamp, than make war, one in *Liguria*, the other in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. During their adminiſtration, the *Romans* entered into a treaty of confederacy with the *Jews*; and, at the requeſt of *Judas Maccabæus*, who implored their protection againſt *Demetrius*, wrote the following imperious letter to the *Syrian*: *Why have you inſulted and oppreſſed the* Jewiſh *nation? Know that the* Jews *are our allies. If you give them the trouble to ſend another embaſſy to complain of you, we will treat you as an enemy, and purſue you by ſea and land* [n]. Of the two conſuls for this year *Cethegus* only gained himſelf ſome reputation by drying up the *Pomptine* marſhes, which infected the air of the whole neighbourhood, and reducing them to a fruitful plain, which, however, was afterwards drowned again by freſh overflowings of the rivers. The following conſuls, *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, ſignalized themſelves yet leſs in their adminiſtration. In the conſulate of their ſucceſſors, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Popilius Lænas*, *Demetrius* drove *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia* from the throne, for refuſing to marry his ſiſter, and placed upon it *Orofernes*, a ſuppoſititious ſon of the late *Cappadocian* king. *Ariarathes* fled to *Rome* for refuge, and pleaded his cauſe before the ſenate. But the *Romans*, purſuant to their common maxims of policy, ordered the kingdom to be divided between the two competitors [o]. The next year, when *Sextius Julius Cæſar*, and *L.*

[m] Polyb. legat. 114—120. Appian in Syriac. Justin. l. xxxiv. [n] 1 Maccab. viii. [o] Polyb in legat. 120. Diodor. Sicul eclog. l. xxxi.

Aurelius

Aurelius Oreſtes were conſuls, the *Dalmatians*, who bordered upon *Illyricum*, made incurſions, and committed great robberies there, though it was a country tributary to the republic. Nay, they would ſcarce vouchſafe an audience to *Fannius* the *Roman* embaſſador, who came to complain of theſe proceedings, and demand ſatisfaction. The ſenate therefore, upon the report which *Fannius* made of the haughty treatment he had met with, reſolved to begin a war with *Dalmatia*. Another embaſſy, ſent this year into *Africa*, at the head of which was *Cato* the cenſor, paved the way for the third *Punic* war. *Maſiniſſa* had invaded *Tyſca*, a rich province belonging to the *Carthaginians*, and the diſpute being referred to the arbitration of the ſenate, ten commiſſioners were ordered to go into *Africa*, and determine it upon the ſpot. But when *Cato* and his collegues arrived there, the *Carthaginians* refuſed to accept them for judges, ſaying, that *Scipio* had ſettled their limits by a treaty of peace, and that, to alter his appointments, would be to reflect on the memory of the greateſt of men. This declaration provoked the pride of *Cato* to the higheſt degree. However, he diſſembled his reſentment, and, leaving *Tyſca* a prey to *Maſiniſſa*'s troops, went to *Carthage*, and there examined every thing with a malicious eye. When he returned to *Rome*, he reported, that *Carthage* was grown immenſely rich, that her magazines were crouded with ſtores, her ports full of ſhips, and that the war ſhe was making with *Maſiniſſa* was only an introduction to a more important one with *Rome*. He concluded with a warm exhortation to the ſenate to loſe no time, but immediately to ſend troops with orders utterly to deſtroy a city, which would ever be an obſtacle to the progreſs of the *Roman* arms. From this time he was always inciting them to deſtroy *Carthage*. Whenever he gave his opinion in the ſenate, be the ſubject what it would, he never failed to conclude with theſe words; *I am alſo of opinion, that* Carthage *ſhould be deſtroyed*. But *Scipio Naſica*, who, after the death of *Paulus Æmilius*, had the chief ſway in the ſenate, conſtantly oppoſed the too rigid cenſor in this particular. The two ſucceeding conſuls, *C. Marcius Figulus* and *L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus*, prevailed upon the ſenate to declare war with the *Dalmatians*, the conduct of which was committed to the former, who, croſſing the *Adriatic*, landed in *Illyricum*, and marched thence againſt the enemy. The *Dalmatians*, who were a ſavage, but brave, people, ſurpriſed and defeated the conſul. But *Scipio Naſica*, who was raiſed to the conſulate the next year with *C. Claudius Marcellus*, being appointed to continue the

The firſt occaſion of the third Punic *war*

Dalmatia *conquered by the* Romans.

the war, laid ſiege to *Delminium*, the metropolis of *Dalmatia*, made himſelf maſter of it, and in one campaign brought the whole country under ſubjection. His collegue *Marcellus* gained likewiſe ſome advantages over the *Ligurians* [p]. The republic having choſen *Q. Opimius Nepos* and *L. Poſthumius Albinus* conſuls, ſhe ordered the latter into *Spain*, and the former into *Tranſalpine Gaul*. The avarice and extortions of the *Roman* prætors in *Spain* had cauſed almoſt a general revolt there. The legion commanded by the prætor *Calpurnius Piſo* had been defeated by the *Luſitanians*, and he himſelf with his quæſtor *Terentius Varro* had been killed in the battle. *Poſthumius* was therefore ordered thither. But his wife having given him, before he left *Rome*, a ſlow poiſon, he was taken ſo ill at ſea, that he could not bear the motion of the ſhip; ſo that he was brought back to *Rome*, where he died in ſeven days after his return. *Acilius Glabrio*, who was choſen conſul in his room, was not ſent into *Spain*, the ſenate not judging him qualified to undertake the re-eſtabliſhment of their affairs in that country. As for the conſul *Opimius*, he penetrated into *Tranſalpine Gaul* to aſſiſt the inhabitants of *Marſeilles*, the old friends of *Rome*, againſt the *Ligurians*, who had taken from them two cities, *Nicæa* and *Antipolis*, defeated not only the *Ligurians*, but alſo the *Deceatæ*, who came to their aſſiſtance, and reduced their whole country, which comprehended the preſent territories of *Antibes* and *Graſſe*. Such was the firſt conqueſt the *Romans* made beyond the *Alps* [q].

The Romans *penetrate into* Tranſalpine Gaul.

It had been long cuſtomary for the conſuls not to enter upon their office till the ides, or fifteenth, of *March*; but this year, the neceſſity of ſending a conſul into *Spain*, made the *Romans* aſſemble the comitia for the elections before the uſual time. *Q. Fulvius Nobilior* and *T. Annius Luſcus* were promoted to the conſulate, and entered upon their office the firſt day of *January*, their predeceſſors abdicating to make way for them. From this time to the end of the republic, the firſt of *January* was always the day for the conſuls to take poſſeſſion of the faſces. The elections being over, *Fulvius* was ſent with a conſiderable army into *Spain*, above half that vaſt continent being in a flame. The conſul landed at *Tarracon*, and from thence marched againſt the *Segedani* and *Aravaca*, who had united their forces to the number of twenty five thouſand men, under the command of a brave general, named *Carus*. He, having laid an ambuſh for the conſul in a wood,

[p] Appian. in Illyric. 761. Liv. in epit. [q] Polyb. legat. 131, 133. Liv. in epit.

ſurpriſed

ſurpriſed him, and killed ſix thouſand of his legionaries; but purſuing the fugitives with too much ardour into the plain, he was there attacked by the *Roman* horſe, and killed with ſix thouſand of his men. The battle was fought on the feaſt of *Vulcan*, a day which the republic ordered to be ever after deemed unlucky, like thoſe on which ſhe had loſt the battles of *Allia*, *Cannæ*, &c. This regulation was chiefly owing to an exceſſive reſentment of the ſenate and people againſt *Fulvius*. The *Spaniards*, having aſſembled their forces near *Numantia*, and choſen two new leaders, came to a ſecond engagement with the *Romans*; but were defeated by means of ſome elephants ſent by *Maſiniſſa*; the *Spaniards* of that country, who had never ſeen any of thoſe huge beaſts, being terrified at the ſight of them. After this victory, the conſul attempted to ſcale the walls of *Numantia*, whither the enemy had retired; but one of his elephants being wounded, the hideous noiſe it made ſo frightened the others, that they turned upon the *Roman* legions, and put them into diſorder. The beſieged took advantage of the accident, ſallied out, totally defeated the conſul's troops, and killed four thouſand of them. *Fulvius*, after this ill ſucceſs, and ſome other diſaſters that followed it, not daring to ſeparate his troops, even during the winter, incamped in the field, and, the ſeaſon proving very ſevere, great numbers of his men periſhed with cold, want, and fatigue. The campaign, which the *Roman* prætor *Mummius* made in *Luſitania*, was not much more ſucceſsful. Immediately after his arrival he offered the rebels battle, which they did not decline, being commanded by one *Cæſaras*, a *Luſitanian* of great courage and experience in war. The *Luſitanians*, after a vigorous reſiſtance, were put to flight; but the *Romans* purſuing them in diſorder, they rallied again, returned to the charge, killed nine thouſand of the prætor's men, took his camp, and plundered it. The *Roman* army, now reduced to five thouſand men, waited in an advantageous poſt for an opportunity of retrieving their reputation. And indeed they gained ſoon after ſome ſmall advantage over the enemy, cut a detachment of *Luſitanians* in pieces, and recovered the *Roman* ſtandards. A poor comfort after ſo great a misfortune! But it raiſed the courage of the *Romans*, and kept them from deſpairing [r].

The Roman arms unſucceſsful in Spain.

THE conſuls for the new year, *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, no ſooner entered upon their office, than the former ſet out for *Spain*, with eight thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. On his arrival he was attacked by the

[r] APPIAN. in Iberic. c. 230. STRAB. l. iii.

enemy,

enemy; but *Marcellus*, who was an officer of great experience, put them to flight, made a great slaughter of the fugitives, and committed dreadful ravages in their country. Hereupon the rebels sent one of their chief officers to sue for peace, which *Marcellus* readily granted them upon very reasonable terms. The consul was desirous of settling a general peace in *Spain* before his consulship expired, that he might on that account be honoured with a triumph on his return to *Rome*. But the senate seeing through his design, and being likewise advised by some deputies from two provinces in friendship with the *Romans*, not to grant the peace desired, they not only refused to ratify the articles agreed upon between the consul and the rebels, but resolved to pursue the war with more vigour than ever [f].

Carthage *provokes the* Romans.

In the mean time a war began to break out in *Africa*. The *Carthaginians*, being continually harassed by the invasions of *Massinissa*, and tired out with the injustice and partiality of the *Roman* republic, entered into an alliance with *Archobarzanes*, the grandson of *Syphax*, and king of one part of *Numidia*, engaging him to march with a great army to the frontiers of *Massinissa*'s dominions. *Rome* looked upon this step as a breach of the treaties between her and the states of *Africa*, none of which were to take arms without her privity and consent. *Cato* on this occasion displayed his hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and was for immediately declaring war with that republic. But *Scipio Nasica*, who bore a greater sway in the senate than *Cato*, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to have the war deferred, till an embassy should be sent to *Carthage*, to examine without passion into the true state of affairs there. *Nasica* himself was appointed embassador for the negotiation he had proposed. When he came into *Africa*, he conducted himself with great prudence and moderation, and taking upon him the office of mediator between *Carthage* and *Massinissa*, he prevailed on the latter to restore the lands which had occasioned the quarrel. Thus all commotions would have been quieted, had not a seditious *Carthaginian*, named *Gisgo*, a man in office and favour with the people, spoke in the public assemblies with great warmth against the peace, which had been just negotiated. He, by his seditious harangues, so inflamed the populace, that they would have offered violence to *Nasica*, if he had not saved himself by flight. Upon his retreat, those in the senate of *Carthage*, to the number of forty, who had approved the peace, were condemned to perpetual banishment. The *Roman* senate was

[f] Polyb. legat. 141. Appian. in Iberic. 281, 287.

highly

highly incenſed at the treatment their embaſſador had met with, and *Cato* much rejoiced to find *Naſica* at his return agree with him thus far, *that* Carthage *deſerved to be deſtroyed*. However, the vengeance of the republic was ſuſpended for ſome time, on account of the war with the revolted *Spaniards* [t].

WHEN the new conſuls, *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *A. Poſthumius Albinus*, were ordered to recruit the legions in *Spain*, none of the citizens would give in their names, proteſting, that they would not ſerve under the conſul to whoſe lot *Spain* ſhould fall, even in quality of lieutenants or legionary tribunes. The accounts they had received of the hardſhips which the troops under *Fulvius* had ſuffered, by ſpending a whole winter in the field, diſcouraged them to ſuch a degree, that not one of the *Roman* youth appeared to inrol themſelves. To increaſe the misfortune, the tribunes of the people protected thoſe who refuſed to inliſt themſelves, and even went ſo far, as to order the two conſuls to be carried to priſon, for forcing ſome young men into the ſervice. While the ſenate and conſuls were perplexed what methods to take, a young *Roman*, not above thirty years of age, extricated them out of their difficulties. This was *Scipio Æmilianus*, the ſon of *Paulus Æmilius*, and by adoption the grandſon of *Scipio Africanus*. One day, when the people were aſſembled for the inrolments, he deſired leave to ſpeak to them; which being granted, he mounted the roſtra, and made an harangue full of the true *Roman* ſpirit. The ardor he expreſſed for the ſervice of his country, and his offering to go himſelf into *Spain*, in what capacity ſoever the conſuls ſhould think fit, had ſuch an effect on the people, that they were now as eager, as they had before been backward, to give in their names. Then the conſuls drew lots for their provinces, when *Spain* fell to *Lucullus*, and *Ciſalpine Gaul* to *Poſthumius*. It is uncertain, whether *Scipio Æmilianus* ſerved under *Lucullus* as one of his lieutenants, or only as a legionary tribune; but whatever was his poſt, he gained all the glory that was acquired during the war. Both *Lucullus*, who commanded in *Hither Spain*, and the prætor *Sulpicius Galba*, who commanded in *Luſitania*, made themſelves infamous by the baſeſt treachery, cruelty, and avarice. The former, finding that his predeceſſor had granted the *Celtiberians* a peace, went of his own head to make war on the *Turduli* and *Cantabri*. Theſe had not given the *Romans* the leaſt provocation; but *Lucullus*, who was covetous to exceſs, wanted to reap ſome profits by his conſulſhip.

The cruelty of the Romans in Spain.

[t] APPIAN. in Punic. PLUT. in Catone. LIV. in epit.

With this view he entered their territories, and committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages, putting the inhabitants of whole cities to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age, even after they had ſubmitted upon terms. *Æmilianus* on this occaſion acquired a high reputation of probity, even among the oppreſſed *Spaniards*; and as for his bravery, he not only ſlew in ſingle combat a *Spaniard* of a gigantic ſize, who had challenged the boldeſt of the *Romans*; but was honoured with a mural and civic crown. *Lucullus* ſoon after ſent him, probably out of jealouſy, into *Numidia*, under pretence of demanding ſome elephants of *Maſiniſſa* [u]. The prætor *Galba*, who was as covetous as *Lucullus*, and more cruel, penetrated into *Luſitania*, deſtroyed every thing with fire and ſword, and glutted himſelf with the ſpoils of thoſe unhappy people. We are told, that he cruelly maſſacred above thirty thouſand *Luſitanians*, after he had ſolemnly promiſed them both their life and liberty, and by that means prevailed upon them to deliver up their arms. Neither the conſul *Lucullus* nor the prætor *Galba* were ſo much as accuſed before the ſenate or people for theſe unjuſt and inhuman proceedings. The *Romans* were ſo prejudiced againſt the *Spaniards*, that they ſeem to have authorized the cruelties and injuſtice of their generals [w].

In the mean time, *Guluſſa*, the ſon of *Maſiniſſa*, arriving at *Rome*, confirmed the accounts which the ſenate had received from ſeveral quarters, that preparations were making at *Carthage* for an open declaration of war with the republic. *Cato* immediately laid hold of this occaſion to repeat the words he had ſo often uttered; *There is no ſafety for* Rome, *till* Carthage *is deſtroyed*. But the advice of *Scipio Naſica* ſtill prevailed; and at his motion deputies were ſent into *Africa*, to inform themſelves upon the ſpot of the preparations the *Carthaginians* were making by ſea and land. The deputies on their return reported, that *Carthage* had undoubtedly a deſign to make war in ſome other place than the continent of *Africa*; that her fleet was numerous and well equipped; and that ſhe had on foot a formidable army. But, notwithſtanding theſe appearances, and all the eloquence of *Cato*, *Naſica* had influence enough over the ſenate to ſuſpend the decree againſt the *Carthaginians* [x].

A war breaks out between Carthage *and* Maſiniſſa.

In the following conſulate of *T. Quinctius Flaminius* and *M. Acilius Balbus*, a bloody war broke out between *Car-*

[u] Appian. in Iberic. Vell. Parercul. [w] Appian. ibid. [x] Appian. in Punic.

thage

thage and *Maſiniſſa*. The *Numidian* king, though now almoſt ninety years of age, to revenge an affront offered by the *Carthaginians* to his two ſons, *Guluſſa* and *Micipſa*, put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and laid ſiege to *Oroſcopa*, a city ſubject to the *Carthaginian* republic. Hereupon *Carthage* ſent out a conſiderable number of troops, under the command of *Aſdrubal*, to relieve the place. In ſeveral ſkirmiſhes the *Numidians* had always the diſadvantage; whereupon *Maſiniſſa*, who had learnt the art of war under the great *Scipio*, pretending fear, retired before the enemy, and by degrees drew them into a place, where he had all the advantage he could wiſh for. Here he halted with a deſign to give the enemy battle. While he was preparing for a general engagement, news was brought him, that *Scipio Æmilianus* was come from *Spain* into *Africa*, to deſire, in the name of the conſul *Lucullus*, ſome elephants, to be employed againſt the revolted *Spaniards*. Though *Æmilianus* was only the grandſon of *Africanus* by adoption, yet, upon the bare name of *Scipio*, the old king's affection and gratitude for a family, to which he owed his grandeur, revived. He would have gone in perſon to meet the *Roman*, if he had not been engaged in preparing for the battle, which was to be fought the next day, the two armies, each of them above fifty thouſand ſtrong, being incamped over-againſt each other. However, he ſent his two ſons, with all his cavalry, to receive and eſcort him. When he arrived in the camp, *Maſiniſſa* ran to embrace him with great tenderneſs, and could not refrain from tears, in mentioning his old benefactor *Scipio Africanus*. He attended him all over the camp, acquainted him with the preparations he was making againſt the next day's engagement, and made the flower of his troops paſs in review before him. *Æmilianus* was highly pleaſed with this ſight; but the chief object of his ſurpriſe and admiration was the king himſelf. His great age had neither abated the vigour of his mind nor the ſtrength of his body, ſo as to render him unable to ſuſtain military labours. He mounted and diſmounted his horſe with the activity of a young man. He rid, after the *Numidian* manner, without a ſaddle, and continued all day, and ſometimes all night, on horſeback. He had no better proviſions than the meaneſt of his ſoldiers. In ſhort, *Maſiniſſa*, as *Æmilianus* ſaid on his return to *Rome*, was not old in any reſpect, but his long experience in buſineſs and arms. As *Rome* had not yet openly broken with *Carthage*, the next morning *Æmilianus* retired from *Maſiniſſa*'s camp, not thinking it lawful for him to have any ſhare in the action, and

poſted himſelf on the top of an eminence, whence he ſaw very diſtinctly one of the greateſt battles that had ever been fought in *Africa*. It laſted from the riſing of the ſun till night; both parties performed great exploits, and the victory was long in ſuſpenſe; but at length declared for *Maſiniſſa*. Then *Æmilianus* came down from his eminence, returned to the camp of the conqueror, and congratulated him on his victory. *Maſiniſſa*, on this joyful occaſion, gave the *Romans* the ſincereſt proofs of an inviolable attachment to his republic, and eſteem for his family, granted him the elephants he demanded, and kept him with him as long as he could[y]. As this victory was not deciſive, *Æmilianus* undertook to negotiate a peace between the two parties. But, his mediation proving ineffectual, hoſtilities were renewed with more animoſity than ever. After many fight battles, *Maſiniſſa* ſo blocked up the *Carthaginian* camp, that no convoys could be brought to it, or detachments ſent out without great difficulty. The *Carthaginian* army, which was very numerous, having now no communication with the country, was ſoon reduced to the laſt extremity. At firſt they lived upon the fleſh of their horſes, and then boiled the harneſſes of their carriages, burning their bucklers and the ſhafts of their ſpears for want of wood. The famine produced a plague, which carried off more men than they had loſt in all the engagements. In this extremity *Aſdrubal* yielded to all the conditions of peace, which the *Numidian* thought fit to impoſe upon him. Among other things, *Maſiniſſa* obliged all the *Carthaginians* to paſs under the yoke, unarmed, and half naked. Theſe unhappy wretches, thus branded with ignominy, and ſo weak that they could ſcarce ſtand, comforted themſelves at leaſt with hopes of ſeeing their native country again. But revenge inſpired *Guluſſa* with a very cruel reſolution. The *Carthaginians* had formerly laid an ambuſh to ſurpriſe him and his brother *Micipſa*, on their return from *Carthage* to *Numidia*, and, falling upon them, had on that occaſion killed ſome of their attendants. This *Guluſſa* remembered; and, to revenge one perfidious act with another, let looſe the *Numidian* horſe on the diſarmed multitude. Whether *Maſiniſſa* was privy to his ſon's treachery, was never known. But however that be, the *Numidian* horſe coming up with thoſe unhappy men, who, being exhauſted with hunger and diſtempers, had neither courage enough to reſiſt, nor ſtrength to fly, butchered them like ſo many victims; ſo that of fifty eight thouſand men, only

The Carthaginians *defeated by* Maſiniſſa.

The Carthaginians *treacherouſly maſſacred by* Guluſſa.

[y] Idem ibid.

Aſdrubal,

Aſdrubal, and ſome other officers of diſtinction, eſcaped the general maſſacre. The *Romans* had ſent embaſſadors into *Africa*, under pretence of putting an end to the differences between *Carthage* and *Numidia*, in an amicable manner. But they had private inſtructions to take upon them the office of mediators, only in caſe *Maſiniſſa* was defeated. If that prince ſhould happen to get the better, their directions were to encourage him to puſh the *Carthaginians* to the utmoſt extremity, which they did accordingly; and then, taking advantage of the prodigious loſs the *Carthaginians* had ſuſtained, deferred no longer to declare war againſt them, though they ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, offering all kinds of ſubmiſſion, and even leaving it to the ſenate to propoſe their own terms [a].

As ſoon as the new conſuls, *L. Marcius Cenſorinus* and *M. Manilius Nepos*, entered upon their office, they cauſed the war with *Carthage* to be proclaimed in the comitia of the people, and then drew lots for their provinces, the command of the fleet falling to *Marcius*, and that of the land-forces to *Manilius*. When all things were ready for their expedition into *Africa*, embaſſadors arrived at *Rome* from the people of *Utica*, offering to ſurrender up their city to the republic, and deſiring to be admitted into an alliance with *Rome*. The *Carthaginians*, terrified at the defection of ſo powerful a city, and the great preparations which were making at *Rome*, reſolved to avert the impending ſtorm, by yielding themſelves and their dominions to the *Romans* by way of *dedition*, which was to give them an abſolute authority over every thing in the country, their cities, lands, rivers, temples, *&c.* and likewiſe over all the inhabitants, of what rank ſoever, ſex, or condition. The embaſſadors, who came to *Rome* to make this abſolute ſurrender, were well received by the ſenate, and told, that ſince they had done all that could be required of them, they ſhould enjoy their lands, effects, and liberty as before, upon condition, that they ſent three hundred hoſtages to the conſuls, who were now in *Sicily*, and put in execution what they ſhould think fit to command them. The embaſſadors, overjoyed at this unexpected ſucceſs, took their leave of the ſenate, and flew to *Carthage* with the good news. Moſt of the *Carthaginian* ſenators cried up the moderation of the *Romans*; but ſome began to ſuſpect, that *Rome* concealed ſome artifice under this appearance of clemency. However, a decree paſſed, commanding three hund

The third Punic war.

The Carthaginians yield themſelves and their dominions to the Romans.

[a] Idem ibid.

red

red hoſtages to be ſent to *Lilybæum*, where the *Roman* fleet lay at anchor. The conſuls, having ſent them on board a ſquadron to *Italy*, immediately ſet ſail for *Utica*, and there landed their troops to the number of ſeventy four thouſand men, horſe and foot. As ſoon as the troops were landed, *Manilius* went to take poſſeſſion of the ſame ground, on which the great *Scipio* had incamped, when he inveſted *Carthage*. It is eaſy to judge of the conſternation the *Carthaginians* were in, when they beheld ſo terrible an army in their neighbourhood, and were at the ſame time informed, that war had been declared againſt them, notwithſtanding the ſubmiſſions they had made. They ſent deputies to the conſuls, to expoſtulate with them, and to learn their intentions. The *Roman* generals received them with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They ordered all their ſoldiers to ſtand to their arms; and the deputies paſſed through two long lines of men, drawn up on each ſide of them, colours flying, and were conducted, by ſound of military inſtruments, from the gate of the camp to the conſul's quarters. There the two collegues received them, ſitting upon two high thrones, and ſurrounded by their chief officers, who were divided from the croud by a bar, within which the embaſſadors themſelves were not ſuffered to enter. As ſoon as the noiſe of the trumpets ceaſed, the head of the embaſſy made a long ſpeech, in which he complained of *Rome* for ſending an army into *Africa*, after the *Carthaginians* had delivered up their eſtates, lands, and poſſeſſions to the *Roman* ſenate at diſcretion. In the cloſe of his ſpeech, he deſired the conſuls, in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner, to acquaint him with the real intentions of the ſenate. *Marcius* anſwered, that he would gradually communicate to them the orders he had received, beginning with that which required moſt diſpatch; and then added, ſince you are under the protection of *Rome*, and ſincerely deſire peace, what occaſion have you for that vaſt number of arms with which your magazines are filled? Bring them hither, and thereby give us a freſh proof, that your love of peace is not feigned. The embaſſadors, ſtunned with this demand, knew not at firſt what to anſwer. But at length, recollecting themſelves, remonſtrated to the conſul, that *Carthage* had other enemies to contend with beſides the *Romans*; and therefore could not ſafely be without arms; that ſhe was in danger of being attacked by *Aſdrubal*, who, being condemned to die for having offended *Rome* by his late war with *Maſſiniſſa*, had made his eſcape, and drawn together an army of twenty thouſand men. To this the conſul briſkly replied, Be eaſy, *Carthaginians*, *Rome* will provide for your ſafety. Obey, and be in no con-

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cern about any thing elſe. What could they do but ſubmit? *Carthage* wanted the neceſſary ſtore of proviſions to ſuſtain a ſiege; and had neither auxiliaries nor mercenaries; all the flower of her youth had been deſtroyed in the late battle with *Maſiniſſa*; her fleet was not fitted out, and that of the *Romans* was ſtronger, and barred up the harbour. The *Carthaginians* therefore, without any fraud, delivered up their arms and engines of war to the *Roman* quæſtors ſent to *Carthage* for that purpoſe. The *Romans* were ſurpriſed, when they ſaw the long train of carts, loaded with arms, which were brought to the camp by the *Carthaginians* themſelves. Some hiſtorians ſay, they were ſufficient to have armed all *Africa*. At leaſt it is certain, that there were put into the conſul's hands two thouſand *catapultæ*, two hundred thouſand complete ſuits of armour, and an infinite number of ſwords, darts, javelins, arrows, and of beams armed with iron, which were thrown from the ramparts by the *baliſtæ*. This convoy of arms was attended by the moſt venerable old men, and the prieſts in their ſacred attire, who were well qualified by their character and age to mollify the *Romans*. The conſuls received them ſitting on their tribunal; and *Marcius*, who had more eloquence than his collegue, putting on a ſerious and majeſtic air, addreſſed himſelf to them thus: We are well pleaſed with theſe firſt inſtances of your obedience, and therefore cannot help congratulating you upon them. I have now but one thing more to require of you in the name of the *Roman* people. I will therefore, without further preamble, plainly declare to you an order, on which the ſafety of your republic, the preſervation of your goods, your lives, and liberty depends. Rome *requires, that you abandon your city, which we are commanded to level with the ground. You may build yourſelves another where you pleaſe, provided it be ten miles from the ſea, and without walls or fortifications. A little courage and reſolution will get the better of the affection, which attaches us to our old habitations, and is founded more in habit than in reaſon.* At theſe words the *Carthaginian* deputies were thunderſtruck. Some of them ſwooned away; others expreſſed their ſorrows in cries and lamentations; and all were in the utmoſt conſternation. Even the *Roman* ſoldiers were affected with ſo moving a ſight; but the conſuls, without ſhewing the leaſt concern, *'Theſe ſudden fits*, ſaid they, *wear off by degrees; time and neceſſity teach the moſt unfortunate to bear their calamities with patience. 'The* Carthaginians, *when they recover their ſenſes, will chuſe to obey.* While the others, in the height of their grief, rage and deſpair, were uttering imprecations againſt the *Romans*, one *Hanno*, a venerable old man, and

They deliver up their arms to the Romans.

The Roman *conſuls command the* Carthaginians *to demoliſh their city.*

more

more compoſed than the reſt, endeavoured in a long ſpeech to move the conſuls to compaſſion, and concluded by earneſtly intreating them at leaſt to allow the *Carthaginians* time to make freſh applications to the ſenate of *Rome.* But the conſuls were inflexible; they would neither recede from the ſentence they had paſſed, nor ſuſpend the execution of it. The deputies returned to *Carthage*, and made their report; and then the whole city was nothing but horror and confuſion. The people, as actuated by ſo many furies, broke into the ſenate-houſe, and vented their rage on thoſe who had adviſed the giving of hoſtages, and the delivering up the arms, which they now wanted for their defence. They did not ſpare even the deputies themſelves; but dragged them through the ſtreets with ignominy, as inauſpicious meſſengers. However, among this great number of raving people, a few, leſs tranſported than the reſt, acted with ſome appearance of reaſon. They took care to ſhut the gates of the city, and gathered together on the ramparts great heaps of ſtones, to ſerve them inſtead of other arms in caſe of a ſurpriſe. At length, when the firſt commotion was a little abated, the ſenators aſſembled, and reſolved to ſuſtain a ſiege. They were ſtripped of their arms, and deſtitute of proviſions; but deſpair raiſed their courage, and made them find out expedients. They began with taking the malefactors out of priſon, giving the ſlaves their liberty, and incorporating them in the militia. Then a pardon was granted to *Aſdrubal*, who had been ſentenced to die only to pleaſe the *Romans*; and he was invited to employ the twenty thouſand men he had raiſed, in the defence of his country. Another *Aſdrubal* was appointed to command in *Carthage*; and all ſeemed reſolute, either to ſave their city, or periſh in its ruins. They wanted arms; but what cannot deſpair compaſs? By order of the ſenate, the temples, porticoes, and all public buildings, were turned into work-houſes, where men and women were continually employed in making arms. As they encouraged one another in their work, and loſt no time in procuring to themſelves the neceſſaries of life, which were brought to them at ſtated hours, they every day made a hundred and forty four bucklers, three hundred ſwords, a thouſand darts, and five hundred lances and javelins. As to baliſtæ and catapultæ, they wanted proper materials for them, but their induſtry ſupplied that defect. Where iron and braſs were wanting, they made uſe of gold and ſilver, melting down the ſtatues, vaſes, and even the utenſils of private families; for on this occaſion the moſt covetous became liberal. As tow and flax were wanting to make cords for working the machines, the women, even thoſe of the firſt rank, freely

The Carthaginians *reſolve to ſuſtain a ſiege.*

freely cut off their hair, and joyfully dedicated to that uſe the fineſt ornament of their heads. Without the walls *Aſdrubal* employed the troops under his command in getting together proviſions, and conveying them ſafe into *Carthage*; ſo that there was as great plenty there as in the *Roman* camp [a].

IN the mean time, the conſuls delayed drawing near to *Carthage*, not doubting, but the inhabitants, whom they imagined deſtitute of neceſſaries to ſuſtain a ſiege, would upon cool reflection ſubmit; and this delay coſt the *Romans* many battles and much blood. At length, finding themſelves deceived in their expectation, they came before the place and inveſted it. As they were ſtill perſuaded that the *Carthaginians* had no arms, they flattered themſelves that they ſhould eaſily take the place by aſſault. Accordingly, they approached the walls, in order to plant their ſcaling ladders; and then, to their great ſurpriſe, they diſcovered a prodigious mulitude of men on the ramparts, ſhining in the armour they had newly made. The legionaries were ſo terrified at this unexpected ſight, that they drew back, and would have retired, if the conſuls had not led them on to the attack; which, however, proved unſucceſsful, the *Romans*, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, being obliged to give over the enterpriſe, and lay aſide all thoughts of taking *Carthage* by aſſault. In the mean time, *Aſdrubal*, having drawn together from all places ſubject to *Carthage*, a prodigious number of troops, came and incamped within reach of the *Romans*, and ſoon reduced them to great ſtraits for want of proviſions, their parties not daring to venture out of the camp to forage, for fear of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, which was ſuperior to that of the *Romans*. As *Marcius* was poſted near a marſh, for the two conſuls incamped ſeparately, the exhalations of the ſtagnating waters, and the heat of the ſeaſon infected the air, and cauſed a general ſickneſs among his men. *Marcius* therefore ordered his fleet to draw as near the ſhore as poſſible to receive his troops, and tranſport them to a healthier place, but ſtill within reach of *Carthage*. *Aſdrubal*, who commanded in the city, having notice of this motion, ordered all the old barks in the harbour to be filled with faggots, tow, ſulphur, bitumen, and other combuſtible materials; and then, taking advantage of the wind, which blew towards the enemy, let them drive upon their ſhips, which were for the moſt part conſumed. After this diſaſter, *Marcius* was called home

The Romans *repulſed in the firſt attack.*

Part of the Roman *fleet deſtroyed*

[a] LIV. in epit. POLYB. legat. 142. APPIAN. in Plin.

to preſide at the elections, and *Manilius* ordered to continue the war in *Africa*. The *Carthaginians*, looking upon the removal of one of the conſuls as a happy preſage of their ſpeedy deliverance, made a briſk ſally in the night, and would have ſurpriſed the conſul's camp, had not *Æmilianus*, with ſome ſquadrons, marched out of the gate oppoſite to the place where the attack was made, and, riding full ſpeed round the camp, attacked the enemy, who expected nothing leſs, in the rear, and obliged them to return in diſorder into the city. *Aſdrubal* had poſted himſelf under the walls of a city, named *Nepheris*, but twenty four miles diſtant from *Carthage*, and ſituated on a high mountain, which ſeemed inacceſſible on all ſides. From thence the *Carthaginian* general made incurſions into the neighbouring country, intercepted the *Roman* convoys, fell upon their detachments ſent out to forage, and even ordered parties to inſult the conſular army in their camp. Hereupon the conſul reſolved to drive *Aſdrubal* from this advantageous poſt, and, contrary to the opinion of *Æmilianus*, who was well appriſed of the difficulty of the enterpriſe, ſet out on his march for *Nepheris*. As he drew near the hills, *Aſdrubal* all on a ſudden appeared at the head of his army in order of battle, and fell upon the *Romans* with incredible fury. The conſular army ſuſtained the attack with great reſolution, and *Aſdrubal* retired in good order to his former poſt, hoping the *Romans* would attack him there. But the conſul, being now convinced, that his deſign could not be purſued without endangering the whole army, reſolved to retire; and accordingly began to march back. This *Aſdrubal* no ſooner perceived, than he came down from the mountains, like a torrent, and, falling upon the enemy's rear, cut a great many of them in pieces. All authors agree, that the whole army would have been loſt, if it had not been for the bravery and prudent conduct of *Scipio Æmilianus*, who, being at this time only a legionary tribune, renewed the famous exploit of *Horatius Cocles*. At the head of three hundred horſe he ſuſtained the attack of all the forces commanded by *Aſdrubal*, and covered the legions, while they paſſed a river in their retreat before the enemy. Then he and his companions threw themſelves into the ſtream, and ſwam croſs it. The *Romans* loſt in this raſh enterpriſe a great number of men, and among the reſt three legionary tribunes, who had been the moſt ſanguine in promoting it, contrary to the opinion of *Æmilianus*. When the *Romans* had croſſed the river, they perceived that four manipuli were wanting, and were ſoon after informed, that theſe brave men, being

Scipio Æmilianus *ſaves the* Roman *army.*

being ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy, had poſted themſelves on an eminence, reſolved at leaſt to ſell their lives dear. This news raiſed the compaſſion of *Æmilianus*, who, taking with him a choſen body of horſe, and proviſions for two days, returned croſs the river, and flew to the deliverance of his countrymen. He ſeized a hill over-againſt that on which the four manipuli were poſted, and after ſome hours repoſe marched againſt the *Carthaginians*, who kept them inveſted, fell upon them at the head of his ſquadron with the boldneſs of a man who was determined to die or conquer, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, opened a way for his fellow-citizens to eſcape. On his return to the camp, the ſoldiers, who had given him for loſt, carried him to his quarters in a kind of triumph; and the *manipuli* he had ſaved gave him a crown of *gramen* or graſs, gathered on the ſpot where he had ſignalized his valour, which was deemed more honourable than the richeſt preſents. By theſe and many other glorious exploits, *Æmilianus* in this unfortunate campaign gained ſuch reputation, that *Cato*, who is ſaid never to have commended any body before, could not refuſe the young tribune the praiſes he deſerved, which, however, he mixed, after his uſual manner, with ſevere reflections on the other officers of the army in *Africa*. This rigid philoſopher died ſoon after, at the age of eighty four or eighty five: he is ſaid to have foretold, before he expired, that *Carthage* would never be reduced, till *Scipio Æmilianus* was employed in that expedition [b].

The Roman *arms unſucceſsful in* Spain.

IN *Spain*, the *Roman* arms were yet more unſucceſsful than in *Africa*. The prætor *Vetilius*, who commanded ten thouſand men in the *further province*, loſt four thouſand of them in a battle againſt the *Luſitanians*, under the conduct of one *Viriathes*, who was firſt a famous hunter, afterwards a captain of banditti, and at laſt a commander in chief of the *Luſitanian* rebels. The prætor himſelf was taken priſoner; but the ſoldier who took him, ſeeing him old, and fancying no body would purchaſe him, killed him without knowing who he was. Upon the news of this diſaſter, the republic immediately ſent *C. Plautius* into *Spain*, with a reinforcement of ten thouſand foot and thirteen hundred horſe. Theſe, being joined by great numbers of *Spaniards*, who continued faithful to the republic, made a formidable army. But *Viriathes*, after having cut in pieces by a ſtratagem a detachment of four thouſand *Romans*, ventured to engage them in a pitched battle, which he conducted with ſuch dexterity, that the pre-

[b] LIV. ibid. PLUT. in Cat. APPIAN. in Punic.

torian army was intirely defeated, and forced to ſhut themſelves up all the ſummer in the neighbouring cities; ſo that the brave *Luſitanian*, being now maſter of the field, laid the whole country under contribution [c].

Macedon *revolts.*

THESE were not the only loſſes the republic ſuſtained this year. In *Macedon* one *Andriſcus*, who pretended to be the ſon of *Perſes* by one of his miſtreſſes, and had taken the name of *Philip*, being aſſiſted by the *Thracians*, obliged the *Macedonians* to own him for their king, and conquered part of *Theſſaly*. *Scipio Naſica*, whom the ſenate ſent into *Greece* to learn the true ſtate of affairs, by the aſſiſtance of the *Achæans*, drove the falſe *Philip* out of *Theſſaly*. But the prætor *Juventius Thalna*, who ſucceeded *Naſica*, having attempted to force his way through the narrow paſſes into *Macedon*, loſt in that rash undertaking both his life and the legion he commanded. By this means *Philip* reduced all *Theſſaly*, and ſettled himſelf on the throne of *Macedon*.

AT *Rome*, *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus Magnus* and *L. Calpurnius Piſo Cæſonius* being choſen conſuls for the new year, the conduct of the war in *Africa* fell by lot to the latter. But, as he did not haſten to his province, *Manilius*, who continued to command the army in quality of proconſul, endeavoured to repair the faults he had committed during his conſulate. He frequently ſent out *Æmilianus* with ſtrong parties to pillage the neighbouring country, and intercept the enemy's convoys, and the tribune was always attended with uncommon ſucceſs. He took ſeveral caſtles, and among the reſt *Tezaga*, a place of great ſtrength. In one of theſe expeditions he found means to have a private conference with one *Phameas*, general under *Aſdrubal* of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, and brought him over together with two thouſand two hundred of his horſe to the *Roman* intereſt. *Phameas* was an able commander, who, by his bravery and ſkill in war, had exceedingly diſtreſſed the *Roman* army; ſo that the gaining of his friendſhip was reckoned an important acquiſition. The proconſul ſent him ſoon after with *Æmilianus* to *Rome*, to receive the honours and rewards he deſerved from the republic. At the ſame time, *Manilius* wrote a letter to the ſenate, wherein he acknowledged himſelf indebted to *Æmilianus* for whatever ſucceſſes he had met with during the campaign [d].

Æmilianus gains over the general of the Carthaginian *cavalry.*

[c] APPIAN. in Iberic. [d] APPIAN. in Punic. OROS. l. [illegible] ZONAR. l. [illegible]

IN

IN the mean time, the conſul *Calpurnius Piſo* and the prætor *Mancinus* arrived in *Africa*, the former to command the land-forces, and the other the fleet. Theſe two generals formed a very different plan for the campaign from that of *Marcius* and *Manilius*. For, inſtead of purſuing the ſiege of the capital, they applied themſelves wholly to the reducing of ſome other cities on the *African* coaſt, which they attacked both by ſea and land. They firſt inveſted *Clupea*, but were obliged to abandon the enterpriſe with ſhame and confuſion, the inhabitants having in ſeveral ſallies killed great numbers of their men. From *Clupea*, the conſul went to vent his rage on a city newly built, and thence called *Neapolis*, which profeſſed a ſtrict neutrality, and even had a ſafeguard from the *Romans*. However, the conſul plundered the place, and ſtript the inhabitants of all their effects. After this he laid ſiege to *Hippagreta*, which employed the *Roman* fleet and army the whole ſummer. When the winter drew near, the conſul raiſed the ſiege, and returned with his fleet and army to *Utica*, without having performed one valiant action during the whole campaign. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians* ſent deputies to the new king of *Macedon*, encouraging him to continue the war againſt *Rome*. But the prætor *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who now commanded the *Roman* forces in *Macedon*, having defeated this mock king in two pitched battles, obliged him to ſhelter himſelf in the court of one of the petty kings of *Thrace*, who afterwards delivered him up to the *Romans*. He was ſcarce reduced, when another impoſtor ſtarted up, who called himſelf *Alexander*, and pretended likewiſe to be the ſon of *Perſes*. But, as his followers were rather a confuſed rabble than an army, they were eaſily diſperſed, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Macedon*.

Macedon *reconquered.*

AND now, the time of the elections drawing near, the people, conſidering that the republic wanted great generals, reſolved to have regard to nothing but merit; and as *Scipio Æmilianus* was, in their opinion, the only man who could retrieve the reputation of the *Roman* arms in *Africa*, they diſpenſed with the *Villian* law in his favour, which required every candidate for the conſulſhip to be forty three years old, and raiſed him to the conſular dignity at the age of thirty ſeven. Neither would they ſuffer him to draw lots with his collegue, *C. Livius Druſus*, for the conduct of the *Carthaginian* war; but appointed him by a ſpecial decree to ſucceed *Piſo*. The new conſul immediately ſet ſail for *Sicily*, taking on board with him *Polybius* the hiſtorian, for whom he had a great

Scipio *Æmilianus choſen conſul.*

a great eſteem, and *Lælius*, whom he appointed his lieutenant-general. This *Lælius* was the ſon of the other, whom *Scipio Africanus* had ſo tenderly loved, and *Æmilianus*, in imitation of that hero, entered into as ſtrict a friendſhip with *Lælius* the ſon, as the firſt *Scipio* had done with the father. It is ſaid, that *Æmilianus* and his friend *Lælius* were the authors of the comedies, which are commonly aſcribed to the poet *Terence*. With *Polybius* and *Lælius Æmilianus* ſet ſail from *Sicily*, and entered the port of *Utica*, with his fleet, under the command of the prætor *Serranus*, when three thouſand five hundred of the *Roman* army were in imminent danger of being cut in pieces before *Carthage*. Theſe, during *Piſo*'s abſence, who had penetrated far into the inland country with his army, had ſeized *Megalia*, one of the ſuburbs of the city. But, as they had not furniſhed themſelves with proviſions to ſubſiſt there, and could not retire, being cloſely inveſted on all ſides by the enemy's troops, the prætor *Mancinus*, who commanded this detachment, ſeeing the danger, into which he had brought himſelf, diſpatched in the duſk of the evening a light boat to *Utica*, to acquaint the *Romans* there with his danger. The meſſenger delivered the prætor's letter to the new conſul, who had landed his troops a few hours before. *Æmilianus* immediately flew to the relief of the inveſted *Romans*, obliged the *Carthaginians* to retire within their walls, and putting the three thouſand five hundred men on board his ſhips, conveyed them ſafe to *Utica*. He then diſpatched a meſſenger to *Piſo* to inform him of his arrival, and to order him to draw near to *Carthage* with his army. The proconſul obeyed, and *Æmilianus*, having taken upon him the command of the troops, applied himſelf wholly to the taking of *Carthage* alone, as the only means to reduce at once the *African* republic. His firſt attack was upon *Megalia*, which he carried by aſſault, the *Carthaginian* garriſon retiring into the citadel of *Byrſa*. *Aſdrubal*, who had commanded the forces of the republic in the field, and was now governor of *Carthage*, was ſo enraged at the loſs of *Megalia*, that he cauſed all the *Roman* captives, taken in the two years the war had laſted, to be brought upon the ramparts, and to be thrown headlong, in the ſight of the *Roman* army, from the top of the wall, after having, with an exceſs of cruelty, commanded their hands and feet to be cut off, and their eyes and tongues to be torn out. As he was of a temper remarkably inhuman, he is ſaid to have taken pleaſure in ſeeing ſome of thoſe unhappy men flayed alive. While *Aſdrubal* was thus venting [illegible] on the *Roman* captives, the

He arrives in Africa.

Megalia taken.

the conſul was buſy in drawing lines of circumvallation and contravallation croſs the neck of land, which joined the iſthmus, whereon *Carthage* ſtood, to the continent. By this means all the avenues on the land-ſide to *Carthage* being ſhut up, the city could receive no proviſions that way. His next care was to raiſe a mole in the ſea, in order to block up the old port, the new port being already ſhut up by the *Roman* fleet; and this great work he effected with immenſe labour. The mole reached from the weſtern neck of land, of which the *Romans* were maſters, to the entrance of the port, and was ninety foot broad at the bottom, and eighty at the top. The beſieged, when the *Romans* firſt began this ſurpriſing work, laughed at the attempt; but were no leſs alarmed than ſurpriſed, when, contrary to their expectation, they beheld a vaſt mole appearing above water, the continent carried a great way into the ſea, and by that means the port rendered inacceſſible to ſhips and quite uſeleſs. And now emulation and deſpair prompted the *Carthaginians* to attempt and execute what ſeemed altogether impoſſible, and would appear utterly incredible, if it were not atteſted by the hiſtorian, who has given us the moſt particular account of the ſiege of *Carthage* [e]. With miraculous and incredible induſtry they in a ſhort time dug a new baſon, and cut a paſſage into the ſea, by which they could receive the proviſions that were ſent them by their troops in the field. With the ſame diligence and expedition they built and fitted out a fleet of fifty triremes, which, to the great ſurpriſe of the *Romans*, appeared ſuddenly, advancing into the ſea through this new canal, and even ventured to give enemy battle. The action laſted the whole day, and was glorious both for the beſieged and the beſiegers, little advantage being gained on either ſide. The day after the engagement, the conſul attempted to make himſelf maſter of a terrace, which covered the city on the ſide next the ſea; and on this occaſion the beſieged ſignalized their reſolution in the moſt remarkable manner. Great numbers of them naked and unarmed went into the water in the dead of the night, with unlighted torches in their hands, and having, partly by ſwimming partly by wading, got within reach of the *Roman* engines, they ſtruck fire, lighted their torches, and threw them with fury againſt the machines. The ſudden appearance of thoſe naked men, who looked like ſo many monſters ſtarted up out of the ſea, terrified the *Romans*, who guarded the machines,

Carthage *blocked up by ſea and land.*

The beſieged dig a new baſon, and build a fleet.

A bold and ſucceſsful attempt of the Carthaginians.

[e] APPIAN in Punic. N. 75.

machines, to ſuch a degree, that they began to retire in the utmoſt confuſion. The conſul, who commanded this detachment in perſon, and had continued all night at the foot of the terrace, endeavoured to ſtop his men, and even ordered thoſe who fled to be killed. But the *Carthaginians*, perceiving the confuſion the *Romans* were in, threw themſelves upon them like ſo many wild beaſts, and having put them to flight only with their torches, they ſet fire to the machines, and intirely conſumed them. This, however, did not diſcourage the conſul; he renewed the attack a few days after, carried the terrace by aſſault, and lodged four thouſand men upon it. As this was an important poſt, becauſe it pent *Carthage* in on the ſea-ſide, *Æmilianus* took great care to fortify and ſecure it againſt the ſallies of the enemy; and then winter approaching, he ſuſpended all further attacks upon the place, till the return of good weather [f].

Æmilianus did not continue idle in his trenches during the cold ſeaſon. The *Carthaginians* had a very numerous army, under the command of one *Diogenes*, ſtrongly incamped near *Nepheris*, whence convoys of proviſions were ſent by ſea to the beſieged, and brought into the new baſon. To take *Nepheris* therefore was to deprive *Carthage* of her chief magazine. This *Æmilianus* undertook, and ſucceeded in the attempt; for he firſt forced the enemy's intrenchments, put ſeventy thouſand of them to the ſword, and made ten thouſand priſoners, all the inhabitants of the country, who could not retire to *Carthage*, having taken refuge in this camp. After this the conſul laid ſiege to *Nepheris*, which was protracted longer than he expected. However, *Æmilianus* made himſelf maſter of this important place, after he had been twenty two days before it. In this enterpriſe the *Romans* were greatly aſſiſted by a body of *Numidian* horſe, under the command of *Guluſſa*, who had ſucceeded his father *Maſiniſſa* in the kingdom of *Numidia*. *Maſiniſſa* himſelf had lent the *Romans* no aſſiſtance in this war, being juſtly piqued at their having undertaken it, without imparting their deſign to him. *Aſdrubal*, being diſheartened by the defeat of the army, and touched with the miſery of the beſieged, now reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions, offered in the name of the *Carthaginians* to ſubmit to what conditions the *Romans* pleaſed, provided they would only ſpare the city. But the conſul abſolutely refuſing to recede

Æmilianus forces the intrenchments of the Carthaginians.

[f] Liv. in epit. Appian. in Punic. N. 78. Polyb. in excerpt. apud Valeſium.

from

from his inſtructions with regard to the demolition of *Carthage*, *Aſdrubal*, aſſuming the air and geſture of a bully, *No*, ſaid he, *no*, *the ſun ſhall never ſee* Carthage *deſtroyed*, *and* Aſdrubal *alive* [g].

IN the mean time, the conſular year being expired, the republic choſe *C. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius* conſuls. But *Æmilianus* was continued general of the army in *Africa*; till ſuch time as he ſhould finiſh the great work he had undertaken. Early in the ſpring he renewed the ſiege of *Carthage*; and, in order to open himſelf a way into the city, he ordered *Lælius* to attempt the reduction of *Cotho*, a ſmall iſland, which divided the two ports. The proconſul himſelf made a falſe attack on the citadel, in order to draw the enemy thither. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect; for the citadel, known by the name of *Byrſa*, being a place of the utmoſt importance, moſt of the *Carthaginians* haſtened thither, and made their utmoſt efforts to repulſe the aggreſſors. But, in the mean time, *Lælius* having, with incredible expedition, built a wooden bridge over the channel, which divided *Cotho* from the iſthmus, entered the iſland, ſcaled the walls of the fortreſs which the *Carthaginians* had built there, and made himſelf maſter of that important poſt. The proconſul, who was engaged before *Byrſa*, no ſooner underſtood by the great ſhout the *Romans* gave, that they had got poſſeſſion of *Cotho*, than he abandoned the falſe attack, and unexpectedly fell on the neighbouring gate of the city, which he broke down, notwithſtanding the ſhowers of darts that were inceſſantly diſcharged upon his men from the ramparts. As night coming on prevented the proconſul from proceeding farther, he made a lodgment within the gate, and waited there for the return of day, with a deſign to advance through the city to the citadel, and attack it on that ſide, which was but indifferently fortified. Purſuant to this deſign, at day-break he ordered four thouſand freſh troops to be ſent him from his camp; but did not think it lawful to proceed in the attempt, till he had performed a religious ceremony, then practiſed by the *Romans* before the taking and ſacking of great cities. This was to evocate the tutelary gods of the place, that is, to intreat them to abandon a place which was unworthy of their preſence and protection. When this ceremony was over, the proconſul ſolemnly devoted the inhabitants of *Carthage* to death and to the gods of hell, in theſe words: *O Jupiter! Pluto, and ye infernal* Manes, *let looſe againſt the* Carthaginian *people fear, terror, and vengeance. Let the nation and*

The iſland of Cotho *taken by the* Romans, *and one of the gates of the city.*

[g] LIV. APPIAN. & POLYB. ibid.

cities, which have taken up arms againſt us, be overcome and deſtroyed. I devote and deliver up to you, Furies, *all the enemies of my republic, in my own name, and in the name of the ſenate and people of* Rome. *But as for our legions and auxiliary troops, guard them from death and the accidents of war.*

THE proconſul had no ſooner performed this ceremony, than he began to advance at the head of his men through the ſtreets of the city, in order to attack the citadel. *Polybius* the hiſtorian, who marched by his ſide, adviſed him to throw caltrops and planks full of nails with the points upwards in the ſtreets through which he paſſed, to prevent his being ſurpriſed in the rear. But the brave general replied, *You are over cautious,* Polybius; *there is nothing to be feared from a city, which is full of confuſion, and already taken.* This ſaid, he advanced to the market-place, from whence three exceeding ſteep ſtreets led to the citadel. The houſes on both ſides were very high, and filled with *Carthaginians,* who overwhelmed the *Romans,* as they advanced, with darts and ſtones; ſo that they could not proceed till they had cleared them. To this end the proconſul in perſon, at the head of a detachment, attacked the firſt houſe, and made himſelf maſter of it ſword in hand. His example was followed by the officers and ſoldiers, who went on from houſe to houſe, putting all to the ſword they met with. As faſt as the houſes were cleared on both ſides of the ſtreets, the *Romans* advanced in order of battle towards the citadel, but met with a vigorous reſiſtance from the *Carthaginians,* who on this occaſion behaved with uncommon reſolution. From the market-place to the citadel two bodies of men fought their way every ſtep, one above on the roofs of the houſes, the other below in the ſtreets. The ſlaughter was inexpreſſibly great and dreadful. The air rung with ſhrieks and lamentations. Some were cut in pieces, others threw themſelves down from the tops of the houſes; ſo that the ſtreets were filled with dead and mangled bodies. But the deſtruction was yet greater, when, by order of the proconſul, fire was ſet to that quarter of the town, which lay next to the citadel. Incredible multitudes, who had eſcaped the ſwords of the enemy, periſhed in the flames, and by the fall of the houſes. After the fire, which laſted ſix days, had demoliſhed houſes enough for the proconſul's purpoſe, he ordered the rubbiſh to be removed, and a large area to be made, where all his troops might have room to act. Then he appeared with his whole army before *Byrſa,* which ſo terrified the *Carthaginians,* who had fled thither for refuge, that firſt of all twenty five thouſand women, and ſoon after thirty thouſand men, came out of the gates, in ſuch a condition as moved

The proconſul ſets fire to one of the quarters of the city.

moved pity. They threw themſelves proſtrate before the *Roman* general; aſking no favour but life. This the proconſul readily granted, not only to them, but to all who were in *Byrſa*, except the *Roman* deſerters, whoſe number amounted to nine hundred. The wife of *Aſdrubal* earneſtly intreated her huſband to ſuffer her to join the ſuppliants, and carry with her to the proconſul her two ſons, who were yet very young. But the barbarous governor denied her requeſt, and rejected the remonſtrances of his wife with menaces. The *Roman* deſerters, ſeeing themſelves excluded from mercy, reſolved to die ſword in hand, like brave men, rather than to deliver themſelves up to the vengeance of *Rome*. *Aſdrubal*, finding them all to a man determined to defend themſelves to the laſt breath, committed to their care his wife and children, and then gave a moſt remarkable inſtance of cowardice and *Carthaginian* inconſtancy. This very governor, who had braved death, when it was at a diſtance, and proteſted, that the ſun ſhould never ſee him ſurvive *Carthage*; this fierce *Aſdrubal* was ſo mean-ſpirited, as to come alone, and privately throw himſelf at the conqueror's feet. The general was well pleaſed to ſee his proud rival humbled, but granted him his life, and kept him to grace his triumph. The *Carthaginians* in the citadel no ſooner underſtood that their commander had abandoned the place, than they threw open the gates, and put the proconſul in poſſeſſion of *Byrſa*. The *Romans* had now no enemy to contend with but the nine hundred deſerters, who, being reduced to deſpair, retired into the temple of *Æſculapius*, which was as a ſecond citadel within the firſt. There the proconſul attacked them; and thoſe unhappy wretches, finding there was no way to eſcape, ſet fire to the temple. As the flames ſpread, they retreated from one part to another, till they got to the roof of the building. There *Aſdrubal*'s wife appeared in her beſt apparel, as if the day of her death had been a day of triumph to her; and, after having uttered the moſt bitter imprecations againſt her huſband, whom ſhe ſaw ſtanding below with *Æmilianus*, *Baſe coward*, ſaid ſhe, *the mean things thou haſt done to ſave thy life, ſhall not avail thee; thou ſhalt die this inſtant, at leaſt, in thy two children.* Having thus ſpoke, ſhe drew out a dagger, ſtabbed them both, and, while they were yet ſtruggling for life, threw them from the top of the temple, and leaped down after them into the flames *.

Aſdrubal *delivers himſelf up to the* Roman *general.*

* APPIAN. ibid & in Syriac. PLUT. in apoph. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 1. OROS. l. iv. c. ult. LIV. in epit.

So many ſcenes of horror drew tears from the eyes of the *Roman* general, and caſt him into a penſive ſilence, which he broke at length with two verſes out of *Homer*, wherein the deſtruction of *Troy* was foretold: *The day will come, when proud* Troy *ſhall fall a prey to the flames, and the ſword ſhall mow down* Priam *and his people.* As the proconſul ſighed in repeating theſe lines, *Polybius*, who was always near him, took the liberty to aſk him, What he meant by *Troy* and the people of *Priam?* *Æmilianus*, without naming *Rome*, gave him ſufficiently to underſtand, that he feared his own country would meet with the ſame fate as *Troy* and *Carthage*. The greateſt ſtates, ſaid he, have their periods, after which fortune overturns what ſhe took pleaſure in raiſing [h]. The proconſul delivered up the city to be plundered, but in the manner preſcribed by the *Roman* military law. The ſoldiers were allowed to appropriate to themſelves all the furniture, utenſils, and braſs money they ſhould find in private houſes. But all the gold and ſilver, the ſtatues, pictures, *&c.* were reſerved to be put into the hands of the quæſtors. On this occaſion the cities of *Sicily*, which had been often plundered by the *Carthaginian* armies, recovered a great number of ſtatues, pictures, and other valuable monuments; among the reſt, the famous brazen bull, which *Phalaris* had ordered to be caſt, and made uſe of as the inſtrument of his cruelty, was reſtored to the inhabitants of *Agrigentum* (S). The proconſul put part of the ſpoils on board a galley, which he diſpatched to *Rome*, to acquaint the ſenate, that *Carthage* was taken, and the war in *Africa* finiſhed. At the ſame time he deſired new inſtructions from the conſcript fathers as to the demolition of the walls,

Carthage *plundered.*

[h] Polyb. apud Appian. Eutrop. l. iv.

(S) Among the curioſities which *Æmilianus* gave to his friends, and to ſeveral lords of *Numidia*, *Salluſt* mentions ſome libraries (30), which the general, who knew the value of ſo rich a treaſure, preſerved from the flames. He beſtowed all the books on the ſons of *Micipſa*, except twenty eight volumes, which treated of agriculture, and were ſaid to have been wrote by one *Mago* a *Carthaginian*. This work the *Roman* ſenate thought ſo uſeful, that they ordered ſome able perſons to tranſlate it out of the language of the country into *Latin*: ſo very ſenſible were the *Romans* of the advantages of huſbandry, the moſt illuſtrious men among them applying themſelves ſeriouſly to that employment, and looking upon it as the chief reſource of the ſtate.

(30) *Salluſt. de bell. Jugurth.*

temples,

temples, and houſes of *Carthage*, his good-nature and compaſſion inclining him to ſpare what yet remained of that ſtately metropolis. The joy of the people at *Rome* was inexpreſſibly great on the news of the reduction of *Carthage*. They anticipated the decree of the ſenate, and, meeting by tribes of their own accord, crouded to the temples to thank the gods for the ſucceſs of their arms. Upon the report which the meſſenger ſent by *Æmilianus* made to the ſenate, the conſcript fathers, after having ſpent ſome time in deliberations and debates, diſpatched the following inſtructions to their general: 1. The city of *Carthage* with *Byrſa* and *Megalia* ſhall be intirely demoliſhed, and no traces of them left. 2. All the cities, that have lent *Carthage* any aſſiſtance, ſhall be diſmantled. 3. The territories of thoſe cities, which have declared for the *Romans*, ſhall be inlarged with lands taken from the enemy. 4. All the lands between *Carthage* and *Hippo* ſhall be divided among the inhabitants of *Utica*. 5. All the *Africans* of the *Carthaginian* ſtate, both men and women, ſhall pay an annual tribute to the *Roman* people at ſo much *per* head. 6. The whole country, which was ſubject to the *Carthaginian* ſtate, ſhall be turned into a *Roman* province, and be governed by a prætor in the ſame manner as *Sicily*. Laſtly, *Rome* ſhall ſend commiſſioners into *Africa*, there to ſettle jointly with the proconſul the ſtate of the new province. This decree was carried by the ten commiſſioners, and ſtrictly executed. But before the proconſul deſtroyed *Carthage*, he performed all thoſe religious ceremonies which were required on ſuch occaſions: He firſt ſacrificed victims to the gods, and then cauſed a plough to be drawn round the walls of the city. After this the towers, ramparts, walls, and all the works which the *Carthaginians* had raiſed, in the courſe of many ages and at a vaſt expence, were levelled with the ground. Laſtly, fire was ſet to the edifices of this proud metropolis, which conſumed them all, not a ſingle houſe eſcaping the flames. Though the fire began in all quarters at the ſame time, and burnt with incredible fury, it continued for ſeventeen days together before all the buildings were conſumed; and hence we may judge of the vaſt extent of that metropolis. When the city was intirely demoliſhed, and the affairs of the new province ſettled, the proconſul imbarqued his troops, and returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with a magnificent triumph, and the glorious ſurname of the *Second Africanus*. After his triumph he depoſited in the capitol an urn full of the aſhes of the capital of *Africa*, which he thought an agreeable offering to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. *Aſdrubal*, and *Byrſas* the general of the

Carthage *utterly deſtroyed.* Year of the Flood, 2858. Before Chriſt, 141. Of Rome 607.

the *Carthaginian* horſe, after having been led in chains before the triumphant victor's chariot, were, at the requeſt of *Æmilianus*, allowed to enjoy both life and liberty. *Appian* is the only author who tells us, that *Aſdrubal* killed himſelf, to avoid the ſhame of being carried in triumph. The reſt of the priſoners were ſold to the beſt bidder, or periſhed in the various priſons, to which they were confined [1]. Thus ended one of the moſt renowned cities in the world, both for command and riches, after it had ſubſiſted near ſeven hundred years, given law to many diſtant provinces, and for the ſpace of a hundred years rivalled *Rome* herſelf, and reduced her once to the utmoſt extremity.

Corinth deſtroyed.

Carthage was not the only great and wealthy city which the *Romans* deſtroyed in this remarkable year. *Corinth* had the ſame fate, after it had flouriſhed at leaſt nine hundred years. But, as we have given, in our hiſtory of the *Achæans*, a very particular account of this memorable event, we ſhall not treſpaſs upon our readers patience by repeating the ſame tranſactions, but follow the victorious arms of the republic in the conqueſts they made, after the reduction of *Greece* and *Africa*, which were both now become *Roman* provinces.

[1] Appian. in Punic. Eutrop. l. iv. Flor. l. ii. c. 15. Zonar. l. ix.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The history of Rome, *from the destruction of* Carthage, *to the end of the sedition of the* Gracchi.

AFTER the destruction of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, *Rome* had no enemy to contend with, either in *Greece* or *Africa*, the imperious republic having put it out of the power of the conquered people to raise new disturbances. However, she was not yet in a condition to lay down her arms, and suffer her citizens, after so many labours, to enjoy at home the sweets of peace. She had still a troublesome war to maintain in *Spain*, where the brave *Viriathus* had gained great advantages over all the generals, who had been sent against him, during the late *Punic* war. After the defeat and death of *Vitellius*, of whom we have spoken above, the *Lusitanian* had augmented his forces, and defeated in three pitched battles the prætors *Caius Plautius Hypsæus* and *Claudius Unimanus*, though they led against him very numerous armies. As he had been victorious for six years together, putting the *Romans* to flight where-ever he met them, he had drawn off whole nations from *Rome*, and laid waste the countries of her most faithful allies. The senate therefore thought it necessary to send a consul of reputation, with a consular army into *Further Spain*, and chose for that expedition *Q. Fabius Æmilianus*, who had been just raised to the consulate with *L. Hostilius Mancinus*. The latter had commanded the *Roman* fleet in *Africa*, two years before, in quality of prætor; the former was brother to the second *Africanus*, and son to *Paulus Æmilius*, but adopted into the *Fabian* family,

Viriathus *gains great advantages over the* Romans *in* Spain.

family, whence he had the name of *Fabius*, and the ſurname of *Æmilianus*. While he continued at *Rome* to raiſe two new legions, *C. Lælius*, the friend of the *Second Africanus*, to whom *Hither Spain* had fallen by lot, imbarqued without delay, and, paſſing from his own province into *Further Spain*, convinced the *Luſitanian* general, that he was not invincible; and this is all we learn from hiſtory of this expedition. Some months after *Fabius* arrived, but ſpent the whole ſummer in inuring his new troops to the toils of war and diſcipline. The next year, when *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* and *L. Aurel. Cotta* were conſuls, *Fabius*, who was continued in the command of the army in *Spain*, gained two victories over *Viriathus*, and made himſelf maſter of two important places, which had been long in the hands of the rebels. However, on his return to *Rome* the ſenate did not judge his victories worthy of a triumph, which at this time was granted to ſuch generals only, as had killed at leaſt five thouſand of the enemy in one battle [k].

But is defeated by Q. Fabius.

The next year, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* and *Appius Claudius Pulcher* were raiſed to the conſulate, and the former with the prætor *Q. Pompeius* appointed to carry on the war againſt *Viriathus*. *Pompeius* reached *Spain* before *Metellus*, and attacked *Viriathus* with ſome ſucceſs. But he was afterwards worſted by the *Luſitanian*, driven out of the field, and obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Corduba*. Soon after *Metellus* arrived, and offered the enemy battle, which *Viriathus* declined; and then the conſul, entering the country of the *Arevacæ*, who had lately revolted, obliged the whole nation to ſubmit upon his own terms. *Metellus* was an officer of great experience and perſonal bravery, very ſevere in keeping the ſoldiers to their duty, and the author of the famous ſaying, ſince put into the mouths of many generals, *If he thought that his coat could be privy to his deſigns, he would burn it* [l]. While *Metellus* was ſignaliſing himſelf in *Spain*, his collegue, who commanded an army in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, forced the *Salaſſi* into a rebellion. This nation inhabited a province near the head of the *Po*, and had frequent diſputes with their neighbours the *Inſubres* about the *Druria*, which watered their country before it reached the borders of *Inſubria*. This river then brought down gold mixed with its ſand, and the *Salaſſi* uſed ſeveral arts to gather the particles of this precious metal, before they were carried by the

Metellus gains the aſcendant over Viriathus.

[k] Appian. in Iberic. [l] Author. de vir. illuſtr. Plut. in apoph.

ſtream

ſtream into the country of the *Inſubres*. Of this the *Inſubres* complained to the conſul, who hereupon immediately entered the country of the *Salaſſi* in a hoſtile manner, and obliged them, contrary to their inclinations, to have recourſe to arms in their own defence. The conſul was defeated in a pitched battle, and loſt five thouſand of his men. Upon the news of this defeat the *Sibylline* books being conſulted, the decemvirs declared, that all the forms of religion had not been obſerved in this haſty war with the *Salaſſi*. Hereupon the general was ordered to offer a ſacrifice on the borders of the enemy's country. He obeyed, and then the prejudices of religion giving the ſuperſtitious ſoldiery new courage, he fought a ſecond battle, defeated the *Salaſſi*, and killed five thouſand of them in his turn. As ſoon as the campaign was ended, the conſul returned to *Rome*, and demanded a triumph for having killed five thouſand of the enemy in a pitched battle, which was the preſent rule: But as he had loſt five thouſand legionaries in a former battle, his petition was rejected. Hereupon the conſul decreed himſelf that honour, and was the firſt who entered *Rome* triumphantly in ſpite of the ſenate and people. As he was advancing towards the capitol, a tribune of the people attempted to bring the victor down from his chariot. But his daughter *Claudia*, a veſtal, whom he carried in the chariot with him, oppoſed the tribune, who after ſome altercations gave way, and in the perſon of *Claudia* ſhewed his regard both for her ſex and profeſſion. The conduct of the veſtal was highly applauded by the people, but the conſul was loaded with curſes [m].

The Salaſſi *defeat the* Romans, *but are in a ſecond battle defeated by them.*

THE following year, when *Q. Fabius Servilianus* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus* were conſuls, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who was continued in *Spain* in quality of proconſul, purſued the war there, and diſplayed his ſtrict regard to diſcipline among his own troops, and his humanity to the conquered, in ſo glorious a manner, that it is not eaſy to decide which did him moſt honour. As he could not bring *Viriathus* to a battle, he applied himſelf to the recovering of thoſe places, which had ſided with the *Luſitanian*. He firſt laid ſiege to *Contrebia*, and having made a breach in the wall, appointed five manipuli to mount it. Theſe were repulſed; but the general ordered them to renew the attack, without being reinforced; and then the ſhame of their former cowardice inſpired them with ſuch reſolution, that they fought like lions, and, in ſpite

[m] LIV. epit. l. liii. STRAB. l. iv. DIO. CASS. l. liii.

of all oppoſition, carried the place. He then inveſted *Nertobrigia*, where he gave a remarkable inſtance of his humanity and good-nature. A chief lord of the country, named *Rhetogenes*, came out of the place, and ſurrendered himſelf to the *Romans*. But, as he had left in the city his wife and children, the inhabitants, inraged at his deſertion, placed them in the breach, which the legionaries were to mount. Hereupon the good-natured general, finding he could not attack the city without ſpilling their blood, abandoned a certain conqueſt, and raiſed the ſiege. The fame of an act of ſuch humanity being ſoon ſpread through all *Tarragonian Spain*, the inhabitants of the revolted cities ſtrove who ſhould firſt ſubmit to him. *Metellus* received them, and among the reſt the *Nertobrigians*, into an alliance with *Rome*; and at length recovered the whole country except *Termantia* and *Numantia* [n], of which cities we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

Metellus recovers all Tarrogonian Spain.

On the other hand, the conſul *Servilianus*, who was engaged with *Viriathus* in *Further Spain*, gained at firſt ſome advantages over that brave commander; but in the end was defeated by him with the loſs of three thouſand legionaries. The *Luſitanian* would have taken the *Roman* camp, if he had not been prevented by a young *Roman* named *Caius Fannius*, ſon-in-law to *Caius Lælius*, who, putting himſelf at the head of the legionaries, ſuſtained the attack of the enemy, till night coming on put an end to the conflict [o].

The conſul Servilianus *defeated by* Viriathus.

When the time came for the great elections, *Q. Pompeius*, a man of a mean, if not of an infamous birth, was raiſed to the conſulate in preference to *Caius Lælius*, though ſupported by the intereſt of his inſeparable friend *Scipio Æmilianus*. The collegue given him was *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, a patrician. In the ſame comitia *Servilianus* was appointed to continue the war in *Spain* as proconſul; whereas *Metellus* was only allowed to command in *Hither Spain* till the arrival of his ſucceſſor, though he earneſtly ſolicited the favour, formerly granted to others, of finiſhing the war, which he had ſo happily begun. When he underſtood, that *Pompey*, a man of no birth or merit, and beſides his perſonal enemy, was to ſucceed him, he reſolved to make the beſt uſe of his time, and ſignalize himſelf by ſome great action, before the arrival of his worthleſs ſucceſſor. With this view he marched out of his quarters in the depth of the winter, entered the *further* province, and taking his rout towards *Luſitania*, where *Viriathus* had

Metellus recalled.

He acts alone in Spain.

[n] Liv. ibid Front. Strat. l. iv. c. 1 Flor. l. ii. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. [o] Liv. in epit. l. xxxv. Eutrop. l. iv. Appian in Iberic.

cantoned

cantoned his troops, endeavoured, before he left *Spain*, to draw that famous commander to a battle. But *Viriathus*, though proud and enterpriſing againſt others, kept himſelf wholly upon the defenſive againſt *Metellus*, who thereupon over-ran great part of the country, and brought back *Eſcadia*, *Gemella*, *Obalcula* (T), and many other conſiderable cities to their duty. Some of the heads of the revolt were puniſhed with death, and the reſt, to the number of nine thouſand five hundred, ſold to the beſt bidder. Thus *Metellus* ſhewed what he could do, and would have done, had he been continued in his province; which was the chief point he had in view But, in the height of his ſucceſs, news was brought him, that his ſucceſſor had left *Rome*; and then his reſentment revived; he vented his paſſion, firſt, in raſh expreſſions, and then in actions, which were much more blameable. In the height of his paſſion, he reſolved to weaken the army he was to deliver up. With this view he diſbanded the flower of his troops, exhauſted the magazines, let his elephants die, broke in pieces the arrows which were provided for the *Cretan* archers, and threw them into the river. Thus *Metellus*, famous for the conqueſt of *Macedon*, whence he had the glorious ſurname of *Macedonicus*, and one of the beſt commanders *Rome* had, ſacrificed the good of his country to his own private ambition. On his return he was refuſed a triumph; the ſlighteſt puniſhment the republic could inflict upon him †. But after all, the army, which *Metellus* ſurrendered up to *Pompey*, conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, a ſufficient force to have ſubdued all *Celtiberia*, if the new general had had the conduct and experience of his predeceſſor. He no ſooner appeared in the field, than the *Termantians* and *Numantines*, who had kept themſelves in a ſtate of independency, offered him very advantageous terms of peace. But the preſumptuous conſul imprudently and obſtinately inſiſted upon their delivering up their arms, and thereby kindled a war, which coſt the *Romans* a great deal of blood. The conſul,

His reſentments.

The occaſion of the Numantine *war.*

† APPIAN. ibid. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 3.

(T) All we know of *Eſcadia* is, that it ſtood in the neighbourhood of *Bætica* and *Luſitania*. *Gemella*, called by *Plini Tucci* and *Gemella Auguſta*, ſtood, according to *Ambroſius Morales*, in the place where *Martos*, a ſmall city of *Andaluſia*, now ſtands. *Obolcula*, which *Antoninus* and *Ptolemy* call *Obulcula*, was a city of *Turdetania*, a province of *Bætica*. *Rodericus Carus* is of opinion, that it ſtood on the ſpot where *Caſtillo de la Monclova* was afterwards built, that is, forty two miles eaſt of *Seville*. This ſituation agrees with *Antoninus*'s itinerary.

full of confidence, drew near *Numantia* and invested it; but the *Numantines*, having first surrounded and cut in pieces a party of *Romans*, fell afterwards upon the main body of the army, and so galled them from the neighbouring eminences with showers of darts and arrows, that the consul thought it advisable to retire. Accordingly, he removed to *Termantia*; but was not attended with better success before this city, than before the other. The very first day, the *Termantians* killed seven hundred of his legionaries, took a great convoy, which was coming to the *Roman* camp, after having put to flight the tribune who escorted it, and not only defeated a considerable body of *Roman* horse, but forced them to retire from post to post, till they came to the edge of a a precipice, where they pushed both men and horses down over one another; so that they were all dashed to pieces among the rocks. The *Termantians* continued in the field all night, in order to engage the rest of the *Roman* cavalry the next day; which they did accordingly; but, the enemy being far superior to them in numbers, they were forced to quit the field, after having kept their ground from break of day to sun-set. The number of the slain was equal on both sides; but the loss, which was a very considerable one to a small nation, was scarce felt by the *Romans*. However, the consul did not think fit to besiege the city; but marched to *Malia*, a small town, whose inhabitants surrendered to the *Romans*, after having massacred the *Numantine* garison. From thence the consul advanced to *Lanci*, or, as others call it, *Lagni*, which covered the country of the *Numantines*. The *Numantine* garison, finding that the inhabitants had privately agreed with the consul to sacrifice them, entered their houses in the night, and made a dreadful slaughter of them. The consul, taking advantage of this intestine war, gave orders for the assault, and made himself, without opposition, master of the defenceless city. *Pompey*, seeing himself in possession of the place, thought it necessary to signalize his clemency and severity; but unluckily he misapplied them both; for he put the *Lancians* to the sword, and gave quarter to the *Numantian* garison. Such were the exploits of *Pompey*, after having kindled the *Numantian* war, and exasperated a brave people, whom he might have reduced upon terms very advantageous for his republic [p].

The Numantines and Termantians gain considerable advantages over the Romans.

In *Further Spain*, the proconsul *Servilianus* opened the campaign with success, having obliged *Viriathus* to raise the siege of *Baccia*, and taken some castles in that neighbourhood.

[p] Appian. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. in eclog. Oros. l. v. c. 4. Front. Strat. l. iv. Val. Max l. ii. c. 4.

This

This encouraged the conſul to lay ſiege to *Eriſana*, a ſtrong city in *Luſitania*. But *Viriathus*, having by long marches reached the place, and got into it with a ſtrong detachment in the night, before the lines of circumvallation were finiſhed, made a vigorous ſally upon the *Romans*, and drove them to a place where the reſt of his army lay in ambuſh. There they were ſurrounded on all ſides, and ſo hemmed in, that the only choice they had left was death or ſlavery. The brave *Luſitanian*, having now the proconſul and the whole *Roman* army in his power, inſtead of putting them all to the ſword, as he might have eaſily done, ſent a deputation to *Servilianus*, offering to conclude a peace with him on this ſingle condition; *That he ſhould continue maſter of the country now in his power, and that the* Romans *ſhould remain poſſeſſed of the reſt of* Spain. The proconſul, who expected nothing leſs than death or ſlavery, thought theſe very favourable and moderate terms; and therefore, without heſitation, concluded a peace, ſigned it, and got it ſoon after ratified by the *Roman* ſenate and people. Thus *Viriathus* at length put in execution the glorious deſign he had always had in view, which was to erect himſelf a kingdom, in the vaſt country he conquered from the republic [q]. And indeed, had it not been for the treachery of the *Romans*, he would have become, as an antient author calls him, the *Romulus* of *Spain* [r]. He would have founded a monarchy capable of counterbalancing the power of *Rome*, or at leaſt of ſetting bounds to her conqueſts in thoſe parts.

The proconſul Servilianus *forced to make peace with* Viriathus.

THE next year, *C. Lælius* was promoted to the conſulate with *Q. Servilius Cæpio*. The latter was a man of no probity or honour; but, however, it fell to his lot to command in *Further Spain*, while *Lælius*, a general of experienced wiſdom, equity, and valour, continued inactive in *Rome*. *Pompey* was continued general in *Hither Spain*; but the republic ſent a certain number of ſenators to regulate his conduct, and temper his fire. Before they arrived, he undertook the mad project of reducing *Numantia*, by turning the ſtream of the *Durius*, which ſupplied it with water. This gave the inhabitants an opportunity of haraſſing his troops, and cutting off ſuch numbers of them, that he was at length obliged to abandon the enterprize, and retire from before the place. And now the great army, he had received from *Metellus*, being reduced to a very ſmall number of troops, he began to reflect ſeriouſly on his miſconduct; and, in order to ſcreen

[q] APPIAN. LIV. DIODOR. SICUL. ibid [r] FLOR. l. ii c. 17.

himſelf

himſelf from cenſures, very artfully brought about a peace with the *Numantians*, on worſe terms than they had before offered him; for they only agreed to deliver up the *Roman* deſerters, and pay the republic thirty talents at different times. However, this peace was approved of, and ſigned both by *Pompey* and the ſenators, who had been ſent from *Rome* to be of his council. In the mean time, *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, to whoſe lot *Further Spain* had fallen, being deſirous to revenge the diſgrace the *Romans* had ſuffered the laſt year before *Eriſana*, preſſed the ſenate to order him to break the peace with *Viriathus*. The letters he wrote, after his arrival in *Spain*, and his continual remonſtrances, made ſuch impreſſions on the ſenate, that they baſely directed him to exaſperate the *Luſitanian* by mean artifices, and force him by repeated affronts to commit the firſt acts of hoſtility. Purſuant to this order, which was ſo unworthy of a great and powerful people, the conſul did all he could to pick a quarrel with *Viriathus*; but he overlooked the affronts offered him, proteſting, that he would inviolably obſerve the conditions of the peace, granted him by the *Roman* ſenate and people. The conſul, finding he could not by any means ſtir up the *Luſitanian* to an open breach, made freſh applications to the ſenate; and the conſcript fathers, to the eternal ſhame of their republic, ordered him to declare war; and proclaimed *Viriathus*, who had not given them the leaſt provocation, an enemy to *Rome*. The conſul was no ſooner impowered to begin the war, than he put his troops in motion, and having made himſelf maſter of *Arſa*, a city of *Bætica*, he purſued *Viriathus* into the country of the *Carpetani*, and there reduced him to great ſtraits. But the *Luſitanian* made a moſt glorious retreat, and, though the conſul believed him ſhut in among the hills and rocks on all ſides, he diſappeared with his troops ſo ſuddenly, that the *Romans*, when they returned to their camp, turned the affair into ridicule, and were very ſevere in their jeſts on their general. *Cæpio*, ſeeing himſelf thus deluded by the enemy, entered the country of the *Vettones*, and committed there moſt dreadful devaſtations. He then marched in queſt of *Viriathus*, whom he reduced ſo low, having an army far ſuperior in number to his, that the *Luſitanian* was forced to ſue again for peace, and even to comply with the hard preliminary impoſed upon him, which was to ſacrifice all thoſe who had cauſed any cities to revolt from the *Romans*, among whom was his wife's father. He put ſome of them to death in his own camp, and the reſt he delivered up to the ſeverity of the conſul, who cut off their right hands.

A peace with the Numantians.

The baſeneſs and injuſtice of the Romans.

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He hoped, that this blind obedience would ſoften the conſul. But, to his great ſurprize, the next order he received was, to diſarm his troops; this the whole army rejected with great indignation, and hoſtilities were renewed, during which *Viriathus* continued his negotiations with the conſul, being wholly bent on founding a new kingdom in *Spain*, and ſettling himſelf on the throne. The perſons he employed to treat with *Cæpio* were *Audax*, *Ditalco*, and *Minur*, in whom he repoſed an intire confidence. But the conſul finding them, after ſome private conferences, to be men wholly devoted to their own intereſt, and capable of any crime, by which they could promote it, engaged them by rich preſents and great promiſes baſely and treacherouſly to murder their general and their friend in his ſleep. Thus the *Romans* now began to have no regard to the law of nations, to public faith, or to humanity itſelf. The aſſaſſins, after they had committed the execrable murder, fled to the conſul's camp, informed him, that they had diſpatched his rival, and demanded the promiſed reward. But they found by experience, that traitors are hated even by thoſe who profit by their treachery. For the conſul told them, that all he would do for them was, to give them protection, adding with a reproachful air, that the *Roman* magiſtrates were not very ready to reward thoſe who murdered their own generals. The *Luſitanian* troops were inconſolable for the loſs of their commander, who was, without all doubt, the greateſt man *Spain* ever bred, and deemed invincible by *Rome* herſelf. After his death the *Luſitanians* appointed one *Tantalus* to command them, who, having raſhly undertaken the ſiege of *Saguntum*, was ſurprized by *Cæpio*, defeated, and forced to ſurrender himſelf and his whole army at diſcretion. And thus an end was put to this troubleſome war, after it had laſted fourteen years. However, the ſenate had ſtill ſo much honour left, as to refuſe a triumph to the infamous conſul, though they enjoyed the fruits of his villainy, and even continued him in the command of the army another year in *Further Spain*, with the title of proconſul [f].

The infamous conduct of Cæpio.

The war in Further Spain *ended.*

THE next year, when *Lucius Calpurnius Piſo* and *M. Popilius Lænas* were conſuls, the republic baſely and unjuſtly broke the treaty, which *Pompey* had concluded with the *Numantines*, though the proconſul had received from thoſe unfortunate people the deſerters, hoſtages, and money ſtipulated. The following year, *P. Scipio Naſica* and *D. Junius Brutus* were advanced to the conſulate, and the latter appointed

[f] APPIAN, in Iberic. DIODOR SICUL. apud. VALES. Auth. de vir. illuſtr.

pointed to govern *Further Spain*, where he executed the orders he brought from *Rome*, of ſettling ſome of the veterans in a colony with *Viriathus*'s ſoldiers. This new colony he called *Valentia*, which in proceſs of time became a place of great renown. After this he attacked the banditti, who ravaged his province, in their own country, which not only the men, but likewiſe the women, defended with unparalleled bravery. However, the conſul at length reduced, and, in regard of their courage, pardoned them. In the mean time, *Popilius*, now proconſul, purſuant to the orders he received from the ſenate, broke the treaty of peace with *Numantia*, and marched againſt that city. But he no ſooner appeared before it, than the *Numantines*, ſallying out, put the whole *Roman* army to flight, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of them, that they were not in a condition to make any further attempts, during the whole campaign. In the following conſulate of *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Hoſtilius Mancinus*, *Brutus* paſſed the *Minius* in *Further Spain*, and entered the country of the *Bracarini*, where the women, intermixed with all their troops, fought with aſtoniſhing bravery. They engaged the legionaries without betraying the leaſt fear, killed many of them, and were themſelves cut in pieces without a ſhriek. Nevertheleſs *Talabriſia* and other cities ſurrendered; and the conſul, rather by his clemency, than by his ſword, gained over the whole country to the intereſt of *Rome* [c].

The Romans *defeated before* Numantia.

During theſe expeditions of *Brutus* in *Further Spain*, the conſul *Mancinus* took upon him the command of the army, which was delivered up to him by *Popilius* in *Hither Spain*, and drew near to *Numantia*. But, as thoſe brave legionaries, who were the terror of the whole world, trembled at the very ſight, nay, at the bare name of a *Numantine*, the conſul thought it adviſeable to decamp, and move farther off in the night. But the *Numantines*, being informed of their motions, purſued them, and having firſt ſeized the camp, which they had abandoned, came up with the flying legions, and made a dreadful havock of them. The conſular army conſiſted of at leaſt thirty thouſand, whereas the *Numantines* were not above four thouſand. Nevertheleſs, this ſmall body, as ſtrange as it may appear, killed in the purſuit twenty thouſand of the *Romans*, and put the reſt to a diſorderly flight. At the return of light the conſul ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by heaps of dead bodies, and ſhut in on all ſides by the enemy in a rough and mountainous country. But in this ſad ſitu-

The Numantines *entirely defeat the* Roman *army.*

[c] Liv. in epit. Front. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 17. Appian, ibid.

ation,

ation, instead of giving himself up to despair, he acted as prudence and the present necessity seemed to require. As there was no way left for him and the poor remains of his army to escape, the prudent consul began a negotiation with the enemy, offering to conclude a peace with them upon reasonable terms. This was what the *Numantines* had long desired; but nevertheless, the bad success of their agreement with the consul *Pompeius* deterred them from entering into a treaty with a *Roman* general. They therefore desired to treat only with *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, who was then quæstor in the consular army, and greatly esteemed for his probity even by the enemy. With him the conferences were begun, and a peace concluded upon these terms: 1. That the *Numantines* should suffer the *Romans* to retire unmolested: 2. That the inhabitants of *Numantia* should maintain their independence, and be reckoned among the friends of the *Roman* people. The consul, the quæstor, and all the chief officers of the *Roman* army, bound themselves by a solemn oath inviolably to observe the second article. By this means the lives of ten thousand citizens were saved to the republic; so that the quæstor hoped to make a merit of his negotiation with the *Roman* people. The *Numantines*, soon after the treaty was concluded, gave an instance of the sincerity of their intentions. When they plundered the *Roman* camp, they had taken among other things the quæstor's books of accounts; and *Gracchus* went into the city to demand them. The *Numantines* received him with great civility and politeness, restored him his books, and even offered him all the booty they had taken in the camp. But the quæstor, charmed with the generosity and good-nature of the *Numantines*, rejected the offer, and accepted only of a small box which belonged to him, and was full of the incense which he used to burn in honour of his domestic gods [u].

They conclude a peace with the Romans.

WHEN news of the peace concluded with the *Numantines* was brought to *Rome*, the shocking injustice and baseness of the *Romans* towards so generous an enemy appeared anew. The *Numantines* had saved the lives of ten thousand *Romans*, who were in their power, when the peace was concluded; but though the senate and people were glad to reap this advantage from the treaty, yet they resolved to break it; and therefore would not admit the *Numantine* embassadors, on their first arrival, within the walls of the city. 'Tis true, that when the new consuls, *P. Furius Philus* and *Sex. Atilius Serranus*, were chosen, they granted them an audience,

The baseness and injustice of the Romans.

[u] Liv. in epit. Plut. in Gracch. Appian. in Iberic.

when one of the embaſſadors made a ſpeech in the ſenate, which would have affected them, if they had had any ſenſe of juſtice or humanity. But as thoſe virtues had now forſaken *Rome*, the ſenate and people baſely and unjuſtly reſolved to break the peace, and extirpate that generous and innocent people, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the conſul, the quæſtor, and all the officers of the army who had ſerved in *Spain*. They pretended to make the injured *Numantines* ſatisfaction, by ordering the conſul *Mancinus* to be carried, bound hand and foot, to one of the gates of *Numantia*, and be there delivered up to the enemy, ſtripped of his arms and cloaths [w].

The Romans *defeated by the* Vaccæi.

During theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who had been ſent to ſucceed *Mancinus* in *Hither Spain*, began an unjuſt war with the *Vaccæi*, purely for the ſake of finding himſelf work. But, while he was preparing to beſiege *Palantia*, their capital, deputies came from *Rome*, with a decree of the ſenate ordering him to deſiſt. However, *Æmilius* perſiſted in his deſign, till the *Vaccæi*, by intercepting his convoy, obliged him to decamp for want of proviſions. The *Romans* left their camp in the night, and the *Vaccæi*, knowing in what confuſion they retired, purſued them, and in the purſuit put ſix thouſand legionaries to the ſword. Nevertheleſs, *Æmilius*, on his return to *Rome*, was treated with more lenity than he expected, being condemned only to pay a fine. And now the conſul *P. Furius Philus*, being arrived in *Spain* with orders to renew the war with the *Numantines*, thought it neceſſary in the firſt place to deliver up to them the victim he had brought from *Rome*. It was an affecting ſight to ſee a conſular man, who had lately appeared guarded by lictors, at the head of a flouriſhing army, now deprived of all the marks of a *Roman* citizen, ſtripped naked to the waiſt, and formally committed to the care of a fecialis, who was to put him into the hands of the enemy, for having, as was pretended, impoſed upon them by a falſe peace, and an unlawful oath. But the *Numantines*, not thinking the blood of one man a ſufficient atonement for the breach of the moſt folemn engagements, ſhut their gates, declaring that they would not accept of *Mancinus*, unleſs they had the whole army with him. So that, after he had lain a whole day at the gate of the city, the conſul *Furius*, agreeable to the equity of the *Romans* at that time, thinking this a ſufficient ſatisfaction to the injured people, brought him back to his camp, entertained him with reſpect, and reſtored him to all the rights of a *Roman* citizen;

Mancinus *delivered up to the* Numantines, *who refuſe to accept him.*

[w] Plut. in Gracch. Appian. in Iberic. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Oros. l. v. c. 5. Cic. de off. l. iii.

nay,

nay, he was afterwards admitted to his place in the ſenate. The war with the *Numantines*, though already declared, was not renewed while *Furius* continued in *Spain*, his commiſſion being, it ſeems, confined to the delivering up of *Mancinus*. But the next year, *Q. Calpurnius Piſo*, who was choſen conſul with *Ser. Fulvius Flaccus*, was ordered to carry on the war with vigour againſt the *Numantines*. But he, not caring to engage ſo brave and reſolute an enemy, contented himſelf with beſieging *Palantia* in the country of the *Vaccæi*, and did not ſo much as appear before *Numantia*. But *Brutus* made great conqueſts in *Luſitania*, and penetrated into the country of the *Callaici* or *Gallæci*, where he engaged an army of ſixty thouſand *Spaniards*, killed fifty thouſand of them on the ſpot, made ſix thouſand priſoners, and almoſt extirpated the whole nation. Hence he acquired the ſurname of *Callaicus*, and was continued in his government, till the war ſhould be ended. This year the *Vardæi*, a people of *Illyricum*, rebelled, and rejected all amicable meaſures. Whereupon the conſul *Flaccus* was ſent with an army to reduce them; which he did ſo effectually, that *Rome* at his return honoured him with a triumph *.

Brutus *makes great conqueſts in* Luſitania.

IN the mean while, the time for the elections being come, *Scipio Africanus* offered his nephew *Fabius Buteo* as a candidate for the quæſtorſhip, when, to his great ſurpriſe, the tribes demanded to have *Scipio* himſelf for their conſul, ſaying, that he only could deſtroy *Numantia*, who had deſtroyed *Carthage*. A law had been made ſome years before, enacting, that the ſame perſon ſhould not be twice promoted to the conſular dignity. The tribunes of the people therefore, in order to honour *Scipio* with the faſces a ſecond time with the approbation of the ſenate, propoſed to the comitia, that *Scipio* ſhould have a ſpecial privilege granted him for his promotion, and that this privilege ſhould not be made a precedent. The people accepted the propoſal with joy, and nominated him conſul for the next year with *C. Fulvius Flaccus*. *Scipio* was ordered, without drawing lots, to carry on the war againſt the *Numantines*, but was not allowed to raiſe any new levies, the ſenate telling him, that there were ſoldiers enough in *Spain*, and that they only wanted a good general. However, he drew together a body of about five hundred volunteers, all horſemen, whom he called *The ſquadron of his friends*, and borrowed about four thouſand men of the cities in *Italy*. In the number of the former was, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, the famous poet *Lucilius*. He alſo wrote to *Mi-*

Scipio Africanus *ſent againſt the* Numantines.

* FLOR. l. ii. c. 18. OROS. l. v. c. 5. LIV. epit. l. lvi.

cipſa, king of *Numidia*, to ſend him ſuccours, and then made all haſte to his province, where he wiſely ſpent the firſt ſummer in reforming his troops, till he had altered them to his wiſh; and frugality, vigilance, and a love of duty had taken place of effeminacy, lazineſs, and indolence, which had long prevailed among the officers as well as the ſoldiers. Neither did he ſpare, but rather increaſe, their labours during the winter. He obliged every man, that went out of the camp, to carry his tools, and bring back ſome ſtakes with him. When the ſoldiers complained of this hardſhip, he told them, that he would oblige them to bring paliſades to fortify the camp, till they had learnt to fortify it with their ſwords *. At this time he received a reinforcement of cavalry, elephants, and ſlingers, from *Numidia*. They were a choice body, but what moſt diſtinguiſhed them was the young prince, who commanded them, by name *Jugurtha*, a prince with whom the *Romans* will be but too well acquainted hereafter. Young *Marius* made on this occaſion his firſt campaign, and the brave prince entered into ſo ſtrict a friendſhip with him, that he was inſeparable from him, little ſuſpecting, that *Marius* would one day become his moſt cruel enemy, and his conqueror.

And now *Scipio*'s conſulſhip expired; but he was continued in the command of the *Roman* army in *Spain*, till ſuch time as *Numantia* ſhould be reduced. The new conſuls choſen were *P. Mucius Scævola* (U) and *L. Calpurnius Piſo Frugi*. *Sicily* fell by lot to the latter, where he was to make war with the revolted ſlaves; and *Italy* to the former, who continued in the capital to calm, if poſſible, the ſpirit of ſedition, which began to appear there. *Scipio*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, ſent out large detachments to ravage the country round *Numantia*; for his ſcheme was to reduce the place, not by force, which would have coſt *Rome* much blood, but by famine. After he had found that his troops were no longer afraid of the enemy, but boldly faced them, and even put them to flight, he began to put ſome confidence in his legionaries, and reſolved to begin the ſiege, or rather the blockade, without delay.

* Flor. l. ii. c. 18. Appian. ibid. Plut. in apoph.

(U) This is the ſame *P Mucius Scævola*, whom *Cicero* extolls in ſeveral places of his works, as one of the moſt able civilians and moſt virtuous citizens of *Rome*. Several of the ſame name have been famous for their virtue and probity, which ſeem to have been hereditary in the *Mucian* family.

Numantia

Numantia ſtood on a hill of a difficult acceſs, and had large fields within its walls, which were about three miles in compaſs. The inhabitants, able to bear arms, are ſaid to have been only four thouſand men, at leaſt when the place was firſt inveſted by *Scipio*, whoſe army conſiſted of threeſcore thouſand well diſciplined troops, *Romans* and *Spaniards*. Theſe the procon'ul divided into two bodies, the one commanded by himſelf, the other by his brother *Q. Fabius*, and drawing near to the city, began his works. The *Numantines*, alarmed at the ſight of ſo formidable an army, made again propoſals of peace; but the proconſul inſiſting upon their delivering up, by way of preliminary, their city, their perſons, and their arms, to be diſpoſed of at pleaſure, they reſolved to prefer a glorious death to an ignominious ſlavery. After they had taken this reſolution, they marched out of the city in good order, inſulted the *Romans* in their trenches, and with a boldneſs, which deſpair alone could inſpire, offered the *Roman* general battle. But he declined it, ſaying to his ſoldiers, who began to complain of his conduct, that an able general ought never to hazard a battle, unleſs neceſſity compels him, or ſuch an opportunity offers as makes the victory certain. *The* Numantines, ſaid he, *are actuated by deſpair; their ruin is inevitable; to engage them would be only giving them the pleaſure of ſhedding your blood.* *Scipio*, having thus reſtrained the impetuoſity of his troops, ſurrounded the place with a wide and deep ditch, ſix miles in compaſs. Without this he drew another; and behind that raiſed a rampart, which he ſecured with paliſades, and ſupported with a wall eight foot broad, and ten foot high, with towers at proper diſtances. Then to prevent any communication with the city by water, he ſtopped the navigation of the *Durius*, which waſhed the walls of the city, with a kind of *ſteccado*, which was flanked with two wooden caſtles on the two banks. When the works were finiſhed, he guarded them carefully night and day. The ramparts were lined with legionaries, the towers filled with archers and ſlingers, and men poſted all the way from the circumvallation to his camp, with orders to give notice by ſhouts on which ſide the alarm was given. When any of the works were attacked by the beſieged, the commander on the poſt attacked hung out a red ſtandard by day, and made a great fire by night; upon which notice the general, who kept always twenty thouſand men in a readineſs to march, ſent them immediately ſtrong reinforcements to drive back the enemy. *Scipio* gave no reſt to the beſieged, nor relaxation to his own troops. He viſited each poſt every day, and took

Numantia *beſieged.*

a view

a view of all the parts of this vaſt circumvallation. But notwithſtanding all the precaution he could uſe, ſix of the beſieged made their way through his camp, and, eluding the vigilance of the centries, got ſafe to the neighbouring cities, which they endeavoured to ſtir up againſt the *Romans*. But *Lutia* was the only place, which did more than pity the unfortunate *Numantines*. The youth of this city, touched with concern for their diſtreſſed countrymen, reſolved to march to their relief. But the old men in the place, having more at heart their own ſafety, than that of the *Numantines*, acquainted *Scipio* with the reſolution and deſigns of their youth. Hereupon the general without delay, flew to *Lutia* in perſon with ſome light-armed troops, marched three hundred furlongs in eight hours, and arriving, when leaſt expected, at *Lutia*, demanded the raſh young men to be delivered up to him. The inhabitants, unwilling to comply with his requeſt and part with their children, concealed them, and pretended they had made their eſcape. But *Scipio* threatening to pillage the city, they thought it adviſeable to obey, and delivered up to him four hundred of the young men who had been the chief promoters of the late reſolution. The proconſul no ſooner had them in his power, than he cauſed their right hands to be cut off, and returned to his camp by ſunriſing [y].

Numantia *reduced to great ſtraits.*

And now, famine and deſpair increaſing together in the beſieged city, five embaſſadors came out to *Scipio*, intreating him in the name of their countrymen, either to let them end their days, like brave men, in a general action, or ſave their liberty by an honourable capitulation. *Aburus*, who was at the head of the embaſſy, ſuggeſted to *Scipio*, that it was for his honour, either to ſhew clemency to a people, who had ſo bravely ſignalized their love for liberty, or at leaſt not to deſtroy them otherwiſe than with the ſword. But they received this ſhort anſwer; I will hearken to no propoſals, till you have abſolutely ſurrendered up to me your city, your perſons, and your arms, without any reſerve. Then the fury of the beſieged firſt vented itſelf on the deputies, whom they cut in pieces for bringing them nothing but ill news. Afterwards, being preſſed by want, they reſolved to make a laſt effort, in order to break through the barriers, which confined them; accordingly, they marched out in good order by two gates, and fell upon the works with a fury not to be ex-

[y] Liv. in epit. l. lvii. Appian. in Iberic. Oros. l. iii. c. 7. Aul. Gell. l. xiii. c. 3.

preſſed,

preſſed. Their fixed reſolution to die or eſcape made them inſenſible of the many wounds they received. In ſpite of the continual ſhowers of ſtones, darts, and arrows, which were diſcharged upon them from the ramparts and towers, they would have forced their way through the enemy's camp, had not *Scipio* himſelf, at the head of twenty thouſand men, haſtened to the relief of the troops that defended the poſts attacked by the enemy. They were then, after a ſharp diſpute, forced to give way to numbers, and retire, which they did in good order. But their returning into the city was only changing one kind of death for another. For they were now reduced to ſuch ſtraits as to feed firſt on the fleſh of their horſes, afterwards on that of their dead companions, and laſtly, to kill and devour one another. Thus did theſe poor citizens, who were formerly ſo firmly united in carrying on their common intereſt, make war on themſelves in a much more cruel manner, than any common enemy could have done. In this deplorable condition they held a conſultation, wherein it was reſolved, that they ſhould have recourſe to the proconſul, and make an abſolute ſurrender, ſince they could by no means hold out any longer. However, this reſolution was not univerſally approved. Great numbers choſe rather to die, than to give up their liberty; and ſhutting themſelves up in their houſes, there calmly waited for the fate, which hunger ſoon brought upon them. The reſt ſent a deputation to *Scipio*, who was touched with compaſſion at the ſight of thoſe unhappy men. There was ſomething inexpreſſibly wild in their air, and a ſavageneſs even in the manner they addreſſed him. As ſoon as they mentioned the word *ſurrender*, the proconſul received them graciouſly, and ordered them to bring all their arms to a place appointed the next day. But they demanded a longer time, which being granted, they ſet fire to their houſes, as ſome hiſtorians tell us *; reduced their city to aſhes, and either killed one another, or periſhed in the flames; inſomuch, that not one of them remained alive to grace the proconſul's triumph. But *Appian* † aſſures us, that two days after the time allotted, a conſiderable number of thoſe unhappy wretches came to the place appointed, and ſurrendered their arms, and that *Scipio*, having reſerved fifty of them for his triumph, ſold the reſt to the beſt bidder. But that as it will, thus much may be ſaid in honour of thoſe brave *Spaniards*, that, though they were few in number, they

Numantia *utterly deſtroyed.* Year of the flood 3871. Before Chriſt 133. Of *Rome* 620.

* FLOR. l. ii. c. 18. OROS. l. v. c. 7. † APPIAN in Iberic.

other

other people ſo long reſiſted the *Roman* forces, ſo often defeated the conſular armies, or brought ſo much diſgrace both on the generals and ſenate of *Romè*. *Numantia*, though infinitely inferior both to *Carthage* and *Corinth*, was much more glorious in her fall, than either of theſe proud cities. *Scipio* took *Carthage* ſword in hand; but did not think it poſſible to reduce *Numantia* otherwiſe than by famine. With this city fell all the hopes of the revolted *Spaniards*; ſo that the whole country immediately ſubmitted to the *Roman* yoke. Then the ſenate ſent ten of their body to ſettle the new province. But the *Spaniards* were too great lovers of liberty to continue long quiet. We ſhall ſee them often taking up arms and renewing the war, till the emperor *Auguſtus* intirely reduced them, and ſettled *Spain*, as well as the reſt of the then known world, in peace and tranquillity. *Scipio* on his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph; and on this occaſion the *Roman* people added the ſurname of *Numantinus* to that of *Africanus*.

Numantia, while in being, had brought numberleſs diſaſters upon *Rome*; but, in ſome ſenſe, proved ſtill more fatal to her after her deſtruction. Her aſhes, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, ſtirred up the firſt ſedition, which polluted the capitol with blood, and was a prelude to thoſe cruel civil wars, which afterwards broke out ſucceſſively in the republic, and coſt her the lives of more citizens, than the conqueſt of the world. We mean the ſedition raiſed by *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, which it may not be improper to trace up to its firſt ſource. The *Sempronian* family, from which *Tib. Gracchus* was deſcended, was, though plebeian, one of the moſt illuſtrious in the commonwealth. *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, the father of this *Gracchus*, had been twice raiſed to the conſulate, was a great general, and had been honoured with two triumphs. But he was ſtill more renowned for his domeſtic virtues and probity, than for his birth or valour. He married the daughter of the firſt *Africanus*, that famous *Cornelia*, who was the pattern of her ſex, and the prodigy of her age, and had by her ſeveral children, of whom three only arrived to maturity of age, *Tiberius Gracchus*, *Caius Gracchus*, and a daughter, named *Sempronia*, who was married to the *Second Africanus*. *Tiberius* the eldeſt was deemed the moſt accompliſhed youth in *Rome*, with reſpect to the qualities both of body and mind. His extraordinary talents were heightened by a noble and engaging countenance, and all thoſe winning graces of nature which recommend merit. He made his firſt campaign under his brother-in law, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf

The birth and education of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus.

on all occaſions by his courage and the prudence of his conduct. When he returned to *Rome*, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence, and at thirty years old was accounted the beſt orator of his age. He married the daughter of *Appius Claudius*, who had been formerly conſul and cenſor, and was then prince of the ſenate. He continued for ſome time in the ſentiments both of his own and his wife's family, and ſupported the intereſt of the patricians; but without openly attacking the popular faction. We have obſerved above, that he diſcharged the office of quæſtor in *Spain*, whither he attended the conſul *Mancinus*, and ſhared with him the misfortunes of that unhappy campaign. He was the chief author and negotiator of that ſhameful, but neceſſary, peace with the *Numantines*. The ſenate, with the utmoſt injuſtice, diſannulled the treaty, and condemned the conſul, the quæſtor, and all the officers, who had ſigned it, to be delivered up to the *Numantines*. The people indeed, out of eſteem for *Gracchus*, would not ſuffer him to be ſacrificed; but however, he had juſt reaſon to complain both of the ſenate and people, for paſſing ſo ſcandalous a decree againſt his general and himſelf, and breaking a treaty, whereby the lives of ſo many citizens had been ſaved. But, as the ſenate had chiefly promoted ſuch baſe and iniquitous proceedings, he reſolved in due time to ſhew his reſentment againſt the party, which had moſt contributed to his diſgrace. In order to this, he ſtood for the tribuneſhip of the people, which he no ſooner obtained, than he reſolved to attack the nobility in the moſt tender part. They had uſurped lands unjuſtly; cultivated them by ſlaves to the great detriment of the public, and had lived for about two hundred and fifty years in open defiance to the *Licinian* law, by which it was enacted, that no citizen ſhould poſſeſs more than five hundred acres. This law *Tib. Gracchus* reſolved to revive, and by that means revenge himſelf on the patricians. But it was not revenge alone which prompted him to imbarque in ſo dangerous an attempt. It is pretended, that his mother *Cornelia* animated him to undertake ſomething worthy both of his and her family. *I am commonly called*, ſaid ſhe, *by way of honour, the mother-in-law of the* Second Africanus. *If by don't they ſtyle me the mother of* Gracchus? *It is becauſe your name is not ſo illuſtrious as to reflect any honour upon me. For your own ſake then, and for your mother's, make yourſelf famous by ſome great attempt.* Theſe reproaches of his mother, the authority of ſome great men, namely of his father-in-law *Appius Claudius*, of *P. Craſſus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, and

He undertakes the revival of the Licinian *law.*

Mucius Scævola, the moſt learned civilian in *Rome*, and his natural thirſt after glory, joined with an eager deſire of revenge, conſpired to draw him into this moſt unfortunate ſcheme. The law, as he firſt drew it up, was very mild; for it only enacted, that thoſe, who poſſeſſed more than five hundred acres of land, ſhould part with the overplus, and that the full value of the ſaid lands ſhould be paid them out of the public treaſury. The lands, thus purchaſed by the public, were to be divided among the poor citizens, and cultivated either by themſelves, or by freemen, who were upon the ſpot. *Tiberius* allowed every child of a family to hold two hundred and fifty acres in his own name, over and above what was allowed to the father. Nothing could be more mild than this new law; ſince by the *Licinian* he might have abſolutely deprived the rich of the lands they unjuſtly poſſeſſed, and made them accountable for the profits they had received from them during their long poſſeſſion. But the rich patricians could not ſo much as bear the name of the *Licinian law*, though thus qualified. Thoſe chiefly of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order exclaimed againſt it, and were continually mounting the roſtra one after another, in order to diſſuade the people from accepting a law, which, they ſaid, would raiſe diſturbances, that might prove more dangerous than the evils which *Tiberius* pretended to redreſs by the promulgation of it. Thus the zealous tribune was obliged day after day to enter the liſts with freſh adverſaries; but he ever got the better of them, both in point of eloquence and argument. He often intermixed with his ſolid arguments ſuch topics, as were moſt proper to make impreſſions on the multitude. *The wild beaſts*, ſaid he, *have dens and caverns to retire to; while the citizens of* Rome *have not ſo much as a roof or a cottage to ſhelter them from the inclemency of the weather; nay, not ſo much as ground enough to ſerve them for a grave.* On the other hand, the rich inſiſted on the length of their poſſeſſion, on the debts they had contracted by purchaſing theſe lands, and on the ſtrange confuſion which ſuch a change would occaſion in families, ſince theſe eſtates were ſettled on their wives and children. But *Gracchus* anſwered all their objections, ſo clearly and fully, as left no room for any reply. *Cicero*, who read the ſpeeches of *Gracchus*, tells us, that he admired them more for the ingenious turns and ſolid reaſons he found in them, than for the purity of the language, which was not yet in its perfection [b]. The people

The Sempronian law

Gracchus gains the favour of the people.

[b] Cic. in Bruto.

were

were charmed to hear him maintain the cauſe of the unfortunate with ſo much ſucceſs, and beſtowed on him the higheſt commendations. The rich therefore had recourſe to violence and calumny, in order to deſtroy, or at leaſt to diſcredit, the tribune. It is ſaid, they hired aſſaſſins to diſpatch him; but they could not put their wicked deſign in execution, *Gracchus* being always attended, to and from the roſtra, by a guard of about four thouſand men. His adverſaries therefore endeavoured to ruin his reputation by the blackeſt calumnies. They gave out, that he aimed at monarchy, and publiſhed pretended plots laid for crowning him king. But the people, without giving ear to ſuch groundleſs reports, made it their whole buſineſs to encourage their tribune, who was hazarding both his life and reputation for their ſake[c].

WHEN the day came, on which this law was to be accepted or rejected by the people aſſembled in the comitium, *Gracchus* began with haranguing the mighty croud, which an affair of ſuch importance had brought together both from the city and country. In his ſpeech he ſhewed the juſtice of the law with ſo much eloquence, made ſo moving a deſcription of the miſeries of the meaner ſort of people, and at the ſame time ſet forth in ſuch odious colours the uſurpation of the public lands, and the immenſe riches which the avarice and rapaciouſneſs of the great had raked together, that the people, tranſported with fury, demanded with loud cries the billets, that they might give their ſuffrages. Then *Gracchus*, finding the minds of the citizens in that warmth and emotion, which was neceſſary for the ſucceſs of his deſign, ordered the law to be read. But unluckily, one of the tribunes, by name *Marcus Octavius Cæcina*, who had always poſſeſsed a great friendſhip for *Gracchus*, having been gained over by the patricians, declared againſt the proceedings of his friend and colleague, pronounced the word which had been always awful in the mouth of the tribune of a people, *Veto, I forbid it*. As *Octavius* was a man of an unblameable character, and had hitherto been very zealous for the publication of the law, *Gracchus* was greatly ſurpriſed at this unexpected oppoſition from his friend. However, he kept his temper, and only deſired the people to aſſemble again the next day, to hear their two tribunes, one in defence of, the other in oppoſition to, the law propoſed. The people met at the time appointed, when *Gracchus*, addreſſing himſelf to his collegue, conjured

Octavius *one of the tribunes oppoſes the law.*

[c] LIV. epit. l. lviii. PLUT. in Gracch. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. AUL. GELL. l. ii. c. 13.

him by the mutual duties of their function, and by the bonds of their ancient friendſhip, not to oppoſe the good of the people, whom they were bound in honour to protect againſt the uſurpations of the great: nay, taking his collegue aſide, he addreſſed him thus; *Perhaps you are perſonally concerned to oppoſe this law; if ſo, I mean, if you have more than the five hundred acres allowed, I myſelf, poor as I am, engage to pay you in money what you will loſe in land.* But *Octavius*, either out of ſhame, or from a principle of honour, continued immoveable in the party he had embraced. *Gracchus* there-

Gracchus ſuſpends all the magiſtrates from their functions.

fore had recourſe to another expedient, which was to ſuſpend all the magiſtrates in *Rome* from the execution of their offices. It was lawful for any tribune to take this ſtep, when the paſſing of the law, which he propoſed, was prevented by mere chicanery. After this he aſſembled the people anew, and made a ſecond attempt to ſucceed in his deſign. When all things were got ready for collecting the ſuffrages, the rich privately conveyed away the urns, in which the tablets were kept. This kindled the tribune's indignation, and the rage of the people. A thouſand confuſed noiſes aroſe in the aſſembly. The comitium was like to become a field of battle, when two venerable ſenators, *Manlius* and *Fulvius*, very ſeaſonably interpoſed, and, throwing themſelves at the tribune's feet, prevailed upon him to ſubmit his law to the judgment of the conſcript fathers. This was making the ſenators judges in their own cauſe; but *Gracchus* thought the law ſo undeniably juſt, that he could not perſuade himſelf that they would reject it; and if they did, he knew that the incenſed multitude would no longer keep any meaſures with them [d].

Gracchus ſubmits his law to the judgment of the ſenate.

The ſenate, who wanted nothing but to gain time, affected delays, and came to no reſolution. There were indeed ſome among them, who, out of a principle of equity, were for paying ſome regard to the complaints of the tribune, and for ſacrificing their own intereſt to the relief of the diſtreſſed. But the far greater part would not hear of any compoſition whatſoever. Hereupon *Gracchus* brought the affair anew before the people, and earneſtly intreated his collegue *Octavius* to drop his oppoſition, in compaſſion to the many unfortunate people, for whom he interceded. He put him in mind of their ancient friendſhip, took him by the hand, and affectionately embraced him. But ſtill *Octavius* was inflexible.

Brings it again before the people.

[d] Plut. in Gracch. Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Liv. epit. l. lv.

Hereupon

Hereupon *Gracchus* took an unjuſt, ſay ſome authors, but a neceſſary ſtep, to remove all oppoſition, and leave the people at liberty to vote. He reſolved to deprive *Octavius* of his tribuneſhip, ſince he alone obſtinately withſtood the deſires of the whole body of ſo great a people. Having therefore aſſembled the people, he told them, that ſince his colleague and he were divided in opinion, and the republic ſuffered by their diviſion, it was the province of the tribes aſſembled in comitia to re-eſtabliſh concord among their tribunes. *If the cauſe I maintain*, ſaid he, *be, in your opinion, unjuſt, I am ready to give up my ſeat in the college. On the contrary, if you judge me worthy of being continued in your ſervice in this ſtation, deprive him of the tribuneſhip, who alone obſtructs my wiſhes. As ſoon as you ſhall have nominated one to ſucceed him, the law will paſs without oppoſition.* Having thus ſpoke, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, after having ſummoned them to meet again the next day.

AND now *Gracchus*, being ſoured with the oppoſition he had met with from the rich and from his obſtinate collegue, and being well appriſed that the law would paſs in any form, in which he ſhould think fit to propoſe it, reſolved to revive it, as it was at firſt paſſed, without abating any thing of its ſeverity. There was no exception in favour of the children in families; or reimburſement promiſed to thoſe who ſhould part with the lands they poſſeſſed above five hundred acres. The next day, the people being aſſembled in vaſt crouds on this extraordinary occaſion, *Gracchus* made freſh applications to *Octavius*; but to no purpoſe; he obſtinately perſiſted in his oppoſition. Then *Gracchus*, turning to the people, *Judge you*, ſaid he, *which of us deſerves to be deprived of his office.* At theſe words the firſt tribe voted, and declared for the depoſition of *Octavius*. Upon which *Gracchus*, ſuſpending the ardor of the tribes, made another effort to bring over his opponent by gentle methods. But all his endeavours proving ineffectual, the other tribes went on to vote in their turns, and followed the example of the firſt. Of five and thirty tribes, ſeventeen had already declared againſt *Octavius*, and the eighteenth was juſt going to determine the affair, when *Gracchus*, being willing to try once more whether he could reclaim his collegue, ſuſpended the collecting of the ſuffrages; and addreſſing *Octavius* in the moſt preſſing terms, conjured him not to expoſe himſelf, by his obſtinacy, to ſo great a diſgrace, nor to give him the grief of having caſt a blemiſh upon his collegue and friend, which neither time nor merit would ever wipe off. *Hearken, dear* Octavius, ſaid he, *hearken rather to the advice of a faithful friend, than to a factious cabal, who*

are

are intereſted to ſeduce you. Be perſuaded to follow the inclinations of the Roman *people. It is ſtill in your power to reconcile yourſelf to them, and gain their affections for ever. Octavius* could not hear theſe words without concern. He is ſaid to have wept, and to have continued ſome time in ſuſpenſe. But having unluckily caſt his eyes on the ſenators there preſent, he was aſhamed to break his word with them; and therefore, reſuming his former ſteadineſs, he boldly anſwered *Tiberius*, that he might go on with the work he had begun. At theſe words, the eighteenth tribe voted, *Octavius* was depoſed, and the law paſſed, as *Gracchus* had propoſed it the laſt time. The depoſed tribune was dragged from the roſtra by the incenſed multitude, who would have inſulted him further, had not the ſenators and his friends facilitated his eſcape[e].

Octavius depoſed, and the law paſſed.

The *Licinian* law being thus revived, with one conſent both by the city and country tribes, *Gracchus* cauſed the people to appoint triumvirs, or three commiſſioners to haſten its execution. In this commiſſion, the people gave *Gracchus* the firſt place, and he had intereſt enough to get his father-in-law *Appius Claudius* and his brother *Caius Gracchus* appointed to be his collegues. Theſe three ſpent the whole ſummer in travelling through all the *Italian* provinces, to examine what lands were held by any perſon above five hundred acres, in order to divide them among the poor citizens. When *Gracchus* returned from his progreſs, he found, by the death of his chief agent, that his abſence had not abated either the hatred of the rich, or the love of the poor, toward him. As it plainly appeared, that the deceaſed had been poiſoned, the tribune took this occaſion to apply himſelf again to his protectors, and implore their aſſiſtance againſt the violence and treachery of his enemies. The populace more attached, after this accident, to their hero, than ever, declared they would ſtand by him to the laſt drop of their blood; and this their zeal encouraged him to add a new clauſe to the law, *viz.* that the commiſſioners ſhould likewiſe inquire, what lands had been uſurped from the republic. This was touching the ſenators in a moſt tender point, for moſt of them had appropriated to themſelves lands belonging to the public. But after all, the tribune, upon a ſtrict inquiry, found, that the lands taken from the rich would not be enough to content all the poor citizens. But the following accident eaſed him of this difficulty, and enabled him to ſtop the murmurs of the

[e] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

malecontents

malecontents among the people. *Attalus Philometor*, king of *Pergamus*, having bequeathed his dominions and effects to the *Romans*, *Eudemus* the *Pergamean* brought his treaſures to *Rome* at this time; and *Gracchus* immediately got a new law paſſed, enacting, that this money ſhould be divided among the poor citizens, who could not have lands; and that the diſpoſal of the revenues of *Pergamus* ſhould not be in the ſenate, but in the comitia. By theſe ſteps *Gracchus* moſt effectually humbled the ſenate, who, in order to diſcredit him among the people, gave out, that *Eudemus*, who had brought the king's will to *Rome*, had left with *Gracchus* the royal diadem and mantle of *Attalus*, which the law-making tribune was to uſe when he ſhould be proclaimed king of *Rome*. But theſe reports only ſerved to make *Gracchus* be more upon his guard, and to inſpire the people with an implacable hatred againſt the rich, who were the authors of them. *Gracchus*, being now by his power over the minds of the multitude, abſolute maſter of their ſuffrages, formed a deſign of raiſing his father-in-law *Appius Claudius* to the conſulate the next year, of promoting his brother *Caius* to the tribuneſhip, and getting himſelf continued in the ſame office. The laſt was what moſt nearly concerned him, his perſon, ſo long as he was in the office, being ſacred and inviolable. As the ſenate was very active in endeavouring to get ſuch only elected into the college of tribunes, as were enemies to *Gracchus* and his faction, the tribune left no ſtone unturned to ſecure his election. He told the people, that the rich had reſolved to aſſaſſinate him as ſoon as he was out of his office; he appeared in mourning, as was the cuſtom in the greateſt calamities; and bringing his children yet young into the forum, recommended them to the people in ſuch terms, as ſhewed that he deſpaired of his own preſervation. At this ſight the populace returned no anſwer but by outcries and menaces againſt the rich. When the day appointed for the election of new tribunes came, the people were ordered to aſſemble in the capitol, in the great court before the temple of *Jupiter*. The tribes being met, *Gracchus* propoſed his petition, intreating the people to continue him one year longer in the office of tribune, in conſideration of the great danger to which he was expoſed, the rich having vowed his deſtruction as ſoon as his perſon ſhould be no more ſacred. This was indeed an unuſual requeſt, it having been long cuſtomary not to continue any tribune in his office above a year. However, the tribes began to vote, and the two firſt declared for *Gracchus*. Hereupon the rich made great clamours, and ſome of their faction who were poſted in different places, cried out, *Juſtice, juſtice! theſe men are going to overturn all the laws.*

Gracchus divides the treaſures of king Attalus among the people.

Solicits the tribuneſhip for another year.

laws. No man can hold the office of tribune two years together. Theſe clamours terrified *Rubrius Varro*, who preſided in the college of tribunes that day, to ſuch a degree, that he reſigned his place to *Q. Mummius*, who offered to preſide in his room. But this raiſed a tumult among the tribunes themſelves, ſome pretending, that the preſident had no right to diſpoſe of his place, which it belonged to the whole college to do by a majority of votes. As the tribunes began to diſpute the legality of this act, with great warmth among themſelves, *Gracchus* wiſely diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and ordered them to meet again the next day.

In the mean time, the people, being ſenſible of what importance it was to them to preſerve the life of ſo powerful a protector, not only conducted him home, but watched by turns all night at his door. Next morning by break of day, *Gracchus*, having aſſembled his friends, led them from his houſe, and poſted one half of them in the comitium, while he went up himſelf with the other to the capitol. As ſoon as he appeared, the people ſaluted him with loud acclamations of joy. But ſcarce was he placed in his tribunal, when *Fulvius Flaccus*, a ſenator and friend to *Gracchus*, breaking through the croud, came up to him, and gave him notice, that the ſenators, who were aſſembled in the temple of *Faith*, which almoſt touched that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, had conſpired againſt his life, and were reſolved to attack him openly on his very tribunal: Hereupon *Gracchus* tucked up his robe, as it were, to prepare for a battle; and, after his example, ſome of his party, ſeizing the ſtaves of the appariters, prepared to defend themſelves, and to repel force by force. Theſe preparations terrified the other tribunes, who immediately abandoned their places in a cowardly manner, and mixed with the croud; while the prieſts ran to ſhut the gates of the temple for fear of its being profaned. On the other hand, the friends of *Gracchus*, who were diſperſed by parties in different places, cried out, *We are ready: What muſt we do? Gracchus*, whoſe voice could not be heard by all his adherents on account of the tumult, the clamours, and the confuſed cries of the different parties, put his hand to his head; which was the ſignal agreed on to prepare for a battle. But ſome of his enemies, putting a malicious conſtruction upon that geſture, immediately flew to the ſenate, and told the fathers, that the ſeditious tribune had called for the crown to be put upon his head. Hereupon the ſenators, fancying they already ſaw the king of *Pergamus*'s diadem on the tribune's head and the royal mantle on his ſhoulders, reſolved

to

to give the conſul leave to arm his legions, treat the friends of *Gracchus* as enemies, and turn the comitium into a field of battle. But the conſul *Mucius Scævola*, who was a prudent and moderate man, refuſed to be the inſtrument of their raſh revenge, and to diſhonour his conſulate with the maſſacre of a diſarmed people. As *Calpurnius Piſo*, the other conſul, was then in *Sicily*, the moſt turbulent among the ſenators cried out, *Since one of our conſuls is abſent, and the other betrays the republic, let us do ourſelves juſtice; let us immediately go and demoliſh with our own hands this idol of the people.* *Scipio Naſica*, who had been all along for violent meaſures, inveighed bitterly againſt the conſul, for refuſing to ſuccour the republic in her greateſt diſtreſs. *Scipio Naſica* was the great grandſon of *Cneius Scipio*, the uncle of the firſt *Africanus*, and conſequently couſin to the *Gracchi* by their mother *Cornelia*. But nevertheleſs not one of the ſenators betrayed a more irreconcileable hatred againſt the tribune than he. When the prudent conſul refuſed to arm his legions, and put the adherents of *Gracchus* to death, contrary to the uſual forms of juſtice, he ſet no bounds to his fury, but, riſing up from his place, cried out like a madman; *Since our conſul betrays us, let thoſe who love the republic follow me.* Having uttered theſe words, he immediately walked out of the temple, attended by a great number of ſenators. *Naſica* threw his robe over his ſhoulders, and, having covered his head with it, advanced with his followers into the croud, where he was joined by a company of the clients and friends of the patricians, armed with ſtaves and clubs. Theſe, falling indifferently upon all who ſtood in their way, diſperſed the croud. Many of *Gracchus*'s party took to their heels, and, in that tumult all the ſeats being overturned and broken, *Naſica*, armed with the leg of a broken bench, knocked down all who oppoſed him, and at length reached *Gracchus*. One of his party ſeized the tribune by the lappet of his robe; but he, quitting his gown, fled in his tunic, and as he was in that hurry of ſpirits, which is inſeparable from fear, leaping over the broken benches, he had the misfortune to ſlip and fall. As he was getting up again, he received a blow on the head, which ſtunned him; then his adverſaries, ruſhing in upon him, with repeated blows put an end to his life. Some hiſtorians pretend, that *Naſica* with his own hand completed the work, which had been begun by his advice, and under his conduct. Others ſay, that *Publius Satureius* and *Lucius Rubrius*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Lucius Rufus*, two of his collegues, ſecretly jealous of his glory, gave him the two blows that

A fray enſues.

Gracchus *is killed.*

diſpatched him. However that be, *Rome* was by his death delivered, according to *Cicero*, from a domeſtic enemy, who was more formidable to her, than even that *Numantia* which had firſt kindled his reſentments. Perhaps no man was ever born with greater talents, or more capable of aggrandizing himſelf, and doing honour to his country. But his great mind, his manly courage, his lively, eaſy, and powerful eloquence, were, ſays *Cicero*, like a ſword in the hands of a madman. *Gracchus* abuſed them, not in ſupporting an unjuſt cauſe, but in conducting a good one with too much violence. He went ſo far as to make ſome believe, that he had really ſomething in view beſides the intereſt of the people, whom he pretended to relieve; and therefore ſome hiſtorians have repreſented him as a tyrant. But the moſt judicious writers clear him from this imputation, and aſcribe his firſt deſign of reviving the *Licinian* law to an eager deſire of being revenged on the ſenators for the affront they had very unjuſtly put upon him and the conſul *Mancinus*, as we have hinted above. The law he attempted to revive had an air of juſtice which gave a ſanction to his revenge, without caſting any blemiſh on his reputation. The death of *Gracchus* did not put an end to the tumult. Above three hundred of the tribune's friends loſt their lives in the fray, and their bodies were thrown with that of *Gracchus* into the *Tiber*. Nay, the ſenate carried their revenge beyond the fatal day, which had ſtained the capitol with *Roman* blood. They ſought for all the friends of the late tribune, and without any form of law aſſaſſinated ſome, and forced others into baniſhment.

The cruel death of Caius Billius.

Caius Billius, one of the moſt zealous defenders of the people, was ſeized by his enemies, and ſhut up in a caſk with ſnakes and vipers, where he miſerably periſhed. Though the laws prohibited any citizen to take away the life of another before he had been legally condemned, *Naſica* and his followers were acquitted by the ſenate, who enacted a decree, juſtifying all the cruelties committed againſt *Gracchus* and his adherents [f].

In the mean time the people, being recovered from their fear, reproached themſelves with the death of their tribune, as not having defended him with ſufficient courage. They inveighed chiefly againſt *Scipio Naſica*, the author of the tumult, upbraiding him publicly with murder and ſacrilege. Some threatened to murder him; others were for ſummoning him before the aſſembly of the people, and trying him for his

[f] Plut. in Gracch Appian. de bell civil. l. 1. Oros. l. v. c. 8. Cic. de off. l i. c. 21. & de orat. l. ii.

life.

life. The ſenate therefore, fearing leſt his preſence might raiſe a new ſedition, thought proper to remove him; and accordingly ſent him, under pretence of an embaſſy, into *Aſia*, though his office of *pontifex maximus* obliged him not to go out of *Italy*. He rambled about a great while in different parts of the *Levant*, till at length, wore out with trouble, he died at *Pergamus*. By his abſence the fire of ſedition was rather ſtifled, than extinguiſhed. The people ſtill maintained the law, which *Gracchus* had paſſed in their favour, and nominated a new commiſſioner in his room to finiſh the diſtribution of the lands which he had begun. The perſon they pitched upon was, *P. Craſſus*, whoſe daughter *Caius Gracchus*, brother to *Tiberius*, had lately married. On the other hand the patricians, to keep off the execution of the law, found means to bring into the college of tribunes a creature of their own, *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, one of *Gracchus*'s moſt violent enemies. In the mean time the conſular year being near expired, the election was made without any diſturbance in the uſual place, and the ſupreme magiſtracy conferred on *Publius Popilius Lænas*, and *P. Rupilius*. It fell to the lot of *Popilius* to continue in *Italy*, and keep the citizens of *Rome* in awe, while his collegue ſet out for *Sicily* to make war with the revolted ſlaves in that iſland. We ſhall follow him thither, and take a view of the origin and progreſs of this rebellion, which brought more calamities on the *Sicilians*, than all the ravages and devaſtations of their old enemies the *Carthaginians*.

Scipio Naſica *is ſent into* Aſia.

IN *Sicily* the great men of the iſland, or the *Roman* knights, who had the management of the public revenues, having, by degrees engroſſed all the great eſtates to themſelves, out of avarice employed in the culture of their lands ſlaves inſtead of freemen, to whom they ſcarce allowed neceſſaries; ſo that thoſe unfortunate men, being obliged to provide for themſelves, learnt to live by rapine. As they frequently met together in companies to plunder the houſes in the country, or to rob the travellers on the great roads, they came at length to deliberate how to deliver themſelves from ſlavery. They were almoſt as numerous as the natives themſelves, and therefore wanted only a leader to appear at their head, and conduct the conſpiracy. A *Sicilian* lord, named *Antigines*, had amongſt his ſlaves one by name *Eunus*, who was very fit for this purpoſe. He was a native of *Apamea* in *Syria*, and having been taken priſoner in war, had paſſed through the hands of ſeveral maſters, till at length he was brought into *Sicily*. He was a vigilant, active man, full of fire, and pretending to

The war of the ſlaves in Sicily.

have a conſtant intercourſe with the gods by dreams and apparitions, was conſulted by his fellow-ſlaves as an oracle. The *Sicilians* in general exerciſed a kind of tyranny over their ſlaves; but a citizen of *Enna*, a city in the center of the iſland, by name *Damophilus*, had made himſelf more odious than the reſt by his cruelties, to a great number of thoſe unhappy wretches who cultivated his immenſe poſſeſſions. They were all marked with a hot iron in their foreheads, ſhut up every night in cloſe priſons, and led out early in the morning to their daily labour in the fields, tho' at the ſame time they were ſcarce allowed the neceſſary proviſions to ſupport themſelves. On the other hand, *Megallis*, the wife of *Damophilus*, was no leſs cruel towards the ſlaves of her ſex, exacting their tasks with inſupportable rigor, and cauſing them to be unmercifully whipt for the leaſt fault. Theſe two tyrants had a daughter, who was very different from themſelves: though ſhe was very young, ſhe had good-nature enough to pity the afflicted; ſhe often alleviated their ſufferings, appeaſed her furious mother, ſupplied, as far as ſhe was able, the wants of the neceſſitous, and, in ſhort, was the only refuge of thoſe unhappy men. We are ſorry hiſtory has not tranſmitted to us the name of this humane and virtuous young woman. The oppreſſed ſlaves, not being able to bear any longer the unſpeakable miſeries they groaned under, entered into a plot againſt the authors of them. But in order to ſecure themſelves ſucceſs, they firſt went to conſult *Eunus*, who with a ſolemn prophetic tone pronounced, that the enterpriſe was agreeable to the gods, and that it would be attended with ſucceſs, provided they did not delay the execution of it. He offered to conduct it himſelf; and the ſlaves, overjoyed to have ſuch a man at their head, aſſembled in great haſte to the number of four hundred on *Damophilus*'s eſtate, armed with forks, hooks, and other inſtruments of huſbandry; and, marching directly to *Enna*, ſurpriſed and pillaged it. The ſlaves in the city joined their comrades, and committed barbarities not to be expreſſed. The men were maſſacred, the women diſhonoured, and even the children at the breaſt daſhed on the ground, and trod under foot. As *Damophilus* was gone with his wife and daughter to take the air in a garden near the city, *Eunus*, who had taken upon him the office of general, ſent a party to ſeize them, which was done with circumſtances of great barbarity. However, they treated the daughter with all the reſpect which was due to her virtue.

Eunus heads the revolted ſlaves, and ſeizes Enna.

So

So true it is, that good-nature commands regard even from the moſt furious [s].

Eunus, being now maſter of *Enna*, aſſembled the ſlaves he commanded in the public theatre; and having erected there a kind of tribunal, ordered *Damophilus* and his wife to be brought before him, in order to be tried. Some of the ſlaves were accuſers, others witneſſes, and the multitude judges. *Eunus* preſided, and gave the accuſed leave to ſpeak in their defence. But while *Damophilus* was endeavouring to raiſe compaſſion, and ſome began to ſhew pity for him, *Hermias* and *Zeuxis*, two of his ſlaves, whom he had treated with great cruelty, came up to him, and with repeated blows diſpatched him. His wife *Megallis* was ſentenced to be delivered up to the ſlaves of her own ſex, whom ſhe had treated without mercy. Theſe furies ſet no bounds to their cruelty, inflicted on their miſtreſs every torment, which revenge could invent; and at length, after having ſatiated their rage, threw her down a precipice, which put an end to her unhappy life. As for the daughter, ſhe was treated with the utmoſt reſpect, conducted with the unanimous conſent of all to *Catana*, and there delivered untouched into the hands of her relations. In the mean time *Eunus*, finding he could not pretend to aſſume a perfect authority over ſuch untractable people, without being inveſted with ſovereign power, prevailed upon the multitude to proclaim him king. The firſt orders the new king gave were very cruel; for he cauſed all the inhabitants of *Enna* to be barbarouſly murdered, ſaying, that there could never be any real concord between freemen and ſlaves. After this, having got into his power *Antigines* and *Pithon*, who had ſucceſſively been his maſters, he put them to death with his own hand. He then aſſumed all the enſigns of royalty, changed his name of *Eunus* into that of *Antiochus*, gave the title of queen to his wife, who was a *Syrian*, and a ſlave as well as himſelf, and applied himſelf to ſettle a kind of government among his new ſubjects. His regulations drew above ſix thouſand ſlaves to *Enna* in leſs than three days, armed with ſuch weapons as came firſt to their hands, *viz.* ſpits, axes, ſaws, poles, *&c.* At the head of theſe *Eunus* took the field, and committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages. The people, whoſe houſes were burnt, and lands laid waſte, came in flocks to the *Roman* prætor, who governed the iſland, imploring his aſſiſtance. *Manlius*, who was governor of *Sicily* in the year of *Rome* 615, when this

Eunus proclaimed king.

He gains great advantages over the Roman prætors.

[s] Liv. epit. l. lvi. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Flor. l. iii. c. 19.

ſedition firſt broke out, marched againſt the rebels with one legion, the uſual army of prætors, who reſided in peaceable provinces; but he was defeated, and his camp taken and plundered. The ſame misfortune happened to the prætors *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Caius Calpurnius Piſo*, whom the republic ſent into the iſland the two following years. The news of theſe advantages being ſpread all over the iſland, the new king's forces daily increaſed. Among the reſt, one *Cleon*, a native of *Cilicia*, joined him with five thouſand men; others came from the moſt diſtant parts of the iſland at the head of conſiderable bodies to ſupport, under the banners of *Eunus*, the common cauſe: inſomuch, that when the prætor *L. Plautius Hypſæus* landed in *Sicily*, he found above ſeventy thouſand ſlaves in arms under the command of *Eunus*, beſides thoſe who had aſſembled under other leaders in different places; ſo that the whole number of armed ſlaves in the iſland amounted to two hundred thouſand. As *Hypſæus* had only eight thouſand men in his army, he no ſooner appeared in the field, than he was attacked, and intirely defeated. The rebels, elated with this victory, laid ſiege to *Tauromenium*, a city of great ſtrength, and having ſoon reduced it, made it their magazine of arms, and place of refuge. At length the republic, alarmed at the progreſs the rebels made, in the beginning of the year 619 ordered *C. Fulvius*, collegue in the conſulate to the ſecond *Africanus*, into *Sicily*, to ſuppreſs this conſpiracy, which began now to be formidable. But whether he gained any advantages over the rebels, hiſtory has not informed us. In the following year 620, the conſul *L. Calpurnius Piſo* (W), to whoſe lot *Sicily* fell, attacked the *Syrians*, for ſo the rebellious ſlaves were commonly called, under the walls of *Meſſana*, which city they had inveſted, put them to the rout for the firſt time, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and killed above ſix thouſand of them on the ſpot.

And takes Tauromi-nium.

C. Fulvius *ſent againſt the ſlaves.*

(W) This *Calpurnius Piſo* is ſaid to have been the author of the famous law *De repetundis* againſt the avarice of magiſtrates, who robbed the public. While he was prætor in *Sicily*, there being a great ſcarcity of corn at *Rome*, the ſenate charged him to buy up a great quantity all over that iſland; which he did with ſuch diſintereſtedneſs as acquired him the glorious ſurname of *Frugi*, that is, *The Honeſt*. He remitted to the public treaſury a conſiderable part of the money which had been ſent him for this purpoſe, and managed the reſt with ſuch prudence and frugality, as to provide with it for the wants of the public (31).

(31) *C. in Verr. act.* 1.

But

But though *Piſo* conquered the rebels, he had not the glory of intirely reducing them. This was reſerved for *P. Rupilius*, who was choſen conſul for the preſent year. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of *Tauromínium*. As this city was ſituated on a high and ſteep hills and difficult of acceſs on all ſides, the conſul reſolved to reduce it by famine. With this view he drew a line of circumvallation round the mountain, and by that means cut off all communication with the neighbouring country. As the gariſon was very numerous, proviſions ſoon began to fail them; and then want added to their obſtinacy produced many tragical events. They killed and devoured one another, but, as they could expect no pardon, ſtill perſiſted obſtinate. At length the city was betrayed to the *Romans* by a *Syrian* ſlave, named *Sarapion*; and the governor with all his gariſon were, by the conſul's orders, thrown down headlong from the top of a rock. From *Tauromínium* the conſul led his army to *Enna*, where the pretended king had ſhut himſelf up with *Cleon*, and the flower of his troops. This place likewiſe *Rupilius* reſolved to reduce by famine; and accordingly inveſted it on all ſides. The beſieged, being ſoon reduced to great ſtraits, made ſeveral ſallies, attempting to break through the enemy; but though they fought like men in deſpair, they were conſtantly repulſed by the *Romans*. In one of theſe ſallies, *Cleon* fell alive into the conſul's hands, covered with wounds and blood, but did not long ſurvive his captivity. His impaled body was expoſed to the view of the beſieged, to increaſe their terror. At length *Enna* likewiſe was treacherouſly delivered up to the conſul, whoſe troops put all the ſlaves they found in the place to the ſword. We are told, that at the taking of theſe two cities above twenty thouſand of the rebels loſt their lives. As for *Eunus*, when he ſaw the *Romans* maſters of the walls, he put himſelf at the head of his guards, conſiſting of about ſix hundred men, forced his way through the legionaries, fled for refuge to a ſteep rock, and there prepared to ſell his life dear. He was purſued cloſe, and ſurrounded in his retreat by the conſular troops; and then it appeared, that there was more oſtentation than true courage in his ſervile ſoul. The ſoldiers of his guard agreed to kill one another. But their king concealed himſelf among the rocks, and was at laſt taken alive out of a cave with four of his domeſtics, and delivered up to the conſul, who ſent them to *Murgantia*, to be ſtrictly guarded there, till the departure of the *Roman* army. *Rupilius* reſerved *Eunus*, not ſo much to grace his triumph, as to ſhew the *Romans* the chief they had ſo much dreaded with ſo little reaſon. But he fell ſick, and

Tauromínium betrayed to the Romans.

And alſo Enna.

Eunus taken priſoner.

Eunus dies in priſon.

and died in priſon, wore out with grief, and devoured with vermin. *Rupilius* continued ſome time in *Sicily* in quality of proconſul; retook the cities which were ſtill in the hands of the rebels; reſtored the fugitive ſlaves to their maſters; and laſtly, drew up a new code of laws for the *Sicilians*, which were ever after obſerved to the great ſatisfaction of the whole iſland. Having ſettled his province in peace, he returned to *Rome*; but refuſed a triumph, being aſhamed to have it recorded in the triumphal tables, that he had overcome ſlaves. He was one of thoſe great and diſintereſted men, who had the virtue of the firſt ages of *Rome*. The only glory he ſought was, that of promoting the public good; and the only reward he deſired was, the conſciouſneſs of having ſerved his country [h].

Two plebeians choſen cenſors.

During the war in *Sicily*, *Andronicus*, the illegitimate ſon of *Eumenes*, laid claim to the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which *Attalus* was ſaid to have bequeathed to the *Romans*; and having ſeized it, put himſelf in a condition to maintain a war with *Rome*, which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of the kingdom of *Pergamus*. The next year, *P. Licinius Craſſus* and *Valerius Flaccus* were choſen conſuls; the former was *pontifex maximus*, and the latter *flamen Martialis*, that is, high-prieſt of *Mars*; ſo that *Rome* was now for the firſt time governed by two perſons devoted to the ſervice of the gods. This ſame year two plebeians, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, ſurnamed *Macedonicus*, and *Q. Pompeius* were choſen cenſors. It had been an invariable cuſtom in *Rome* for two hundred and twenty years to chuſe one of the cenſors out of the patricians, and the other out of the plebeians. But now the patricians, probably to ſoften the people, ſuffered them to raiſe two of their body to this eminent dignity, which had never happened before. In the cenſus, which theſe two plebeians took of the citizens of *Rome*, they found 317823 men able to bear arms; and their cenſorſhip was famous for a law, which they got paſſed, obliging all *Romans* to marry at a certain age.

New diſturbances about the Sempronian law.

In the mean time, the diſturbances about the *Sempronian* law were continued by the tribune *Carbo*, who was continually complaining to the people of the chicaneries of the rich in oppoſing the execution of it. One day he publicly aſked the great *Scipio Africanus* what he thought of the murder of

[h] Diodor. Sicul. in eclog. Flor. l. iii. c. 19. Front. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 7. & l. iv. c. 3. Cic. pro Fonteio, & in Verr. act. 6. [i] Cic. in Ver. act. 2.

Sempronius

Sempronius Gracchus his brother-in-law, not doubting, but he would condemn the authors of his death? But, to his great ſurpriſe, *Scipio* anſwered, that if *Gracchus* had endeavoured to ſow diſcord in the republic, he thought him lawfully put to death. Upon this unexpected anſwer, the tribune ſtirred up the people to inſult the moſt venerable man in *Rome*. But *Scipio* aſſuming an aſcendant over the multitude; *Be ſilent*, ſaid he, *ye untractable people. Think ye that I am afraid of your murmurs, who have been ſo often unconcerned at the fury of your enemies?* At theſe words the unruly multitude began to hiſs him, which that brave commander not being able to bear, *Miſerable wretches*, ſaid he, exalting his voice, *What would have become of you, had it not been for my father* Paulus Æmilius, *and myſelf? you would have been enſlaved by your enemies, and ſpent your unhappy lives in a ſtate of ſubjection. And is this the reſpect you owe your deliverers? Is this your gratitude?* Theſe words, uttered with that authority, which the long command of armies gives a general, ſilenced the multitude, and made the moſt ſeditious tremble like ſlaves. The comitia were immediately diſſolved, and every one returned home with more eſteem, but leſs affection, for the great *Scipio*. After this the illuſtrious *Roman* retired to one of his country-houſes at *Gaieta* with his dear *Lælius*. There theſe two inſeparable friends, who had diſcharged with glory the higheſt offices in the republic, amuſed themſelves with the ſame little innocent pleaſures which had diverted them when children. They walked by the ſea-ſide, entertained themſelves with picking up ſmooth flat ſtones, and throwing them on the ſurface of the water, and enjoyed more pleaſure in this ſweet retirement, than they had done at the head of the republic and her armies [k].

IN the mean time, *Carbo* more active than ever in ſupporting the intereſts of the people, having prevailed upon them to continue him in his office another year, propoſed a law, enacting that the ſame perſons ſhould hold the tribuneſhip during the pleaſure of the people, without coming to an annual election. But *Scipio* and *Lælius*, upon the report of this new ſtorm, haſtening to *Rome*, oppoſed the law with all their intereſt, and got it rejected. In the following conſulate of *Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Perperna*, a ſoldier of fortune, and not ſo much as a *Roman* citizen, the diſturbances in *Rome* were daily increaſed by the tribunes. *Caius Atinius Labeo*, who was at the head of the college, ſeized *Q. Cæciliius* *The inſolence of the tribune* Labeo.

[k] Cic. de orat. l. i.

Metellus the cenſor, who had refuſed him a place in the ſenate, at noon-day, and immediately pronounced ſentence of death upon him, commanding his attendants to throw him headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock. The officers took hold of that venerable magiſtrate by the throat, and treated him with the utmoſt barbarity. One of his ſlaves flew to acquaint his maſter's relations with the violence offered to him. They all came and found the cenſor half dead wallowing in his blood. As it was not lawful to take even a relation, no not a father, out of the hands of a tribune, they flew with all poſſible ſpeed, and brought one of *Labeo*'s collegues, who oppoſed the unjuſt ſentence, and ſaved the remains of *Metellus*'s life. Without this timely aſſiſtance, the moſt conſiderable magiſtrate in *Rome* after the conſul, the triumphant victor and conqueror of *Macedon*, whence he had the glorious ſurname of *Macedonicus*, would have been executed like a common criminal. *Labeo* was ſo far from being puniſhed for this cruel inſult on *Metellus*, that he had intereſt enough to get a law paſſed, enacting, that for the future the tribunes ſhould all have votes in the ſenate. This law being paſſed, he went in ſtate to the forum, and there by ſound of trumpet ordered all the effects of the great *Macedonicus* to be ſold to the beſt bidder. Such acts of violence were to all diſcerning men the forerunners of thoſe civil wars which not long after broke out [1].

In the next conſulate of *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* and *M. Aquilius*, freſh troubles were raiſed on account of the *Sempronian* law. The commiſſioners for putting it in execution were continually ſtirring up the people againſt the rich by their complaints; and the allies of the republic complained as much of the injuſtice of the commiſſioners, who in the diſtribution of the lands were more favourable to the inhabitants of *Rome*, whoſe votes might be of ſervice to them, than to the people of the provinces. *Scipio* therefore took the latter under his protection, and, having ſpoke warmly in favour of the poor allies, got the execution of the law transferred from the three commiſſioners to the conſul *Sempronius*. But the conſul, dreading the conſequences of civil broils at home, as much as he loved the glory of arms abroad, ſet out for *Japidia*, one of the weſtern provinces of *Illyricum*, which had fallen to him by lot, to quell ſome diſturbances lately raiſed there. *Scipio*, thus left alone to ſtand the hatred of the three commiſſioners, for the other conſul was then ſettling the king-

[1] Aul. Gell. l. xiv. c. 8. Cic. pro domo ſua.

dom

dom of *Pergamus* in peace, was charged by them with the moſt odious deſigns. That indeed of aſpiring to the dictatorſhip was probably true; but it was no manner of juſt reproach to him, though he was greatly calumniated for it by the commiſſioners, and their adherents. *C. Gracchus*, his brother-in-law told him to his face, *That he ought to be put to death as a tyrant.* *Scipio* calmly replied; *There is ſcarce any man, who is not an enemy to his country, that deſires it.* *Marcus Fulvius Flaccus*, one of the triumvirs, caſt the moſt bitter reflections rage could ſuggeſt upon *Scipio*, cenſured both his public and private conduct, and warmly inſiſted, that the dictatorſhip was his point in view, and that he deſired this dignity only in order to uſurp a perpetual tyranny. But nevertheleſs, both the ſenate and people ſeemed inclined to favour *Scipio*'s motion, the partiality of the triumvirs in the diſtribution of the lands being very palpable. All the ſenators in a body, and vaſt crouds both of *Roman* citizens and allies, attended him to his houſe. In ſhort, *Rome* ſeemed determined to nominate him dictator the next day. But in the morning, to the great grief and ſurprize of all well-wiſhers to their country, he was found dead in his bed. Thoſe who viewed his body more narrowly, diſcovered the marks of a violent death about his neck, as if he had been ſtrangled. His death was, upon good grounds, imputed to the triumvirs, *Papirius Carbo*, *C. Gracchus*, and *Fulvius Flaccus*, and to his wife *Sempronia*, the ſiſter of the *Gracchi*, who is ſaid to have conveyed in the night the triumvirs into his room. The authors of the crime took great pains to ſpread a report, that *Scipio*, finding he could not obtain for the allies the advantages he had promiſed them, had out of grief and deſpair laid violent hands on himſelf. Thus died this illuſtrious hero, whoſe talents and exploits were ſo equal to thoſe of the firſt *Africanus*, that *Rome* herſelf could not determine which was ſuperior in merit. Their characters, their conduct, their tempers, and their honours, were equally great; and, to the eternal reproach of their country, one died with grief in a kind of exile, and the other a violent death in *Rome*. The ſecond *Africanus* died poſſeſſed of very little elſe but the glory of his exploits. For he left to *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, his nephew and heir, having no children himſelf, ſcarce thirty two pounds weight of ſilver, and two pounds and a half of gold. Surprizing poverty in a general, who might have inriched himſelf with the ſpoils of *Carthage*! The patricians wept for him as for a father. When *Mummius*, who had been all his life-time his rival for glory, heard the news of his

The death of Scipio.

His character.

death, he ſhewed the utmoſt concern, and turning to his two ſons, *Go*, ſaid he, *attend the funeral of the greateſt man* Rome *ever bred; you will never ſee his equal.* The people too lamented his death, and attended in great crouds his body to the funeral pile; but they would not ſuffer any inquiries to be made after the authors of his death, for fear of finding *C. Gracchus*, who now began to be their darling, concerned in ſo baſe and treacherous a murder.

While theſe things were tranſacting at *Rome*, the conſul *Tutidanus* was making war in *Japidia*, where he was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that in one campaign he quieted the whole country, and upon his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, as was likewiſe his collegue *Aquilius* three years after for reducing the kingdom of *Pergamus*, though he did it by poiſoning the ſprings, which ſupplied the ſeveral towns with water; which was a moſt execrable and inhuman breach of the law of nations. And now there was not the leaſt diſturbance or commotion in any of the provinces ſubject to the *Roman* republic. *Ciſalpine Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africa*, *Iſtria*, *Illyricum*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*, bore the yoke with great ſubmiſſion; ſo that there was no expedition for the new conſuls, *Cn. Octavius* and *T. Annius*, to undertake within or without *Italy*. The people gave themſelves wholly up to pleaſures and luxury in this time of tranquillity; which licentiouſneſs greatly increaſed in the ſucceeding conſulate of *L. Caſſius Longinus* and *L. Cornelius Cinna*. But when *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *L. Aurelius Oreſtes* were raiſed to the conſular dignity, this general tranquillity was a little interrupted by a revolt in *Sardinia*, which province fell to the lot of *Aurelius*; and *Caius Gracchus* was his quæſtor. This young *Roman* was become the idol of the people, who after the death of his brother looked upon him as their chief patron and protector. He had indeed ſome very eminent qualities, and was deemed the beſt orator in *Rome*. The multitude adored him on account of his favouring the citizens of *Rome*, more than the allies, in the partition of the lands. He had for ſome time retired from public life, and applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of eloquence. During his retirement, the republic enjoyed a profound tranquillity; and it was commonly ſaid, that he had reſolved to bury his talents in obſcurity for fear of his brother's fate. But after two years retirement, he unexpectedly appeared upon the ſtage, and ſtood for the quæſtorſhip, which he obtained, and in that quality attended the

Caius Gracchus.

* Appian de bell. civil. l. i. Cic. in Lælio, & pro Muræna. Plut. in Romul. & Gracch. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt.

conſul

conſul *Aurelius* into *Sardinia*, where he ſignalized his courage, and obliged all who depended upon him in the diſcharge of his office. He gained the affection of his general by his punctuality, ready obedience, and the great ſervices he rendered him in ſupplying the army with cloaths and proviſions by the intereſt he had among the *Sardinians*, who were greatly taken with his temperance, modeſty, and obliging carriage. But the ſenate, in the mean time, growing jealous of the popularity *Gracchus* acquired in the army, and dreading the conſequences of it, ordered all the troops in *Sardinia* to be recalled, and freſh ones to be ſent in their room. The next year the patricians had the mortification to ſee *Fulvius Flaccus*, who had been one of the triumvirs for the partition of the lands, raiſed to the conſulate. His collegue was *Plautius Hypſæus*, a patrician of a mild and pacific diſpoſition. The plebeian conſul was no ſooner entered upon his office, than he propoſed a law, enacting, that the right of *Roman* citizenſhip ſhould be granted to all the *Italian* allies, to whom the triumvirs had not been able to aſſign any ſhare in the divided lands. He had, when one of the triumvirs, exaſperated the people in the provinces, by not admitting them to an equal ſhare of lands with the inhabitants of *Rome*; and now by this law he endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to them. He ſupported it with a fury, which ſhewed him determined to exaſperate the ſenate. The patricians earneſtly intreated him to drop the law, which would not fail to be attended with dangerous conſequences, and might kindle a war in the bowels of *Italy*. But the imperious conſul did not even vouchſafe to give them an anſwer; ſo that there was reaſon to fear an immediate rupture. But a new incident intervened, which kept the republic for ſome time in tranquillity. Embaſſadors came from *Maſſilia*, deſiring the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* againſt the *Salyes*, who had ravaged their country. This gave the ſenate an opportunity of ſending *Fulvius* beyond the *Alps*; and he, being greedy of glory, readily accepted the commiſſion. His abſence, and that of *Gracchus*, might have given the republic an interval of reſt, if the ſeditious conſul had not, before he left *Rome*, ſown the ſeeds of a rebellion, which broke out as ſoon as he was gone. For the *Italian* allies having by his departure loſt all hopes of obtaining the right of citizenſhip, with which he had flattered them, began to enter into cabals againſt the republic. *Fregellæ*, a city of the *Volſci* on the *Liris*, was the firſt that openly revolted. But *Numitorius Pullus*, the chief author of the rebellion, being cited before the prætor, and frightened into a diſcovery of the whole plot, a *Roman* army was ſent againſt the city, which by the advice of *Numito-*

He gains the affections of the ſoldiery.

Fregellæ *rebels, and is razed.*

rius ſubmitted; but nevertheleſs was immediately razed. *Numitorius* himſelf was pardoned, but all his accomplices condemned to die, and executed. The exemplary puniſhment of the *Fregellani* checked the boldneſs of the malecontents, and ſtifled the ſedition for ſome time [n].

All ſeemed quiet, when *C. Caſſius Longinus* and *C. Sextius Calvinus* were raiſed to the conſulate; but this calm was of ſhort duration. *C. Gracchus*, who had been continued, much againſt his inclination, in *Sardinia*, with the character of proquæſtor, being weary of his long ſtay in an iſland where his talents were buried, and fearing the affections of the people might cool by ſo long an abſence, reſolved to run all the hazards of a very bold ſtep. In open defiance to all law, he embarqued unknown to the conſul, left *Sardinia*, and, when leaſt expected, appeared at *Rome*. He was therefore accuſed before the cenſors, but ſo far impoſed upon his judges by his eloquence, that he was acquitted. The high eſteem and great concern which the multitude ſhewed for him on this occaſion, encouraged him to ſtand for the tribuneſhip. He flattered himſelf, that if he could once get poſſeſſion of this important office, he ſhould eaſily find means to maintain himſelf in it, and to execute all his ſchemes of revenge at leiſure. He therefore put himſelf among the candidates, and ſolicited the office with the utmoſt diligence and application. This rouſed the ſenate to be more active in oppoſing him; and his excellent mother *Cornelia* was very preſſing with him to deſiſt. She wrote to him from one of her country-houſes in *Campania* near cape *Miſenum*, whither ſhe had retired after the melancholy death of her eldeſt ſon, two very affecting letters upon this ſubject (X); in which ſhe labours to divert him from his

C. Gracchus *returns from* Sardinia.

[n] Liv. epit. Appian. l. i de bell. civil. Val. Max l. ix c. 5. Jul. Obseq Cic. de inven. l. ii. de finib. l. ii. in Piſon & ad Heren. l. iv.

(X) Two of theſe letters have reached our times, and ſufficiently ſhew us the ſpirit and ſentiments of that heroine, in whoſe praiſes the ancients often expatiate In one of them ſhe expreſſes herſelf thus: "Son, you have now no partner in the affection of your "mother. *Tiberius* is no more. All my joys and fears now "centre wholly in you. The death of your elder brother was ow-"ing to his deſire of revenge; and will you ſuffer yourſelf to be "hurried on to your deſtruction by the impetuoſity of the ſame "paſſion? Avert, ye gods, ſo fatal a preſage! It will be a ſatis-"faction, you will ſay, to revenge his murder. I allow it, dear "child. I have as ſtrong a ſenſe, as you, of the pleaſure of revenge.

his deſign with ſuch tenderneſs both for him and her country, as ſhews her worthy of the ſtatue which the ſenate permitted the people to erect to her memory. But neither her intreaties

" revenge. But I can, by force of reaſon, ſuppreſs the firſt ſallies " which paſſion raiſes in my breaſt. And at preſent, my concern " for the welfare of the public has a greater influence upon me, " than my grief at the loſs of my ſon. Ah, *Gracchus!* remember, " that with the ſame blow which wounds your country, you will " ſtrike deep into your mother's breaſt. But what am I ſaying! " You will yourſelf ſink under the weight of this raſh attempt. I " ſhall loſe you; but your enemies will remain. Unfortunate " mother! let what will happen, the ill effects of the civil broils, " in which you are preparing to engage, will fall upon me, and be " more than I ſhall be able to bear (32)".

Gracchus paid no regard to the repreſentations of his mother, his rage againſt the ſenate getting the better of her wholſome advice. This drew from her a ſecond letter in the following words: " Un- " dutiful child! next to the murderers of *Tiberius*, I have not a " more cruel enemy in the world than you. Have I had any rea- " ſon to expect, that my only ſurviving ſon ſhould bring me no- " thing but bitterneſs in my old age? To what can I impute this " diſobedience, but to my continual indulgence, and too great com- " pliance with your inclinations? And is it too much to deſire an " equal return of deference and reſpect? Impious wretch! will " you never be at reſt till you have deſtroyed the republic? Shall I " have the mortification before I die, to ſee that you have over- " turned it? Do not, *Gracchus*, do not act over again the tragical " ſcenes of my unfortunate family! Wait at leaſt till my eyes are " cloſed, before you ſtand for the tribuneſhip; and then my aſhes " will not feel the misfortunes which you will bring upon yourſelf. " In the midſt of your diſtreſs you will perhaps invoke the manes " of your father and mother: but will they then be affected with " your tears? The time to believe and obey them, is while they " live. O *great Jupiter!* ſuffer not my ſon to perſiſt in a deſign, " which muſt be the deſtruction of himſelf, his country, and his " mother (33)". From theſe ſmall remains we may judge whether this incomparable matron could have any hand in the baſe aſſaſſination of the ſecond *Africanus*, which ſome writers have, without any grounds, laid to her charge. She loved her children, but had at the ſame time a tender regard for her country; and therefore the ſenate, notwithſtanding their reſentment againſt her two ſons, ſuffered the people to erect a ſtatue to her with this inſcription on the baſe; *To* Cornelia *the mother of the* Gracchi.

(32) *Ex frag. Cornel. Nepotis ab Andrea Scotto collectis.* (33) *Idem ibid.*

Is choſen tribune.

nor commands could prevail; he purſued his point, and ſucceeded. There was this circumſtance peculiar to his election, that for want of room in the *campus Martius*, a great number of citizens got up on the roofs of the houſes round it, and from thence voted for *Gracchus* with ſhouts and acclamations. His graceful perſon, noble air, fine features, and modeſt deportment, prepoſſeſſed every ſpectator in his favour before he ſpoke; and when he did ſpeak, their ears were no leſs charmed; for a more complete orator had never aſcended the roſtra • (Y). Soon after the election of *Gracchus* to the tribuneſhip, his fellow triumvir *Fulvius Flaccus* returned from *Gaul* to ſecond him in his attempts. He was a furious plebeian, a declared enemy to the ſenate and the rich, and ready to imbarque in any bold and deſperate undertaking. *Gracchus* procured him a triumph for an expedition of little importance, in order to bring new honour and ſtrength to his party by the addition of a conſular man, and a triumphant victor [p].

Thus all things ſeemed to tend to a ſedition in *Rome*, when *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* and *T. Quinctius Flaminius* were choſen conſuls. The former was ſent into the *Balearic* iſlands to quell an inſurrection there, and the latter continued at *Rome*, where *Gracchus* was daily inventing new ſchemes to depreſs the ſenate, and exalt the people. He got his brother's law confirmed, relating to the diviſion of the lands of

His new laws.

[o] Cic. l. ii. de orat. [p] Plut. in Gracch. Appian. ibid.

(Y) *Cicero*, a good judge in point of oratory, tells us, that a more complete orator than *Caius Gracchus* never appeared in the roſtra. His graceful perſon, noble air, fine features, and expreſſive action, charmed all who ſaw or heard him. His voice, which was ſtrong and melodious, reached and affected the moſt diſtant auditors. The only fault imputed to him, was too much vehemence, when he ſuffered paſſion to tranſport him. The orator, who was himſelf well appriſed of this defect, choſe out from among his ſlaves an excellent muſician, whom he kept conſtantly behind him, when he was ſpeaking. If in a fit of paſſion the orator happened to raiſe his voice too much, the ſlave, with a ſort of flageller, brought him back to his proper key. So much care did the *Romans* take, when they ſpoke in public, to give their ſpeeches all poſſible graces. But *Gracchus* never appeared more eloquent, than when he lamented the tragical end of his brother. As he was affected with it himſelf, his deſcriptions were ſo ſtrong and lively, that they drew tears from every eye (34).

(34) *Cic. de orat. l.* iii.

Italy

Italy between the citizens of *Rome* and the indigent allies; and for the more ſpeedy execution of it, he cauſed himſelf to be nominated one of the commiſſioners for the ſaid partition, in conjunction with *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Licinius Craſſus*, who ſeems to have been the brother of his wife *Licinia*. With the aſſiſtance of theſe he undertook and performed ſeveral works in favour of the people. For the convenience of travellers, he repaired the great roads, built a great many bridges, erected the firſt *military columns*, or columns at the end of each mile, and placed ſtones at proper diſtances for the eaſe of travellers in mounting their horſes. Theſe public works gained him the hearts of the people; but the two following laws, which he got paſſed in ſpite of the ſenate, were far more agreeable to the multitude than any public works. The firſt was, that public granaries ſhould be built at *Rome*, and filled with corn at the public expence; the ſecond, that monthly diſtributions ſhould be made from thence to every citizen who wanted corn, at a very low price. In order to enable the treaſury to bear this expence, he got duties laid on all the goods imported into *Aſia* at the ports deviſed to the republic by king *Attalus*. He paſſed ſeveral other laws relating to the ſervice and cloathing of the troops, which were ſo agreeable to the people, that the tribune gained an abſolute aſcendant over them, and became in a manner deſpotic maſter of *Rome*. This could not but raiſe the hatred and jealouſy of the patricians, who united all their intereſt to cruſh him as ſoon as his office ſhould expire. To prevent this, *Flaccus* preſſed him to ſolicit the tribuneſhip a ſecond time; which he did accordingly, and ſucceeded, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the ſenate, and the whole body of the nobility [1].

His new laws.

He is choſen tribune a ſecond time.

WHILE *Gracchus* was thus humbling the ſenate, the conſul *Metellus*, landing in the *Balearic* iſlands, ſubdued them, and treated thoſe poor helpleſs barbarians with ſuch cruelty, that, out of thirty thouſand, he ſcarce left one thouſand of them alive. After this bloody and eaſy victory, the conſul built two cities in the larger iſland, one to the eaſt, called *Palma*, now *Majorca*; the other to the weſt, named *Pollentia*, now no longer in being. To people theſe two places, the conſul brought three thouſand *Romans* from the colonies on the continent of *Spain*. After this the conſul returned to *Rome*, where he triumphed, and was honoured with the ſurname of *Balearicus*, as his father had been with that of *Macedonicus*. At the ſame time the proconſul *Sextius*, who had been continued in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, having gained a compleat

The Balearic *iſlands ſubdued.*

And the Salyes *in* Tranſalpine Gaul.

victory over the *Salyes*, found no difficulty in ſubduing the whole nation. He beſieged their capital, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from *Maſſilia* or *Marſeilles*, took it, and reduced the inhabitants to ſlavery. When the conquered came to be ſold, the proconſul, being informed that one of them, by name *Crato*, had ſuffered much from his countrymen on account of his affection to the *Romans*, not only gave him his liberty, and reſtored to him all his effects; but allowed him to chuſe out nine hundred among his countrymen, who were, at his requeſt, ſet at liberty [r]. After this the proconſul, to ſecure his new conqueſt, founded a colony in the place where he had gained his victory, chuſing a ſpot of ground for this purpoſe, which abounded both with hot and cold ſprings.

Aquæ Sextiæ or Aix *founded.*

Here he built a new city, which, from the ſprings and his own name, he called *Aquæ Sextiæ*. This place, now known by the name of *Aix in Provence*, he peopled with a colony, which *Rome* had formerly planted at *Fabrateria*, in the country of the *Volſci*. *Sextius*, having thus ſettled the *Romans* in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, returned to *Rome*; and triumphed; an honour which he better deſerved than his predeceſſor *Fulvius Flaccus* had done [s].

The conſul, on his return to *Rome*, found the republic in great confuſion on account of the innovations of *Gracchus*. The ſeditious tribune ſaw with concern, that the *Roman* knights, who were the moſt wealthy of the citizens inclined more to the ſide of the nobility, than to his; ſo that the plebeian party was made up only of the indigent populace. The knights were indeed reckoned a part of the plebeian body; but as they were the richeſt of that order, they made alliances with the patricians, and, upon a diviſion, generally ſided with them. *Gracchus* therefore, in order to draw them off from the ſenate, and bring them into his meaſures, drew up a law for making ſix hundred of them ſenators; but this law the crafty tribune propoſed only to pave the way for another, which was in appearance more moderate, but in effect raiſed the knights above the ſenators. This was, to transfer from the ſenators to the knights the cognizance of all private cauſes, civil and criminal. The ſenators uſed their utmoſt efforts to get this law rejected; but *Gracchus* was abſolute maſter of the ſuffrages of the people, ſo that the following *plebiſcitum* paſſed by a vaſt majority, *Let the judging of all private cauſes*

The knights made judges in all private cauſes.

belong

[r] Ammian. Marcel. l. xv. Vell. Patercul. l. i. c. 15. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſ. [s] Strabo, l. iv. Vel. Paterc. l. i. Flor. l. iii. c. 2.

belong to the knights, excluſive of the ſenators. The tribune was ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that he cryed out in a tranſport of joy, *I have at length humbled the ſenate.* The favour which the people ſhewed him on this occaſion, emboldened him to proceed ſo far, as to ſolicit for the conſulſhip, in ſuch terms as led the people to conclude, that he intended to appear for it himſelf; but when the day of the elections came, he entered the *campus Martius*, leading his friend *C. Fannius Strabo* by the hand, whom he recommended to the favour of the people, ſaying, with a very engaging air, which he knew how to aſſume when he pleaſed, *If you confer the conſulſhip on my friend, it is the ſame thing as if you conferred it upon me.* This was enough, *Fannius* was declared conſul with *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus.* It fell to the lot of the latter to carry on the war beyond the *Alps*, and to the former to continue in *Italy.* And now *Gracchus*, being raiſed to ſuch a pitch of power and authority over the people of *Rome*, as the moſt abſolute monarchs have over their ſubjects, in order to ſhew his contempt for the ſenate, cauſed the ſeats in the comitium to be changed. The plebeians had hitherto been ſo placed, that the orators, who harangued them, at the ſame time faced the ſenate, and addreſſed themſelves to that venerable body as well as to the people; but *Gracchus*, by altering the ſituation of the plebeians, contrived it ſo, that, when he harangued the people, he turned his back to the ſenators. This was a glaring proof, that he acknowledged no ariſtocratical power in the republic, but thought the whole authority lodged ſolely in the people. This laſt outrage rouſed the ſenators, and put them upon contriving expedients to check the inſolence of the daring tribune. As the conſul *Domitius* was abſent, they applied themſelves to his collegue *C. Fannius*, whom, to their great joy and ſurprize, they found to be in his heart a ſteady republican and a ſincere friend to his country, not to be corrupted, and determined not to ſacrifice the intereſt of the public to his private gratitude. Soon after his election, the popular tribune revived a prohibition formerly given to the judges, *Not to put in execution a capital ſentence on a* Roman *citizen, without the conſent and order of the people.* This law met with no oppoſition; but when he propoſed the following edict, *That the allies ſhould be upon the ſame foot with the citizens of* Rome *as to a right of ſuffrages, even in the acceptance or refuſal of laws*, the conſul *Fannius*, thinking this a monſtrous innovation, to the great ſurprize of his benefactor, openly declared againſt him, and, inſtead of the ſenate, harangued the people with great zeal, expatiating on the evil conſequences that would infallibly attend the paſſing of the law

Gracchus *is oppoſed by the conſul* C. Fannius.

law propoſed by the tribune. By this means the republic was divided between her two chief magiſtrates, and the debates grew every day warmer and warmer. One was ſupported by the ſenate, the other by the multitude, and both carried matters to great extremities. *Gracchus* was for giving the right of citizenſhip and ſuffrage to all the *Italian* allies of *Rome*, from the moſt eaſtern parts of *Italy* to the foot of the *Alps*, which drew vaſt crouds of thoſe people to the capital. The ſenate alarmed at this prodigious concourſe of ſtrangers, engaged the conſul to forbid all thoſe, who had not yet a right of ſuffrage, to continue in the city, or within five miles of it. This order gave riſe to a warm diſpute between the conſul and the tribune in point of juriſdiction. *Fannius* inſiſted, that theſe new comers ſhould leave *Rome*; *Gracchus* encouraged them not to obey an order, which the conſul had no right to publiſh. On one ſide were enacted conſular edicts; and on the other ordinances of the tribunes directly contrary to them. At length the boldeſt man ſucceeded: *Fannius* who was a better ſoldier than orator, thinking it neceſſary to make uſe of force, ſent his lictors to ſeize ſome of thoſe pretenders to the citizenſhip of *Rome*, and cauſed them to be dragged thro' the ſtreets, and driven out of the city. *Gracchus*, either out of cowardice, or, as he ſaid, for fear of giving riſe to a civil war, ſuffered his friends to be thus treated, without offering to aſſiſt them; and this too great tameneſs was the firſt thing that leſſened his credit, and made his partizans ſomewhat diffident [t].

The ſenate gets over Livius, one of the tribunes.

But it was not enough for the ſenate to have thus checked the exorbitant power of the tribune; they aimed at nothing leſs than his deſtruction; but as they could not compaſs their deſign, without gaining over one of his brother tribunes, they applied themſelves to *Livius Druſus*, judging him the moſt proper perſon in the college for their purpoſe. He was in the flower of his age, of an illuſtrious family, tho' plebeian, in point of manners blameleſs, ſkilled in buſineſs, a good orator, and capable of a laudable emulation. As he had nothing more at heart than the welfare of his country, and the ſervice of his fellow-citizens, he came readily into the meaſures of the conſcript fathers; but they, remembering the misfortunes of *Octavius*, who had oppoſed the attempts of *Tiberius*, directed *Livius* to purſue quite different meaſures from thoſe which that tribune had taken, and taught him a conduct ſo refined and ſo well judged, that hiſtorians commend it as a maſter-

[t] Plut. & Appian ibid.

piece

Piece of policy. They did not deſire him to oppoſe the novelties which *Gracchus* daily introduced, but, on the contrary, to court the favour of the people, by attempting to ſurpaſs *Gracchus* himſelf in popularity; a ſcheme finely laid, and executed with ſtill more addreſs. If *Gracchus* propoſed any law agreeable to the people, and diſpleaſing to the ſenate, *Livius* immediately propoſed another which was more ſo, and by that means brought himſelf into great favour with the multitude. This game was ſo artfully played, as not to be ſuſpected even by the moſt ſagacious of the adverſe party. *Gracchus* could not ſee without concern the good-will of the people divided between him and *Livius*; and being ſenſible that his intereſt was daily leſſened among the multitude, he began to ſhew ſome reſpect to the fathers, who returned it with civilities, and pretended to be upon very good terms with him. But their maſter-piece was yet behind: they prevailed on *Rubrius*, another tribune, to propoſe a law for raiſing ſix thouſand *Romans* to rebuild and repeople *Carthage*. The law being paſſed, *Rubrius*, under pretence of doing honour to *Gracchus*, named him in the firſt place to be the leader of the colony, his ſeditious friend *Fulvius Flaccus* in the ſecond place, and himſelf in the third. *Gracchus* fell into the ſnare, and croſſing the ſea, ſpent ſome months in *Africa*, and began to build there a new city on the ruins of *Carthage*, which he called *Junonia* from the name of the goddeſs, who had always been the protectreſs of the old city. At the end of two months, *Gracchus* returned to *Rome*, where he met with a very indifferent reception, even from the moſt zealous of his party. *Livius*, during his abſence, had got the aſcendant, and gained the affections of the people to ſuch a degree, that *Gracchus* was now almoſt quite forgot by the unſteady multitude. The popular tribune was ſo ſenſible of this, that his friends had much ado to keep up his drooping ſpirits. However, he took ſome ſteps to prevail on the people to elect him tribune the third time, which was his laſt game; but at the ſame time he very imprudently affronted the reſt of his colleagues, by ordering a ſcaffold to be pulled down, which they had erected to ſee more conveniently a ſhow of gladiators (*Z*). *Gracchus* pretended, that the ſcaffold

The artifice of the ſenate.

A decree paſſed for rebuilding Carthage.

Gracchus ſtands for the tribuneſhip a third time

(*Z*) The combats of gladiators paſſed from *Greece*, or, as others will have it, from the *Iſlam* provinces, to *Hetruria*, and from thence to *Rome*. This cruel cuſtom was firſt introduced into the world to ſupply the room of human victims, which the pagans offered at the funeral piles, or near the tombs of their dead, from a ſuperſtitious

ſcaffold raiſed by the tribunes left no room for the common people to ſee the ſhow. By this bold action he ingratiated himſelf

a ſuperſtitious notion, that the ſouls or manes of the deceaſed were rendered propitious and highly pleaſed with human blood. This monſtrous perſuaſion prevailed even among the more civilized nations. They generally believed, that the effuſion of human blood was a tribute which the dead required of the living; but to diſguiſe their impious barbarity with the ſpecious ſhow of pleaſure and voluntary combat, they introduced gladiators; that is, men deſtined by the ſtate to cut one another's throats. Theſe combats were, in their firſt riſe, confined to the funerals of great men; but in a ſhort time became common at the obſequies of private perſons. Thoſe who could afford it, never failed to allot in their wills a certain ſum for a combat of gladiators, this being a ſure way of drawing a great concourſe of people together, and having their obſequies performed with great ſolemnity. The firſt ſhow of gladiators, called by the *Latins munus gladiatorum*, was exhibited at *Rome*, according to *Valerius Maximus* (35), by *M.* and *D. Brutus* upon the death of their father, in the year of the city 490. Several years after, that is, in the year of *Rome* 537, upon the death of *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus* the augur, who had been thrice honoured with the conſulate, his three ſons, *Lucius*, *Marcus*, and *Quintus*, entertained the people with the cruel pleaſure of ſeeing twenty two couple of gladiators fight in the forum. In the year of *Rome* 547, the firſt *Africanus* diverted his army at *New Carthage* with a ſhow of gladiators, which he exhibited in honour of his father and uncle, who had begun the reduction of *Spain*. On this occaſion two young *Spaniards*, of an illuſtrious birth and couſin-germans, who contended for the ſovereignty of a city named *Lacibis*, obtained leave of *Scipio* to end their quarrel by ſingle combat; which they did accordingly, and their example was followed by ſeveral other *Spaniards* of diſtinction, who fought either to end their perſonal quarrels by duels, or purely to gain ſome glory by conquering. In proceſs of time the *Romans* grew ſo fond of theſe bloody entertainments, that not only the heir of any great and rich citizen lately deceaſed, but all the principal magiſtrates, preſented the people with ſhows of this nature, to procure their eſteem and affection. The ædiles, prætors, conſuls, and, above all, the candidates for offices, made their court to the people, by entertaining them frequently with theſe fights. As for the emperors, it was ſo much their intereſt to ingratiate themſelves with the populace, that they obliged them with combats of gladiators almoſt upon all occaſions. As theſe bloody ſolemnities were increaſed, ſo was the number of the combatants. At the firſt ſhow exhibited by the *Bruti*, only three couple of gla-

(35) *Val. Max. l.* [illegible]

diator,

himſelf with the mob, but provoked the whole college of the tribunes, who ſoon found an opportunity to ſhew their reſentment;

diators fought; but *Julius Cæſar*, in his ædileſhip, diverted the people with three hundred and twenty couple (36). *Titus* exhibited a ſhow of gladiators, wild beaſts, and repreſentations of ſea-fights, which laſted a hundred days; and *Trajan* continued a ſolemnity of this nature a hundred and twenty three days, during which time he brought out a thouſand couple of gladiators. The number of gladiators were ſo great, even in the time of the republic, that when the conſpiracy of *Cataline* broke out, the ſenate ordered them to be diſperſed about the ſtrong-holds, and ſecured, leſt they ſhould join the diſaffected party. The famous *Spartacus*, who put *Rome* under no ſmall apprehenſion, was himſelf a gladiator, and of the ſame condition were the greater part of his troops, with which he defeated the two *Roman* generals *Claudius* and *Vatinius*. As to the condition of the gladiators, they were commonly ſlaves, or captives purchaſed by the *laniſtæ*, that is, by perſons who made it their profeſſion to teach them how to manage their arms, and brought them up for public ſhows. The *laniſtæ* hired them out at a great price to the perſon who was at the expence of the ſhow, and led them, armed to the amphitheatre, like ſo many victims. Before they entered the liſts, their maſters, or the *laniſtæ*, engaged them, by the moſt dreadful oaths, never to give ground, but to fight to the laſt extremity. The form of this oath is ſtill preſerved in the fragments of *Petronius*. When brought to the place ſet apart for theſe bloody ſhows, they were ranged into claſſes, and divided into couples; ſo that each had his adverſary. They fought with the utmoſt fury, and purſued one another without mercy, their maſters ſparing neither threatnings nor blows to ſtir up the cowardly. If either of the two combatants, exhauſted with fatigue and loſs of blood, or ſtruck with horror at the approach of death, begged quarter, he held up his finger, and laid down his arms, to ſhew that he had recourſe to the mercy of the people preſent, from whom he expected the deciſion of his fate. It often happened, that the ſpectators took a cruel pleaſure in giving up the ſuppliant to the fury of his adverſary; and then, *Recipe ferrum*, *Stab him*, *ſtab him*, was the cry from all parts of the theatre. Sometimes the multitude declared their pleaſure, by holding up, or, as others will have it, by bending back their thumbs, which was the fatal ſign of condemnation. The cowardly ſcarce ever met with any favour from the populace, who were deaf to their cries and prayers. On the other hand, thoſe who ſhewed a generous contempt of death, were generally favoured by the people, and ſaved.

(36) *Dio Caſſ. Livius*

A.

ſentment ; for a few days after, when the election came on, the old tribunes, whoſe buſineſs it was to collect the votes, ſo

As ſoon as the mournful ſound of the trumpets proclaimed the death of one of the gladiators, his body, covered with wounds and blood, was ignominiouſly dragged with a crook, through one of the gates of the amphitheatre to a place adjoining, called *Spoliarium*, where the conquerors ſtripped the dead of their cloaths and arms, and inhumanly diſpatched them, if they ſtill breathed. *Pliny* tells us (37), that many of the common people often crouded round the dying, and clapping their mouths, without the leaſt concern to their trembling limbs, drank their warm blood, as it ſtreamed from their wounds, out of a perſuaſion, that it was a ſovereign remedy for the falling ſickneſs. If the people ſhewed an inclination to ſave the vanquiſhed, the *laniſta* ſtill retained his right to them, and kept them for other combats. The reward of the conqueror was only a crown of maſtic and a palm branch, which he received from the hands of the magiſtrates, to which was added ſometimes, but very rarely, a ſmall ſum of money.

The greateſt of all the advantages the gladiators ever gained in their victories, and after many years of ſervice, was, the recovery of their liberty. In this caſe, the prætor declared them for ever free from the hard fate of being ſubjected to an avaricious and mercileſs maſter. A kind of foyl, called by the *Latins rudis*, was put into their hands as a pledge of their infranchiſement, and on their heads a ſort of bonnet, named *pileus* which was given to all thoſe, who from ſlaves became free. When they were thus ſet at liberty, they conſecrated their arms to *Hercules*, the tutelary god of the *gymnaſia*, or military ſchools.

The gladiators were, as we hinted above, commonly priſoners taken in war, or refractory and ungovernable ſlaves ; for it was a common cuſtom for maſters to ſell ſuch ſervants to the *laniſtæ*, or the inſtructors of the gladiators ; but, in proceſs of time, free men often fought for hire as gladiators ; whence they had the name of *auctorati*. Some young perſons, of good families, after they had ſpent their eſtates in debauchery, were not aſhamed to hire themſelves out as gladiators ; nay, the knights and noblemen, and even the ſenators themſelves, often took up this infamous profeſſion, to keep themſelves from ſtarving, after they had ſquandered away their patrimony ; inſomuch, that *Auguſtus* was obliged to publiſh an edict, forbidding any of the ſenatorial order to turn gladiators Not long after, he laid the ſame reſtraint on the knights (38). But theſe prohibitions were ſo little regarded by the following princes, that in one ſhow exhibited by *Nero*, four hundred ſenators, if the numbers in *Suetonius* are not corrupted,

(37) *Plin. l. xxxiii.* (38) *Dio Caſſ l. xlviii. & Suet. in Auguſt. c. 43.*

and

ſo counted them, that the majority was declared to be againſt *Gracchus*, though, in all likelihood, the greateſt number of ſuffrages *But is diſappointed.*

and ſix hundred of the equeſtrian order, fought in the arena as common gladiators (39). Nay, even women of diſtinction frequently engaged in theſe public encounters, particularly under *Nero* and *Domitian*, and are on that account elegantly expoſed by *Juvenal* in the following verſes:

Quale decus rerum, ſi conjugis auctio fiat,
Balteus, & manicæ, & criſtæ, cruriſque ſiniſtri
Dimidium tegmen? vel ſi diverſa movebit
Prælia, tu felix, ocreas vendente puella.
Hæ ſunt quæ tenui ſudant in cyclade, quarum
Delicias & panniculus bombycinus urit.
Aſpice quo fremitu monſtratos perferat ictus;
Et quanto galeæ curvetur pondere; quanta
Poplitibus ſedeat, quam denſo faſcia libro (40)!

Thus engliſhed by Mr. *Dryden*:

Oh! what a decent ſight 'tis to behold
All thy wife's magazine by auction ſold!
The belt, the creſted plume, the ſev'ral ſuits
Of armour, and the Spaniſh-*leather boots!*
Yet theſe are they that cannot bear the heat
Of figur'd ſilks, and under ſarcenet ſweat.
Behold the ſtrutting Amazonian *whore,*
She ſtands in guard, with her right foot before,
Her coats tuck't up, and all her motions juſt,
She ſtamps, and then cries, Hah! at every thruſt.

But the moſt ridiculous ſet of combatants were the dwarfs, who, encountering one another, or engaging with the women, afforded the people great diverſion. They are deſcribed with a great deal of humour by *Statius (41)*, to whom we refer our readers.

There were ſeveral kinds of gladiators, diſtinguiſhed by different appellations, which they took from their country, their arms, their way of fighting, or from ſuch-like circumſtances. The moſt famous, and moſt frequently mentioned by the antients, are, the *Retiarii*, the *Secutores*, the *Myrmillones*, the *Thracians*, the *Samnites*, the *Pimmirapi*, the *Eſſedarii*, and the *Andabatæ*. The *Retiarius* was dreſſed in a ſhort coat, having a *fuſcina* or trident in his left hand, and a net in his right, with which he endeavoured to

(39) *Suet. in Ner. c.* 11. (40) *Juv. ſat. vi. ver.* 254, *& ſeq.* (41) *Stat. l. vi. ver.* 57, *& ſeq.*

ſuffrages was for him. To complete his misfortune, his profeſſed enemy, *L. Opimius*, was choſen conſul, with *Q. Fabius*

intangle his adverſary, that he might the more eaſily diſpatch him with his trident. The *Secutor*, who was always matched with the *Retiarius*, was armed with a buckler and a helmet, on which was engraved a fiſh, in alluſion to the net. If the *Retiarius* failed in caſting the net, he fled round the place of combat, till he had got it ready for a ſecond throw. In the mean time, his antagoniſt purſued him to prevent his deſign; and from thence was called *Secutor* or *Follower*. In the ſeveral motions which the *Retiarius* made while he was attempting to catch the head of his adverſary in his net, he repeated the following words, recorded by *Feſtus*: *Non te peto, piſcem peto; quid me fugis, Galle? Why do you fly from me*, Gaul? *my aim is not at you, but at your fiſh*. The *Secutor*'s weapon was a *falx ſupina*, or kind of ſcymitar. *Juvenal* gives us a very particular account of this ſort of combat, in ſpeaking of a young nobleman, who ſcandalouſly took up the profeſſion of a *Retiarius* in the reign of *Nero* (42). The *Myrmillo* was, as is pretty plain from *Juvenal*, the ſame as the *Secutor*. However, *Lipſius* will have the *Myrmillones* to be a diſtinct order of gladiators, who fought completely armed. The *Thracians* uſed a *ſica*, or dagger, and a *parma*, or little round ſhield. Some writers think they were called *Thracians*, becauſe they were natives of *Thrace*; others pretend they were ſo named from their weapons, which were peculiar to the *Thracians*. As to the *Samnite* gladiators, *Livy* tells us, that the *Campanians*, bearing a great hatred to the *Samnites*, armed ſome of their gladiators after the faſhion of that country, and called them *Samnites*. Such was their original. What their arms were, he tells us in another place; they wore, ſays he, a ſhield, broad at the top to defend their breaſts, and narrow at the bottom, that it might be moved with greater eaſe; they wore a belt over their ſhoulders, a greave on their left foot, and a creſted helmet on their heads. Hence it is plain, that the *Amazonian* combatant, deſcribed above by *Juvenal*, had aſſumed the armour and duty of a *Samnite* gladiator. The *Pinnirapi*, who always entered the liſts againſt the *Samnites*, were ſo called from the *pinnæ* or creſt, which adorned the *Samnite*'s helmet. Theſe *pinnæ* they uſed to catch at, and carry them off in triumph, as marks of their victory; and hence the name of *Pinnirapi*, made up of the two *Latin* words *pinnæ* and *rapere*. The *Eſſedarii* engaged one another in chariots, called *eſſeda*. The *Andabatæ* fought on horſeback, armed with a helmet, which covered their face and even their eyes, ſo that they ſtruck at a venture; and hence *Andabatarum more pugnare* is, among the *Latins*, to fight blind fold.

(42) *Juv. Sat.* viii. 199.

We

Fabius Maximus Æmilianus, nephew to the ſecond *Africanus*. It fell to the lot of *Fabius* to make war in *Gaul*, where *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who had continued there with the character of proconſul, had gained great advantages, which we ſhall take notice of hereafter. As for *Opimius*, he continued in *Italy*, and made it his buſineſs to humble in his turn the great adverſary of the ſenate, and his own perſonal enemy; for *Gracchus* had got him formerly excluded from the conſular dignity, becauſe he would not come into his meaſures. The idol of the people, being thus reduced to the condition of a private man, and conſequently expoſed to the perſecutions of his enemies, had recourſe to the law for rebuilding *Carthage*, and, together with *Fulvius Flaccus*, his inſeparable friend, raiſed ſix thouſand men for that purpoſe. When they had made the neceſſary preparations for paſſing over into *Africa*, they were informed, that the law would be repealed. This news brought them back to *Rome*; for they were then buſied in getting together on the ſea-coaſt a ſufficient number of veſſels for the tranſporting of their men. Upon their arrival, they found, that the ſenate had given the tribune *M. Minucius* inſtructions for that purpoſe; and that his chief argument to the people was built on ſome pretended prodigies, which were ſaid to have happened at *Carthage*, when the workmen firſt began to mark out the circumference of the new city. To diſprove this pretence, *Gracchus* mounted the roſtra once more, but both ſpoke and acted like a madman. Among other things he ſaid, *That, if the ſenate reported, that heaven obſtructed the rebuilding of* Carthage *by prodigies, the ſenate lyed. Gracchus*, who was naturally of a mild diſpoſition, would never have carried things to this extremity, if he had not been led to it by the advice of his friend *Fulvius*, who, though advanced in years, ſtill retained all the fire of youth. On the day appointed for the comitia to meet about the confirming or repealing of the law, *Fulvius*, early in the morning, poſted ſome of his faction in the area of the capitol, where the aſſembly was to be held;

We ſhall take our leave of the gladiators, with an obſervation out of *Petronius Arbiter*, who tells us, that the combats of gladiators were introduced out of ſuperſtition, but maintained out of policy; a cruel policy indeed! but the republic found her account in it. The *Roman* youth, being accuſtomed to look on blood and ſlaughter as matter of diverſion, learned to deſpiſe death, which was become familiar to them, and to brave the greateſt dangers.

and *Gracchus*, with a numerous guard, took poſſeſſion of one of the porticoes of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, there to wait for the reſult of the comitia. In the mean time, the conſul *Opimius*, having offered a ſacrifice to *Jupiter* in his temple on the capitol, one of the conſul's lictors, by name *Antillius*, as he was bringing out the intrails of the victim, after they had been preſented on the altar, inſulted *Gracchus* and his friends, crying out, *Take care, rioters; make way for the faithful ſervant of the republic.* Upon this one of *Gracchus*'s domeſtics drew a dagger, and laid *Antillius* dead at his feet. This unhappy accident, together with a violent ſtorm, diſperſed the croud, every one retiring in great conſternation to his own houſe. As the author of the murder was not known, the greater part imputed it to *Gracchus* himſelf, tho' no one, even of the adverſe party, was more affected with it than he; for he knew, that his enemies waited for an opportunity to lay on him the blame of a civil war, which they were reſolved to begin. He paſſed the night in great uneaſineſs, dreading the evil conſequences of that raſh action; but *Fulvius*, who, from his earlieſt years, had been bred up in a camp, behaved in a very different manner. He retired to his houſe attended with a ſtrong guard, and there made a great entertainment for his friends, drinking hard, and cauſing wine to be freely diſtributed among thoſe who attended him. He did not retire till it was very late, and then ſlept ſound, till the out-cries of his guard, and the noiſe that was heard in all the ſtreets of *Rome*, awaked him. The conſul *Opimius* had taken poſſeſſion of the capitol with his conſular troops before day, and thereby made himſelf maſter of a poſt which commanded the city. After this, he had aſſembled the ſenate at the break of day in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and cauſed the dead body of *Antillius* to be expoſed to public view, in order to ſtir up the multitude againſt *Gracchus* and his adherents. The ſenate in great haſte drew up a decree, impowering the conſul to do whatever he ſhould judge proper for the public good; which was in effect creating him dictator. Hereupon *Opimius*, reſolving to repay his old enemy all the evils the republic and himſelf had ſuffered from him, ordered the *Roman* knights to take up arms, and each to bring with him two domeſtics well armed. On the other hand, *Fulvius*, upon the firſt notice of theſe extraordinary proceedings, ran like a madman about the ſtreets; and, having raiſed the mob, flew, with his two ſons and a confuſed multitude, to take poſſeſſion of mount *Aventine*; ſo that the two extremities of *Rome* to the eaſt and weſt were like two

A lictor killed in the capitol by one of Gracchus's *domeſtics.*

The conſul Opimius *ſeizes the capitol.*

And Fulvius *mounts* Aventine.

two camps, whence two armies were ready to march againſt each other. *Gracchus*, foreſeeing that much blood would be ſhed in this quarrel, ſhewed a great reluctance to follow *Fulvius* to mount *Aventine*. However, he reſolved at length to go and join his friend; but left his houſe more like a magiſtrate, who was going to put an end to a civil conteſt, than a warrior, who was marching to battle. He neither changed the habit, which he uſually wore in the city, nor took any other arms than a dagger under his robe, to defend himſelf in caſe he was attacked. As he was juſt going out of his houſe, his wife, who tenderly loved both her husband and her country, ran, all in tears, to ſtop him. She ſeized him by his robe, and holding in her arms his ſon, the only pledge of their mutual affections; *Whither are you going*, ſaid ſhe, *ſo early? Can you be ignorant, that the murderers of your brother are preparing the ſame fate for you? You are going to put yourſelf at the head of a vile rabble, who will baſely abandon you at the ſight of the leaſt danger. If you have any affection either for me or your dear child, take care of a life which is to us ſo dear.* She was going on, when *Gracchus*, pierced to the heart with grief, and not having power to anſwer her, broke away from between her arms; but ſhe, holding him by the robe, followed him, till at length, bore down with the weight of her grief, ſhe fainted and fell down in the ſtreet, whence ſhe was carried to the houſe of *Licinius Craſſus* her brother, who had intirely devoted himſelf to *Gracchus*'s party. *Gracchus*, at his arrival on mount *Aventine*, found there a confuſed multitude of people, no-ways in a condition to withſtand the conſular troops and the whole body of the nobility, who, with their clients and domeſtics, formed a very powerful party. He therefore ſummoned the chief men of his party to a council of war, when they unanimouſly reſolved to fortify the temple of *Diana*, to invite the ſlaves to join them, with a promiſe of granting them their liberty, and, laſtly, to offer a treaty before they began hoſtilities. *Gracchus* prevailed on *Fulvius* to ſend to the conſul his youngeſt ſon, a child ſcarce twelve years old, but of extraordinary beauty, and admired by all for his underſtanding, which was much above his years. When young *Fulvius* appeared before *Opimius* with a *caduceus*, the ſymbol of peace, in his hand, the conſul, in deriſion to the embaſſy, received the young embaſſador with great pomp and ceremony, and then ordered him to return to mount *Aventine*, and inform thoſe who had ſent him, that, if they would obtain peace, they muſt come themſelves, and ſubmit to the judgment of the ſenate. *Take care,*

Gracchus *joins* Fulvius.

The conſul Opimius *rejects the terms of accommodation offered by* Gracchus *and* Fulvius.

child, ſaid the conſul, after he had returned that anſwer, *take care you don't appear here a ſecond time. Their ſending an embaſſador of your age can be done only to inſult us.* Hereupon young *Fulvius* withdrew, and, returning to mount *Aventine*, made his report. Then *Gracchus* himſelf, to prevent the ſpilling of *Roman* blood, offered to come down from the hill in perſon, to hear the propoſals of the ſenate; but the multitude would not ſuffer him, fearing to be deprived of their leader. As no body elſe cared to charge themſelves with this commiſſion, *Fulvius* had the imprudence to ſend his ſon a ſecond time to the conſul, who, without ſo much as hearing him, tho' he appeared before him with a great air of modeſty, cried out in a violent rage, *It is too much to inſult us in this manner. Let the child be carried to priſon, not ſo much to puniſh the ſon, as to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the father.* The order was immediately put in execution, and no further mention made of treaties. The conſul reſolved, without loſs of time, to fall upon the rebels and force them from their poſt. Accordingly he marched down the capitol, and, arriving at the foot of mount *Aventine*, began the attack with the prudence of an experienced officer. *Fulvius*, whoſe bravery had been honoured with a triumph, made a vigorous reſiſtance. And now *Romans* engaged for the firſt time with *Romans*, and conſuls with conſuls, within the very walls of *Rome*. There had been, before this time ſeveral frays; but this was a formal battle, both parties being commanded by generals of great experience. *Opimius* ordered a body of archers, armed with bows and arrows after the *Cretan* manner, to march up the hill, under the command of *Decimus Brutus*, and charge the rebels. On the other hand, *Fulvius* came down the hill like a torrent, and fell upon the archers with incredible fury. In this firſt attack *Lentulus*, the prince of the ſenate, was dangerouſly wounded, and many perſons of diſtinction loſt their lives; for in the engagement the ſenators and knights were confounded with the common ſoldiers, and the people with their magiſtrates. The conſul, meeting with a more vigorous oppoſition than he expected, proclaimed an amneſty for all thoſe, who ſhould lay down their arms, and at the ſame time ſet a price on the heads of *Gracchus* and *Fulvius*, promiſing to give their weight in gold to any one who ſhould bring them to him. This proclamation had the deſired effect; the populace ſlipt away one by one, and, deſerting their leaders, returned ſilently to their own houſes. *Fulvius*, ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned all on a ſudden, fled for refuge, with his eldeſt ſon, to a friend's houſe, and concealed

A battle in Rome.

cealed himſelf in an old bathing-room, which was very private, and no longer in uſe. In the mean while, his enemies, greedy of the reward ſet upon his head, made a diligent ſearch after him, and not finding him, tho' they knew he could not be far off, threatened to burn down the whole neighbourhood. This terrified the owner of the houſe, to which *Fulvius* and his ſon had retired; however, he would not betray his friend himſelf, but directed another to ſhew where he was. Hereupon armed men entered the houſe, and, killing both the father and the ſon, cut off their heads, with a deſign to preſent them to the conſul when the action was over [u]. *Fulvius killed.*

IN the mean time, *Gracchus*, who had not engaged in the battle, for fear of imbruing his hands in *Roman* blood, fled for refuge to the temple of *Diana*; but *Licinius Craſſus*, his brother-in-law, and *Pomponius*, a *Roman* knight, who attended him, adviſed him to make his eſcape through the gate *Tergemina*. He followed their advice, and, paſſing through the centre of the city, got to the bridge *Sublicius*, where his enemies, who purſued him cloſe, would have overtaken and ſeized him, if his two friends, *Licinius* and *Pomponius*, with as much intrepidity and reſolution, as *Horatius Cocles* had formerly exerted in the ſame place, had not oppoſed their fury. They defended the bridge againſt all the conſular troops, till *Gracchus* was out of their reach; but at length, being overpowered by numbers and covered with wounds, they both expired on the bridge, which they had ſo valiantly defended. In the mean while, *Gracchus* fled to a ſacred wood, dedicated to the *Furies*, and there ordered a generous ſlave, by name *Euphorus*, or, as others call him, *Philoſtratus*, who had attended him, to put an end to his life. The faithful ſlave, reſolving not to outlive his maſter, ſtabbed himſelf with the ſame dagger, which he had plunged into the breaſt of *Gracchus*, and expired with him. Others tell us, that, *Gracchus* being overtaken by thoſe who purſued him, *Euphorus*, embracing his maſter, covered him with his body; ſo that his enemies could not hurt him, without firſt killing the faithful ſlave, who, after receiving many wounds, breathed his laſt over *Gracchus*, whom the rabble ſoon diſpatched. As ſoon as he was dead, one of the multitude cut off his head; but as he was carrying it like a trophy to the conſul, *Lucius Septimuleius*, who had always profeſſed a ſtrict friendſhip for *Gracchus*, ſnatched it out of his hand, and ſafely went with it to the conſul, to get the reward ſet upon it, which was its *The death of Gracchus.*

[u] PLUT. in Gracch. APPIAN de bell. civil. l. 1. VELL. PATERC. l. 2. Auth. de vir. illuſt.

weight

weight in gold; but firſt he privately poured melted lead into the ſkull, and then delivered it to *Opimius*, who was ſo taken with the preſent, that he paid ſeventeen pounds and a half for it, without diſcovering the cheat. The body of *Gracchus* was firſt thrown into the *Tiber*, and afterwards carried to his mother *Cornelia*, who paid it all funeral honours. It is not agreed, whether *Caius Gracchus* had any thing in view prejudicial to the public liberty, in courting the favour of the people, and publiſhing ſo many laws to the diſadvantage of the ſenate. Some are of opinion, that he aimed at the ſovereign power; others, that his deſign was only to eſtabliſh an equilibrium in the republic, and deliver the common people from the oppreſſions of the rich. His whole conduct ſeems to confirm the latter opinion; but thus much, however, muſt be allowed, that the methods he took were ſeditious, and that ambition and deſire of revenge carried him beyond the bounds of juſtice. He ſo far altered the conſtitution of the commonwealth, and diſturbed the public peace, particularly by the diſunion of patrons and clients, that the *Roman* ſtate became very unſettled, and liable to any new revolution. Tho' his intentions might have been upright, yet there was room to fear, that ruin would be the effect of ſuch diſturbances in ſo corrupted a commonwealth. The people, inſtead of ſupporting their protector, deſerted him in his greateſt danger, and were not ſenſible of their loſs, till it was too late to retrieve it; but afterwards they erected ſtatues to the *Gracchi*, worſhipped them as gods, and inſtituted feſtivals in their honour [w].

Cruelty of Opimius.

On the other hand, the conſul *Opimius*, not ſatisfied with the death of *Gracchus*, of *Fulvius*, and of above three thouſand of their party, who had been ſlain in the engagement on mount *Aventine*, impriſoned and condemned to die all the friends and adherents of the *Gracchi* whom he could diſcover. His ſeverity towards young *Fulvius* was highly blameable, and deſervedly condemned even by thoſe of his own party. The child had, notwithſtanding the conſul's prohibition, thought it his duty to obey his father, and to return a ſecond time with terms of accommodation. This act of obedience and filial duty the brutiſh conſul looked upon as a great crime, and accordingly ſent a lictor to the young *Roman* in priſon, to acquaint him, that he muſt die, and to offer him in his name the liberty of chuſing what kind of death he thought the eaſieſt. The innocent youth, at this

[w] Plut. & Appian. ibid. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 7.

unexpected

unexpected meſſage, burſt out into tears; which an *Hetrurian* aruſpex who was ſhut up in the ſame priſon obſerving, *Why all this buſtle*, ſaid he, *in parting with life? I will ſhew you how eaſy a thing it is to die.* He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when he daſhed his head againſt one of the lintels of the door with ſuch violence, that he died upon the ſpot. Young *Fulvius* followed his example, and, by a like death, put the inhuman conſul's orders in execution. After this, *Opimius* commanded the bodies of thoſe who had been killed on the *Aventine*, to the number of three thouſand, to be thrown into the *Tiber*, confiſcated their goods, and publiſhed an edict, forbidding their widows and relations to put on mourning for them. *Licinia*, the wife of *Gracchus*, was even deprived of her dowry. The cruel conſul, after having ſhed ſo much blood, was not aſhamed to build a temple to *Concord*, as if he had, by pacific meaſures, brought his fellow-citizens to an union. The people never ſaw this temple but with horror, and looked upon it as a mununent of the cruelty of *Opimius*. As for the ſenate, they made it their chief buſineſs to extinguiſh even the memory of the laws publiſhed by the *Gracchi*. With this view they gained over one of the commiſſioners, and prevailed upon him to repreſent in the aſſembly of the people, that he met with unſurmountable difficulties in the inquiry after, and partition of, the lands; but that, to relieve the people, he would take care that every proprietor of ſuch lands ſhould pay a certain rent, proportionable to the quantity he poſſeſſed; and that the money, ariſing from theſe rents, ſhould be diſtributed among the poor citizens, who enjoyed no ſhare of thoſe public lands. He added, that, in conſideration of this payment, he was of opinion, that thoſe who poſſeſſed ſuch lands ſhould be acknowledged the lawful proprietors of them, with a diſcharge from all claims for the future; and that they ſhould be allowed afterwards to alienate and diſpoſe of thoſe inheritances as they pleaſed; but the ſaid lands ſhould be always ſubject to the rent that ſhould be agreed upon. The people, ſeduced with the hopes of this advantage, paſſed the law, which abſolutely deſtroyed that of the *Gracchi*. Soon after, the rents, which the owners of the lands were to pay to the people, were ſuppreſſed, one of the tribunes of the people pretending, that the rich paid a ſufficient tribute to the public, by being at the charge of ſupporting the dignity of the commonwealth in the magiſtracies, with which they were inveſted. Thus the people were again reduced to their former wants, and ſubjected to the authority of the ſenate, and the oppreſſion

The Gracchian *laws repealed* Year of the Flood, 2883. Before Chriſt, 116. *Of Rome*, 632.

oppreſſions of the rich; a juſt puniſhment for their inconſtancy, and ingratitude to their benefactors, whom they baſely abandoned in their greateſt danger [x].

The ſucceſs of the Romans *in* Tranſalpine Gaul.

During theſe troubles at home, the late conſul *Domitius* was ſpreading with great ſucceſs the terror of the *Roman* arms in *Tranſalpine Gaul.* He had, during his conſulſhip, intirely ſettled the country of the *Salyes* in peace; a work happily begun by *C. Sextius Calvinus* three years before; but the *Allobroges*, whoſe country bordered on that of the *Salyes*, being uneaſy at the ſettlements of the *Romans* in their neighbourhood, began to riſe, with a deſign to fall upon the *Roman* colony at *Aquæ Sextiæ.* Hereupon *Domitius*, who was now only proconſul, having been ſucceeded by *Q. Fabius Maximus* the collegue of *Opimius*, to prevent the *Arverni*, a powerful people, from joining the *Allobroges*, entered into an alliance with their neighbours the *Ædui*, one of the moſt conſiderable nations in *Tranſalpine Gaul.* Upon this the *Arverni* began hoſtilities with the *Ædui*, who complained to *Domitius*; and the *Roman* general took occaſion from thence to force himſelf a paſſage into the country of the *Arverni.* He had ſcarce entered it, when the king of the *Arverni*, named *Bituitus*, or, according to the *Celtic* orthography, *Bitultick*, ſent a deputation to the proconſul, which was quite a new ſcene to the *Romans.* The head of the embaſſy was very richly dreſſed, and followed by a great number of attendants; but his chief guard conſiſted of a company of huge dogs, that followed him in good order, like regular troops. By his ſide walked a *bard*, that is, according to *Feſtus*, a prieſt, who, being a ſkilful verſifier in the language of his country, ſung the praiſes of his king, his people, and the embaſſador. The proconſul received the embaſſador with great civility, who, aſſuming an imperious air, commanded him, in the name of his maſter, to forbear moleſting the *Allobroges*, and to retire forthwith from all *Gaul.* *Domitius*, who was not a man to be terrified by ſuch rodomontadoes, turned his back upon the embaſſador and his bard, without deigning to give them an anſwer, and immediately led his troops into the fruitful plains of the *Cavari.* While he was encamped there near a village called *Vindalia*, not far from the place where the *Sulga*, now the *Sorgue*, falls into the *Rhone*, an innumerable multitude of *Allobroges* came to attack him; but were eaſily routed by the proconſul's regular and well-diſciplined troops. We are told, that twenty thouſand

The Allobroges *defeated with great ſlaughter.*

[x] Plut. Appian. Vell. Paterc. ibid.

Gaul.

Gauls were killed on the ſpot, and three thouſand made priſoners of war [y].

THE defeat of the *Allobroges* put the powerful nation of the *Arverni* in motion. *Bitultick* raiſed an army of two hundred thouſand men, and marched againſt the *Romans*, whom they found incamped in the country of the *Cavari*. The *Roman* army, thirty thouſand ſtrong, was commanded by *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who came from *Rome* during the troubles raiſed by *Gracchus*, but was now become proconſul, *P. Manilius* and *C. Papirius Carbo* having been raiſed to the conſulate. *Domitius* had ſurrendered the command to *Fabius*, but ſtill continued in the camp to aſſiſt the general with his advice. *Bitultick*, who placed too gre at confidence in his numbers, when he ſaw the *Roman* camp, deſpiſed ſo weak an enemy, and turning to thoſe who attended him, *This handful of men*, ſaid he, *will ſcarce be ſufficient to feed the dogs that follow me.* When he began the attack, the proconſul *Fabius*, who had a quartan ague, was in the height of one of his fits; however, he drew up the legions himſelf, and, being carried through the ranks, encouraged his ſoldiers to behave like true *Romans*. The *Gauls*, who were utterly undiſciplined and without experience, were ſoon put to the rout, and vaſt numbers of them ſlain. And then *Domitius*, deſirous to ſhare the glory of the day with *Fabius*, ſent to invite the king of the *Arverni*, who had not yet left the field of battle, to an interview. The credulous *Gaul* accepted the invitation, and came to meet *Domitius* with a ſmall attendance at the place appointed; but, to his great ſurprize, ſaw himſelf all on a ſudden ſurrounded by *Domitius*'s guards. The betrayed king called for vengeance from the gods, protectors of faith, but in vain; the baſe *Roman* telling him, that he muſt go to *Rome*, to give an account of his conduct to the ſenate. Accordingly he was ſent under a ſtrong guard to *Marſeilles*, and there put on board a veſſel, which conveyed him to *Rome* [z]. The *Allobroges*, upon the news of the victory gained by *Fabius* over their friends the *Arverni*, immediately ſubmitted. As for the *Arverni*, the captivity of their king, and the loſs they had ſuſtained in the battle, which is ſaid to have amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand men, either killed or drowned in the *Rhone*, ſo diſheartened them, that they ſent embaſſadors to ſolicit a peace; which

And the Arverni.

The treachery of Domitius.

The Allobroges and Arverni ſubmit.

Year after the Flood, 2584. Before Chriſt, 116. Of Rome 633.

[y] STRABO, l. iv. FLOR. l. iii. c. 2. VELL. PATERC. l. iii. AMPIAN. apud Fulvium. OROS. l. v. c. 13. [z] APPIAN. in Celtic. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 6.

was granted them upon very reaſonable terms, the proconſul only requiring of them, that they ſhould continue at home, and not diſturb the *Ædui*, or any of the neighbouring nations. *Fabius* and *Domitius*, having thus ſettled the eaſtern part of *Gaul* in peace, returned to *Rome*, where the ſenate approved of the baſeneſs of *Domitius*; and not only detained the injured *Bitultick*, and expoſed him in the triumphs of his conquerors, but, by a freſh act of injuſtice, ordered the conſul *P. Manilius*, who was then ſetting out for *Gaul*, to ſend *Congeniatus*, the ſon of *Bitultick*, to *Rome*. The young prince indeed was entertained and educated at *Rome* in a manner ſuitable to his rank; and therefore, when he returned to his dominions, maintained to the laſt a great friendſhip and eſteem for the *Romans*, by whom he had been educated. As for the unhappy *Bitultick*, after he had been baſely obliged by the ſenate to grace the triumphs of *Domitius* and *Fabius*, he was confined to the city of *Alba*, where he ſpent the reſt of his days, the ſenate being afraid, leſt he ſhould renew the war, if they allowed him to return to his own dominions [a]. Thus were all rules of equity, and even the law of nations, ſhamefully neglected and trod under foot by the ſenate, when they came in competition with the intereſt of their republic.

Opimius *accuſed before the people.*

This year ended with a remarkable trial: *P. Decius Mus*, one of the tribunes of the people, accuſed the late conſul *Opimius*, and cited him to appear before the comitia. The crimes laid to his charge were, his having put to death a great number of citizens on the *Aventine*, and afterwards ſentenced others to die, and cauſed them be executed, before the people had condemned them; a cauſe of the utmoſt importance to both parties, and debated with great warmth. *Decius*, no mean orator, maintained, that *Opimius* had tranſgreſſed the law, enacting, *that no citizen ſhould be put to death, but by a decree of the people*; and pretended, that if the people gave up their right in this inſtance, the defenders of the people would undergo the fate of the *Gracchi*, whenever the ſenate ſhould think fit. They will declare them, ſaid he, dangerous citizens, and then death will be the reward of their zeal for the intereſt of the people. On the other hand, the conſul *Papirius Carbo* undertook the defence of *Opimius*, and, by ſhewing to the multitude how dangerous it was, and inconſiſtent with reaſon, that ſeditious men and rebels ſhould

[a] Flor. l. iii. c. 2. Vell. Paterc. ibid. Jul. Cæs. comment. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. apud Valeſ.

have

have no other judges or avengers but themſelves, prevailed upon them to acquit *Opimius*, and thereby declare, that it was lawful for a conſul, when impowered by the ſenate, to deliver the republic from a dangerous citizen, without waiting for the conſent of the people aſſembled in comitia. Thus was tranquillity reſtored to the city. The ſenate recovered their antient aſcendant over the people, who bore their mild government without complaints; but this tranquillity was ſoon diſturbed by new commotions, which greatly ſhook the conſular ſtate, and paved the way for an abſolute monarchy. Theſe civil diſturbances, and ſome foreign wars, together with the riſe, progreſs, declenſion, and total ruin of the imperial ſtate, ſinking under the weight of its own greatneſs, will be the ſubject of the following chapters.

And acquitted.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the end of the ſedition of the* Gracchi, *to the perpetual dictatorſhip of* Sylla.

THE civil commotions of the republic being allayed, by the death of the *Gracchi* and the abolition of their laws, as we have related in the foregoing chapter, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, the nephew of the great *Metellus*, ſurnamed *Macedonicus*, and *L. Aurelius Cotta* were, without any diſturbances or oppoſition, raiſed to the conſulate. The latter was ſent into *Tranſalpine Gaul*, with a conſular army, to keep the *Allobroges* and *Arverni* in awe, and the former into *Illyricum* to reduce the *Segeſtani* (A), who had ſhaken off the *Roman* yoke. The conſul defeated them in the field, and made himſelf maſter of their city and territory; but, as this expedition was not of importance enough to procure him a triumph, he made war unjuſtly on the *Dalmatians*, who, not being in a condition to withſtand a conſular army, voluntarily ſubmitted to him; ſo that he ſpent the winter in tranquillity at *Salona* (B), the capital of the country. Ne-

The Dalmatians *ſubdued.*

(A) *Segeſta*, formerly a city of *Upper Pannonia*, is long ſince deſtroyed. There are only ſome of its ruins remaining on the banks of the *Save*, near the mouth of *Kulp*, and the little city of *Stag*.

(B) The ancient city of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, ſtood about ten miles from the gulph of that name, on the coaſt of the *Adriatic* ſea, at a ſmall diſtance from the place where the preſent city of *Spalatro* ſtands. It was once famous for the retreat of the emperor *Diocleſian*, but is now buried in it ruins.

verthelefs,

vertheleſs, he aſſumed the ſurname of *Dalmaticus*, and was honoured with a triumph for his pretended conqueſt [a].

Papirius Carbo *accuſed by young* Craſſus.

IN the mean time, a young orator had courage enough to impeach the late conſul *Papirius Carbo*, at the tribunal of the prætor *Q. Fabius Eburnus*, who had been commiſſioned by the ſenate to try ſtate-criminals. The orator's name was *L. Licinius Craſſus*. No *Roman* had ever been endowed by nature with greater talents for eloquence, which he had carefully improved, though but twenty years of age, by a ſtrict application to ſtudy. As he was of the *Licinian* family, and nearly related to *Licinia*, the wife of *C. Gracchus*, he reſolved to do all that lay in his power to deſtroy *Papirius Carbo*, a ſworn enemy to the *Gracchian* party. *Papirius* had been formerly zealous for the people and the *Gracchi*, even to madneſs, and had been ſuſpected of having aſſaſſinated the ſecond *Africanus*. But, having ſince changed his party, and with it his ſentiments, he had devoted himſelf intirely to the intereſt of the nobility, who had promoted him to the conſulate, and looked upon him as one of the chief ſupporters of their cauſe; ſo that he had great intereſt, and beſides, was himſelf an orator of no mean character, as appeared in the cauſe of *Opimius*, which he defended with uncommon ſucceſs, having by force of perſuaſion induced the people to give judgment againſt their own intereſt. Nevertheleſs the love of revenge prompted young *Craſſus* to attempt the deſtroying of this powerful enemy to the *Gracchian* faction. He reduced the whole impeachment to theſe three articles; 1ſt, that he had ſtirred up the elder *Gracchus* to demand the tribuneſhip a ſecond year; 2dly, That he had made a law for this purpoſe, when he was tribune; and, 3dly, That he had been, at leaſt, an accomplice in the aſſaſſination of the *Second Africanus*. Theſe were heavy accuſations; and *Craſſus* might have eaſily proved them, had not his probity got the aſcendant over all his paſſions. For one of *Papirius*'s ſlaves, being angry with his maſter, ſtole the box in which he kept all his papers, and brought it to the accuſer. But the generous *Roman* had ſuch an abhorrence of the treachery, that he ſent back the ſlave in chains, and the box unopened, ſaying, that he had rather let an enemy and a criminal eſcape unpuniſhed, than deſtroy him by baſe and diſhonourable means. On the day appointed, the cauſe was pleaded before the prætor and a very numerous aſſembly, all *Rome* flocking to hear the firſt eſſay of a young orator, who had never yet diſplayed his

[a] APPIAN. in Illyric. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii.

talents

talents but in the ſchools. When he aſcended the roſtra, he was ſo intimidated at the ſight of ſo crouded an audience, that, his heart failing him, he looked pale, and was ready to faint. The prætor, obſerving the confuſion he was in, adjourned the court to the next day. Then the croud was ſtill greater; but the young orator took courage, and ſpoke with ſuch energy and life, that the accuſed, ſinking into deſpair, did juſtice on himſelf. Some ſay, that he went into baniſhment; but *Valerius Maximus* aſſures us, that he poiſoned himſelf with cantharides to avoid a more ſhameful death [b].

Papirius lays violent hands on himſelf.

From this time *Craſſus* gained the reputation of the greateſt orator *Rome* had ever bred. His oration was put into the hands of all young orators, and long after looked upon by *Cicero* himſelf as an inimitable performance [c].

Marius, his birth, education, &c.

DURING the preſent conſulate, the famous *Caius Marius* firſt appeared in a public office. He was of ſo mean extraction, that even the village where he was born is not certainly known. All that is certain of his origin is, that he was a native of the country of the *Arpinates* in the territory of the *Volſci*; that his father's name was *Marius*, and his mother's *Fucinia*. He was a man of an extraordinary ſize, of great ſtrength of body, of an uncommon underſtanding, courageous, and enterpriſing; but at the ſame time of a fierce aſpect, and, as he had ſpent great part of his youth in the country, where he had been brought up in ruſtic employments, in his manners a perfect ſavage. As ſoon as he attained to the military age, he entered into the army, and gave the firſt proofs of his courage and intrepidity at the ſiege of *Numantia*. *Scipio*, with whom he made his firſt campaign, diſcovering under a rough outſide a great fund of underſtanding and bravery, told his officers, that young *Marius*, however clowniſh, would one day be an honour to the republic, and prove one of her greateſt generals. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions by actions of uncommon valour, but more by an exact obſervance of military diſcipline. He went through all the degrees in the army, and every ſtep he roſe was in reward of ſome action, with which he had ſignalized himſelf. He now began to ſolicit civil magiſtracies, and ſtood for the tribuneſhip of the people, which he obtained, and diſcharged with the ſame intrepidity he had ſhewn in the field. He propoſed a new law relating to the manner of collecting the ſuffrages in the election of the cu-

Marius tribune of the people.

[b] Val. Max. l. iii. c. 7. [c] Cic. de orat. l. i. & iii. in Bruto & paſſim alibi.

rule

rule magiſtrates: this the conſul *Cotta* oppoſed, and even cited the tribune to appear before the ſenate, and anſwer for his conduct. *Marius* obeyed the ſummons; but, inſtead of being daunted, threatened to exert his authority, and ſend the conſul to priſon, if he perſiſted in his oppoſition. *Metellus*, then prince of the ſenate, though the patron and friend of *Marius*, declared for *Cotta*. Whereupon the bold tribune, without ſhewing the leaſt regard for that venerable ſenator, to whom he was indebted for his fortune, and by whoſe intereſt he had even obtained the tribuneſhip, ordered one of his officers to ſeize him and carry him to priſon. His orders had been put in execution, if the conſul had not waved his oppoſition, and the ſenate given their conſent to the law. The boldneſs of the new tribune ſurpriſed the conſcript fathers, but gained him great reputation among the people, who from this time began to look upon him as their chief protector, againſt the incroachments of the nobility [d]. *His intrepidity.*

THE tribuneſhip of *Marius* expired almoſt at the ſame time that *Rome* choſe new conſuls. Theſe were *M. Porcius Cato*, grandſon to the great *Cato*, but by his firſt wife, and *Q. Marcius*, ſurnamed *Rex*. The former died ſoon in *Numidia*, whither he had been ſent to watch the ſteps of *Jugurtha*, who had uſurped that kingdom; ſo that *Marcius* remained the ſole head of the republic for almoſt the whole year. The province which fell to his lot was *Tranſalpine Gaul*, where he opened a way for the *Roman* armies from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*; a work of an immenſe labour and great danger. For the *Stœni*, a fierce nation and fond of liberty, whom *Stephanus* places at the foot of the *Maritime Alps*, took arms, and oppoſed *Marcius*'s deſign with great courage. But when they found themſelves ſurrounded by the *Romans*, they ſet fire to their houſes, killed their wives and children, and then threw themſelves into the flames; ſo that not one of them ſurvived the loſs of their liberty. After this, *Marcius*, to ſecure his conqueſt, planted a colony in the country of the *Volcæ Tectoſages*, who anciently poſſeſſed all that tract which lies between the *Pyrenees* to the ſouth, and the preſent city of *Toulouſe* to the north. The city which *Marcius* founded was called by his name *Narbo-Marcius*. Such was the origin of the famous city of *Narbonne*, which in proceſs of time became the capital of a great country, and a convenient place of refreſhment for the *Roman* armies, when they paſſed from *The courage of the Stœni.*

[d] Plutarch in Mario. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Cic. de legibus, l. i.

the *Pyrenees* to the *Alps*, or from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*. The ſenate thought the reduction of this part of *Gaul*, the opening a way from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*, and the founding of the city of *Narbonne*, ſo conſiderable works, that they honoured *Marcius*, upon his return to *Rome*, with a triumph e.

THE conſulate of *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *Q. Mucius Scævola* proved ſo peaceable, that the *Romans* had little elſe to do, but attend their ſuperſtitions, *Rome* being filled with reports of prodigies. The ſucceeding conſuls, *C. Licinius Geta* and *Q. Fabius Eburnus*, had as little opportunity of acquiring glory as their predeceſſors. In their conſulate *C. Marius* ſtood for the prætorſhip, and with great difficulty obtained it by the moſt bare-faced bribery and corruption. For this he was accuſed before the people, but, they being divided in their opinions, he was acquitted. As he had a great deal of good ſenſe, and a penetrating underſtanding, he preſided in the court of judicature, which was aſſigned him as prætor, without reproach. The next year it fell to his lot to govern *Further Spain*, which he did with great equity and moderation. He cleared his government of the banditti, who had long infeſted it, and cured thoſe people of their antient cuſtom of living by rapine f. The next year *Æmilius Scaurus* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus* were created conſuls. The latter was the ſon of the famous *Metellus Macedonicus*, and the former an intrepid ſoldier, a brave officer, and eloquent orator. *Scaurus* propoſed ſeveral laws, and got them paſſed in the comitia, in ſpite of the tribunes, who had for ſome time ingroſſed to themſelves the prerogative of propoſing laws. By one of theſe he reſtrained the exceſſive luxury of the *Romans*, forbidding them to eat dormice, foreign ſhell-fiſh, and ſuch birds as were brought from diſtant countries. By another he left the freedmen, who had been long confined to the *Eſquiline* tribe, at liberty to inrol themſelves in any of the four city-tribes, which they liked beſt. His zeal for maintaining ſome order in *Rome*, in ſpite of the general depravity of manners, was ſeconded by the cenſors, *L. Metellus Dalmaticus* and *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who ſtruck thirty two unworthy ſenators out of the roll, and among them *Licinius Geta* the late conſul; proſcribed games of hazard and concerts of muſic; and, after having nominated the conſul *Scaurus* prince of the ſenate, finiſhed their office with a ceſſus, in which were counted 394336 citizens able to bear arms. From *Rome Scaurus* ſet out for *Gaul*, where he ſubdued the *Gen-*

Marius *created prætor.*

e Fast. Capitol. Cic pro Fonteio. f Plut. in Mar.

tiſci,

The Gentiſci *and* Carni *ſubdued.*

tiſci and *Carni*, and ſpent the reſt of the ſummer in making a good road from *Rome* to the *Alps*, for the more convenient marching of the armies, which had been hitherto obliged to march through a miry and almoſt impaſſable country. For this important piece of ſervice the ſenate and people granted him a triumph, which his eaſy victory over the *Gentiſci* and *Carni* had not deſerved [g].

A Roman army cut off by the Scordiſci.

THE next year, *M. Acilius Balbus* and *C. Porcius Cato*, the grandſon of *Cato* the cenſor, were raiſed to the conſulate. The latter was ſent into *Macedon* to oppoſe the *Scordiſci*, a people of *Thrace*, who had invaded that province. The barbarians were at firſt terrified at the ſight of a conſular army, but afterwards, taking courage, faced the conſul, and, having drawn him into a country full of rocks, foreſts, and narrow paſſes, cut off all his army to a man, *Porcius* alone having ſaved himſelf by flight. The republic had not for a long time ſuffered ſuch a defeat. The hiſtorians ſpeak of it with aſtoniſhment, and tell us, that it would have alarmed the city as much as the battle of *Cannæ* did formerly, if ſuch a misfortune had happened in the heart of *Italy*. The *Scordiſci*, after ſo complete a victory, laid waſte *Macedon*, ſpread themſelves all over *Theſſaly*, and advanced to the coaſts of the *Adriatic*, into which, becauſe it put a ſtop to their incurſions, they diſcharged, in revenge, a ſhower of darts. But *T. Didius*, the *Roman* prætor in *Illyricum*, ſoon repaired the loſs which the republic had ſuſtained, and drove the enemy back, with great ſlaughter, to their own country. For this the republic honoured him with a triumph. As for *Porcius Cato*, though the ſenate and people did not condemn him for his misfortune, they accuſed him unjuſtly of oppreſſion, and, under that pretence, baniſhed him to *Tarracon* in *Spain*, where he ſpent the remainder of his days. A puniſhment not ſo juſt, as in point of prudence neceſſary, in order to deter *Roman* generals, for the future, from expoſing their troops too raſhly to the mercy of barbarians [h].

The Scordiſci *defeated by* T. Didius.

The incontinence of the veſtals puniſhed.

THIS ſame year an infamous commerce was diſcovered between ſeveral of the veſtals and their gallants. The intrigue was begun by *L. Betucius Barrus*, a *Roman* knight, but a profeſſed debaucher, who gloried in corrupting women of the greateſt families and beſt characters. He carried on an amour with a veſtal named *Æmilia*, who drew in two others, *Licinia* and *Marcia*, to the like crimes. Upon the accuſa-

[g] Auth. de vir. illuſtr. FRONT. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 3. STRAB. l. v. [h] VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 8. Cic. in Verr. & pro Balbo. DIODOR. Sicul. apud Valeſ. FLOR. l. iii. c. 3.

tion of a ſlave, *Betucius* and *Æmilia* were condemned to the uſual puniſhment, but *Licinia* and *Marcia*, though no leſs guilty, acquitted, the pontifices being afraid, leſt the condemning of ſo many criminals at once might bring the whole ſacerdotal order into diſrepute. This raiſed great murmurs among the people; and *Seduceius*, one of the tribunes, revived the affair, ſhewed the iniquity of the judgment of the pontifices, and brought the cauſe before the people, who nominated *L. Craſſus*, one of the prætors, to rehear it. *Craſſus* was a man of known integrity, but ſo ſevere, that his court was called *the wreck of criminals.* He, without any regard to the birth of the accuſed, or the ſentence paſſed in their favour, or the rights of the pontifical college, or the eloquence of the famous *L. Craſſus*, who pleaded for his relation *Licinia*, condemned the two veſtals to be buried alive, and their gallants to be whipped to death. Nor did this ſatisfy the people: a temple was built at the public expence to *Venus*, under the appellation of *Verticordia*, becauſe that goddeſs was, in this temple, to be implored *to turn the hearts* of the *Roman* women to virtue. So that *Venus* was now invoked for chaſtity. The honour of conſecrating this temple was conferred upon *Sulpicia*, the daughter of *Servius Sulpicius Paterculus*, who, though very young and lately married to *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, had given ſuch proofs of an extraordinary modeſty, that ſhe was deemed the moſt chaſte woman in *Rome*[1].

A temple erected to Venus Verticordia.

An inundation of Cimbri *and* Teutones.

In the mean time, *Rome* was alarmed with accounts of an inundation of barbarians. The moſt northern part of *Germany* was inhabited by a nation ſaid to have been originally deſcended from the *Aſiatic Cimmerians*, and to have taken the name of *Cimbri*, when they changed their old habitations. Theſe people were now ſettled near the ocean, in the peninſula which we call *Jutland*, and the antients *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*. But, being tired of cultivating a cold country, ſhut up between two ſeas, they left their peninſula with their wives and children, and, joining the *Teutones*, a neighbouring nation, took their journey ſouthward, fell upon the country which the *Boii* had long poſſeſſed, not far from the *Hercynian* foreſt. The *Boii* ſoon drove them out of their country, and obliged them to carry war and devaſtation into other parts. They then fell on the *Scordiſci*, whom *Didius* had juſt driven back to the banks of the *Danube*; and from thence, advancing ſtill nearer to the *Roman* provinces, they penetrated into *Illyricia*

[1] Cic. in Brut. Val. Max. l. i. & viii. Ovid. Fast. l. v.

dericia

delicia (C), and there ravaged the country of the *Tauriſci*. The approach of theſe barbarians made *Rome* tremble; the new conſuls therefore, *Caius Cæcilius Metellus*, the fourth ſon of *Metellus Macedonicus*, and *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, the ſon of the ſeditious *Caius Carbo*, were no ſooner choſen, than the ſenate ordered the latter to wait for the *Cimbri* at the furtheſt parts of the eaſtern *Alps*, and ſtop the paſſages againſt them. As for *Metellus*, he was ordered into *Macedon* to finiſh the war with the *Scordiſci*, whom he drove from poſt to poſt, and ſo weakened by repeated battles, that he put them out of a condition of making for ſome time any new attempts upon the *Roman* provinces. Upon his return he was honoured with a triumph, in which there was this moſt agreeable circumſtance, that his brother, who had been conſul a year before him, and was now returned from ſuppreſſing a rebellion in *Sardinia* and *Corſica* after two years labour, was ordered to triumph with him. The conſul *Papirius* was not ſo ſucceſsful againſt the *Cimbri*, who offered him a peace, which he pretended to accept; but afterwards, by corrupting their guides, treacherouſly drew them into a ſnare, as he imagined, and attacked their camp. *Papirius* promiſed himſelf certain victory. But what difficulties cannot a warlike people ſurmount, when actuated by deſpair and indignation? They ran to arms, and not only repulſed the legions, but, becoming the aggreſſors, fell upon them with ſuch fury, that they put them in diſorder, and obliged them to betake themſelves to a ſhameful flight. The *Romans* fled in great confuſion to the neighbouring foreſts, and there lay concealed for three days, without daring to appear in the open country. Upon the news of this defeat, the conſternation at *Rome* was univerſal. No-body doubted, but the barbarians would immediately paſs the *Alps*, over-run the provinces neareſt to the capital, and attempt the deſtruction of *Rome* itſelf. But the *Cimbri*, upon what motive is utterly unknown, by a kind of miracle turned their arms elſewhere, and marching towards the country of the *Helvetii* (D), entered that way *Tranſal-*

Metellus defeats the Scordiſci.

The Romans *defeated by the* Cimbri.

pine

(C) *Vindelicia* contained part of the preſent biſhoprick of *Conſtance*, of the *Tirol*, of the biſhoprick of *Paſſau*, all *Upper* and part of *Lower Bavaria*. Some geographers are of opinion, that all the countries between the *Inn* and the lake of *Pergentz* belonged formerly to *Vindelicia*.

(D) The *Helvetii* at the time we are ſpeaking of, and for ſome ages after, were reckoned among the *Gaulish* nations. *Strabo* and *Cæſar* divide their county into four cantons, viz. *Tigurian Pa-*

gus

pine Gaul, which they filled with deſolation and ſlaughter. This miraculous deliverance quickened the zeal of the *Romans* in puniſhing all accomplices in the late guilt of the veſtals. Among others, the famous orator *M. Antonius*, the grandfather of *Mark Antony* the triumvir, was ſuſpected of having kept an unlawful commerce with the condemned veſtals. He was then in the flower of his age, had been very lately nominated to the quæſtorſhip of *Aſia*, and was already got to *Brunduſium*, in order to imbarque for *Pergamus*. But, when advice was brought him that his reputation was attacked, he immediately returned to *Rome*, appeared before the ſevere prætor *Craſſus*, and deſired, that his cauſe might be heard without delay. The judge endeavoured to intimidate him by threatening to put his young ſlave to the torture, who was ſaid to have been privy to his amours; but the ſlave offered himſelf to the rack, with an aſſurance which induced the judge to ſpare him. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that the faithful ſlave endured the moſt cruel tortures, with an intrepidity which ſurpriſed the judge [k]. However that be, the quæſtor of *Aſia* was acquitted, and ſet out for his province with more honour, than if he had not been accuſed [l]. And now *Rome* was in ſuch tranquillity, that ſhe had only one war to finiſh, *viz.* that with the *Scordiſci*, who were already weakened, but ſtill very haughty, and ready to take arms again, as ſoon as the *Roman* armies ſhould leave *Macedon*. The elections therefore were no ſooner over, than *M. Livius Druſus*, who was raiſed to the conſulate with *L. Calpurnius Piſo*, was ſent againſt them, while his collegue covered *Italy* againſt the invaſion of the *Cimbri*, whoſe return was ſtill dreaded. *Druſus* prevailed upon the *Scordiſci*, partly by force, and partly by capitulation, to quit the country they poſſeſſed, and repaſs the *Danube*, which river from this time became a barrier between them and the *Roman* provinces.

M. Antonius *the famous orator accuſed.*

And acquitted.

The Scordiſci *ſettle on the other ſide the* Danube.

[k] Val. Max. l. vi c. 8. Vell. Patercul. l. xxi.

[l] Strab. l. v. Plin. l. iii.

Tugenus Pagus, *Ambrones*, and *Urbigenus Pagus*. The firſt contained the cantons of *Zurich*, *Appenzell*, *Schaffhauſen*, and *Rhintall*; the ſecond the cantons of *Zug*, *Glaris*, *Schwitz*, and *Uri*; the third a ſmall part of the canton of *Friburg*, and the whole cantons of *Lucern*, *Bern*, *Solothurn*, and *Underwald*; and laſtly, the fourth contained the greateſt part of the canton of *Friburg*, the principality of *Neufchattel*, and part of the *Pais Romain*. The country of the *Rauraci*, now the canton of *Baſle*, was afterwards added to the *Helvetic* body.

The

The conſul upon his return was honoured with a triumph. And now the tranquillity was ſo general, in all the countries ſubject to the republic, that ſhe would have ſhut the temple of *Janus*, if ſhe had not been under ſome apprehenſions from *Jugurtha*, whoſe wars make a conſiderable part of this hiſtory, and therefore muſt be traced a little farther back.

Birth, education, &c of Jugurtha.

Maſiniſſa, king of *Numidia*, who had been ſo remarkably devoted to the *Romans*, left three ſons, *Micipſa*, *Manaſtabal*, and *Guluſſa*, joint-heirs of his kingdom, which they long governed in perfect amity. At length *Micipſa*, ſurviving his two brothers, poſſeſſed the throne alone. This good king had two legitimate ſons, *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal*. His brother *Manaſtabal* had likewiſe two ſons, *Jugurtha* and *Gauda*, by two different miſtreſſes; and *Guluſſa* had a ſon, named *Maſſiva*, by a concubine. But, as natural children had no right to the crown, according to the laws of *Numidia*, *Jugurtha*, *Gauda*, and *Maſſiva*, were by their illegitimacy excluded from ſucceeding to the kingdom, ſo long as *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal*, the lawful heirs, were alive. *Jugurtha* was born before the death of his grandfather *Maſiniſſa*; but that wiſe king never acknowledged him as a prince of the blood-royal. However, *Micipſa* had ſo much regard for his brother *Manaſtabal*, that he cauſed *Jugurtha* to be brought up in the royal palace with the young princes his children. But afterwards, growing jealous of him, he ſent him to the ſiege of *Numantia*, in hopes of getting rid of him. *Jugurtha* diſtinguiſhed himſelf at that memorable ſiege in a very eminent manner, and, upon the taking of the place, returned home loaded with glory, and brought with him recommendatory letters from *Scipio*, under whom he had ſerved. And now age and experience having put a ſtop to his youthful ſallies, he was ſo far from giving umbrage to the king, that by his prudent conduct he gained his favour, and cultivated his friendſhip with ſuch addreſs, that the eaſy prince adopted him two years before his death, and thereby made him capable of ſucceeding, as joint-heir to his kingdom, with his own children. No ſooner was the old king dead, than diſputes aroſe among the three heirs of the kingdom. After ſome days had been decently ſpent in mourning, they met to deliberate about the affairs of the new government, when *Jugurtha*, who was the eldeſt, ſeated himſelf in the middle of the throne, which was prepared for the new kings. Hereupon *Hiempſal*, who was the youngeſt, thinking himſelf injured by the ſuperiority which *Jugurtha* aſſumed, ſeated himſelf by *Adherbal*'s ſide, in order to give him the middle place, which was deemed by the *Numidians*, as by moſt other

ther nations, the moſt honourable; and it was not without much difficulty that his brother prevailed on him to pay ſome regard to ſuperior age, and remove to *Jugurtha*'s left hand. As ſoon as the diſputes about the ceremonial were ended, *Jugurtha* propoſed the diſannulling of all the edicts the late king had publiſhed within the laſt five years, under pretence, that *Micipſa*'s underſtanding being then impaired by age, he had iſſued many ordinances prejudicial to the welfare of the kingdom. *Hiempſal* replied with a diſdainful air, I am willing to come into the propoſal; and we will begin with diſannulling the act, whereby you was aſſociated with us in the inheritance of the crown; ſince this was done within the time which you have fixed for my father's dotage. Theſe reproachful words ſunk ſo deep into *Jugurtha*'s mind, that thenceforth he made it his whole buſineſs to find an opportunity of ridding himſelf privately of a young prince, who might thwart his ambitious ſchemes. For we are told, that he had formed a deſign long before, when he ſerved in *Spain*, of extorting the crown by force from his two couſins. At the ſiege of *Numantia*, he had contracted friendſhips with ſeveral young *Roman* officers, who had rouſed his ambition, by ſtirring him up boldly to ſeize the kingdom, as ſoon as the old king's eyes ſhould be cloſed. They told him, that he would find friends and protectors enough at *Rome*, where any point might be carried with money and intereſt. *Jugurtha* therefore to gratify his ambition, and at the ſame time revenge the late affront, ſuborned the chief officer of *Hiempſal*'s guard to murder him; which he did to the great grief of the *Numidians*, who had founded their hopes on his courage and uncommon underſtanding. The head of the young prince, thus treacherouſly aſſaſſinated in the flower of his age, was carried to *Jugurtha*, who beheld it with pleaſure. Though ſuch a notorious piece of cruelty and perfidiouſneſs ought naturally to have driven all the *Numidians* into a revolt; yet they were divided among themſelves. Thoſe who hoped to reap advantage from the public confuſions ſided with *Jugurtha*, while the wiſe and virtuous, who had the good of their country at heart, declared for the pacific *Adherbal*. But, as the latter were by far the weakeſt, the young prince, though not very ſagacious, had penetration enough to ſee, that his only refuge was in the protection of the *Romans*, to whom his rival could not but be ſuſpected. He therefore acquainted the conſcript fathers with the baſe aſſaſſination of his brother, and at the ſame time, foreſeeing that the deliberations of the ſenate would take up much time, he began to levy troops, and put himſelf upon his defence

Hiempſal *affronts* Jugurtha.

Hiempſal *murdered by* Jugurtha's *orders.*

defence againſt any attempt of *Jugurtha*. But this warlike prince ſoon got the aſcendant over his ſurviving rival, and, by taking ſome cities by aſſault, and forcing others to capitulate, made himſelf maſter of almoſt the whole kingdom. Hereupon *Adherbal*, having no aſylum but *Rome*, conveyed himſelf thither, in order to lay his complaints before the ſenate. *Jugurtha* was no ſooner informed of his deſign, than he ſent embaſſadors to that capital, well furniſhed with money to gain over the republic to his intereſt. He was well appriſed, that all things were venal at *Rome*; and therefore ordered his embaſſadors to ſpare no expence in gaining him new friends, and in cultivating the friendſhips he had formerly contracted, when in *Spain*. Upon their arrival they found the ſenate ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt their maſter, but met with few ſenators, who were proof againſt their preſents. When the day came, on which *Adherbal* and the embaſſadors were admitted before the ſenate, it was eaſy to perceive, by the debates of the conſcript fathers, what effect had been wrought by *Jugurtha*'s money. The juſt complaints of *Adherbal* were deſpiſed, *Jugurtha*'s courage extolled, and his crimes palliated. *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, then prince of the ſenate, declared for *Adherbal*, and with him a few others; but a great majority were againſt him. The ſenate therefore, without taking any notice of the aſſaſſination of *Hiempſal*, or the uſurpation of *Jugurtha*, only appointed ten commiſſioners to go into *Africa*, and divide the kingdom between the two rivals. *Lucius Opimius*, ſo famous for his zeal againſt the faction of *Caius Gracchus*, was at the head of this commiſſion; and as he had declared for *Adherbal* at *Rome*, *Jugurtha* had reaſon to fear his arrival and determinations. But this formidable judge, who had avenged the cauſe of the republic againſt the *Gracchi* and their powerful party, was no ſooner arrived in *Africa* with his collegues, than *Jugurtha* gained them all over with the immenſe ſums he ſent them. They found him innocent, made *Hiempſal* the aggreſſor, and declared, that his death had been occaſioned by his own raſhneſs. After they had pronounced this iniquitous ſentence, they came to the diviſion of *Micipſa*'s dominions, which was made upon the plan propoſed by *Jugurtha* himſelf. To him were allotted the ſtrongeſt places, and the richeſt provinces, without any regard to the complaints of *Adherbal*, who, though thus injured, ſubmitted to the judgment of the commiſſioners, and thought of nothing but reigning in peace over the ſubjects which *Rome* had aſſigned him [m].

Adherbal flies to Rome.

The corruption of the Roman ſenate.

[m] SALLUST bell. Jugurth.

Jugurtha *begins the war anew.*

But the ambitious *Jugurtha*, finding that there was nothing to fear from the part of *Rome*, resolved to make himself master of all *Numidia*. With this view he entered the frontiers of his brother's kingdom at the head of his troops, laid waste the country with fire and sword, pillaged the villages, and committed every-where most dreadful devastations. He hoped by these insults to provoke the resentment of *Adherbal*, and induce him to use reprisals, whence he might have a pretence to drive him from his kingdom, and to justify his conduct at *Rome*. But the timorous prince contented himself with sending an embassy to *Jugurtha* to complain of the injustice of his proceedings. Nor could even the ill treatment, which his embassadors received at *Jugurtha*'s court, provoke him to take arms. Hereupon *Jugurtha*, without troubling himself any longer about pretences, entered his dominions at the head of a numerous army, and incamped near *Cirtha*. Then *Adherbal*, seeing himself reduced to the necessity of taking the field, or flying his country a second time, thought it more advisable to run any hazards, than trouble *Rome* again with his complaints. Having therefore assembled his forces, and made new levies, he brought an army into the field, but more considerable for its number than courage. As he came in sight of the enemy, when the day was far spent and it was too late to engage, he incamped in haste in order to rest his troops, fatigued with long marches. But *Jugurtha*, without waiting for the return of day, attacked his brother's trenches in the dead of the night, forced them, and put all to the sword who withstood him. *Adherbal*'s army was dispersed in an instant, and the king himself forced to take refuge in *Cirtha* his capital. *Jugurtha* fought every where for his rival, whom it was his chief business to destroy; but the prince had the good luck in his misfortunes to escape the fury of his enemy. Some *Italian* cohorts he had in his army covered his retreat, and hindered the conquerors from entering the city with the conquered. Had it not been for this seasonable relief, the war had been begun and ended the same day. However, the siege of *Cirtha* was not delayed a moment. *Jugurtha*, who well remembered the lessons he had learnt of *Scipio* before *Numantia*, pushed it on with great vigour; but the valour of the *Italian* troops protracted it longer than he expected. In the mean time, news was brought to *Rome* of these unwarrantable proceedings; but the usurper's money had such an effect there, that the senate sent only a kind of mock commission into *Africa*, to persuade the parties to an accommodation. The commissioners found *Jugurtha* untractable; he told them, that he did not doubt but his conduct would be approved by the

Adherbal *defeated.*

Cirtha besieged.

Commissioners sent from Rome to bring the parties to an accommodation.

the ſenate, who were well acquainted with his integrity; that, *Adherbal* having made an attempt upon his life, he had been obliged to raiſe troops to guard againſt the villainy of a brother, who was an aſſaſſin; and that the republic was too equitable to diſapprove of a juſt defence, which was agreeable to the laws of nations. With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the deputies, without ſuffering them to confer with *Adherbal*, who was ſhut up in the beſieged city [n].

As ſoon as they were gone, *Jugurtha* purſued the ſiege with vigour, and, following the method which he had ſeen *Scipio* take in *Spain*, incompaſſed the place with a wide ditch and a rampart, guarded with towers at proper diſtances, to keep out ſuccours and convoys. In this extremity *Adherbal* prevailed on two ſoldiers of the gariſon to croſs the enemy's trenches in the night, and carry a very affecting letter to *Rome*. When it was read in the ſenate, ſome voted for marching an army immediately againſt the uſurper. But the venal ſenators, who were moſt numerous, oppoſed this motion, and reduced the decree to this ſingle point, that a ſecond deputation ſhould be ſent to *Jugurtha*, conſiſting of men eminent for their probity, and venerable for their age; and that *M. Scaurus*, preſident of the ſenate, ſhould be at the head of it. As the affair required diſpatch, the deputies were ready to ſet out in three days; ſoon croſſed over into *Africa*, and, landing at *Utica*, ſummoned *Jugurtha* to appear before them. The prince was thunderſtruck with this ſummons, and long in ſuſpenſe what to do. At length he reſolved to make a general aſſault upon the place, and not to appear before the *Roman* embaſſadors, till he had compleated his conqueſt. But he did not ſucceed in his attempt, his ſoldiers being repulſed with conſiderable loſs by the *Italian* cohorts. In the mean time, *Scaurus* began to be tired with theſe delays; and, as it was dangerous to provoke him, *Jugurtha* reſolved to obey the ſummons; and, leaving his camp, came guarded by a ſmall body of horſe to plead his cauſe before the embaſſadors. *Scaurus* at firſt broke out into bitter invectives againſt the *Numidian* king, reproaching him with having baſely aſſaſſinated one of his brothers, and ſhut up the other in his metropolis, with an intention to deſtroy him by famine; he ordered him to raiſe the ſiege forthwith, under pain of being declared and deemed an enemy to the ſenate and people of *Rome*, who had taken the innocent and injured *Adherbal* under their protection. But the anger of the *Roman* was ſoon abated. He heard *Jugurtha*'s excuſes with great compoſure, acquieſced in the

[n] Idem ibid.

frivolous accuſations he brought againſt his rival, and returned home, without ſo much as ordering the cruel and ambitious king to raiſe the ſiege. This ſudden departure made *Scaurus* ſuſpected of having ſacrificed the public good to his private intereſt; and his conduct afterwards confirmed this ſuſpicion. *Jugurtha*, having got rid of the *Roman* embaſſadors, returned before *Cirtha*, and ſhut it up with more care than ever. As the famine began to be very troubleſome to the gariſon, the *Italian* troops perſuaded *Adherbal* to capitulate, and thereby ſecure his life, leaving the reſt to the *Roman* republic, which was concerned, both in honour and intereſt, to re-eſtabliſh him in the dominions ſhe had allotted him. *Adherbal*, not thinking it ſafe to reject the advice of armed troops, began, with the utmoſt reluctance, to treat with his rival, and agreed to deliver up the place, on condition that he and his gariſon ſhould have their lives ſpared. This *Jugurtha* readily promiſed, but he no ſooner entered the city, than he put all he found in arms to the ſword, extended his fury even to the foreign merchants, and, to complete the ſcene, ſeized on *Adherbal*, and inhumanly murdered him in his own palace, after having made him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments his cruel temper and the deſire of revenge could invent. The news of this baſe murder ſoon reached *Rome*, where it was heard by all honeſt men with the utmoſt horror and indignation. But the friends of *Jugurtha* endeavoured to get the decree put off, which was ready to paſs againſt him, in hopes that time would abate this firſt heat. And indeed the villainy of the *Numidian* king would have eſcaped public vengeance, had not a zealous tribune, named *Caius Memmius*, acquainted the people in the comitia with the heinous crimes that were laid to that prince's charge, and bitterly exclaimed againſt the venality of the ſenate. The people, convinced by their tribune, that the ſcandalous prevarication of the patricians was the effect of the money, which the emiſſaries of *Jugurtha* had liberally diſtributed among them, reſolved to bring the affair before their own tribunal. Hereupon the conſcript fathers, to avoid the reproach of a ſcandalous cenſure upon themſelves, decreed, that, as ſoon as the elections were over, one of the new conſuls ſhould have *Numidia* for his province; which was declaring, that they deſigned to make war on *Jugurtha* the next year [a].

Cirtha *ſurrendered.*

Adherbal *murdered.*

The ſenate reſolve to make war upon Jugurtha.

Year after the flood, 2892. Before Chriſt 107. Of *Rome* 641.

When the time came for the elections, the aſſembled tribes promoted to the conſular dignity two men of very oppoſite

[a] Sallust. bell. Jugurth.

poſite characters, *Lucius Calpurnius Piſo Beſtia* and *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica*. The latter poſſeſſed all the virtues of his anceſtors, had always rejected with indignation the offers of *Jugurtha*, and ſhewed a great deteſtation of the general corruption of the ſenate. The former was a man of great perſonal bravery, very active and vigilant, a ſtrict obſerver of military diſcipline, and conſequently fit to ſtrike terror into an enemy, and command reſpect from his own troops. But theſe valuable qualities were tarniſhed by a ſordid avarice; for he looked upon war merely as a trade, and a means to get money. So that *Naſica* was the more proper man to be ſent into *Numidia*, ſince the avarice of the generals was more to be dreaded, than the forces of the enemy. But *Numidia* unfortunately fell to *Beſtia*'s lot, and *Italy* to *Naſica*'s. The former began, without loſs of time, to make the neceſſary levies, and prepare for his expedition. In the mean time, *Jugurtha*, being informed by his emiſſaries at *Rome*, that a conſular army was raiſing againſt him, and that *Calpurnius Beſtia* was to command it, immediately diſpatched his ſon to *Rome*, attended by two lords of diſtinction, with orders to ſpare no expences in keeping ſteady his old protectors, and purchaſing new ones. Though his crimes had made ſuch a noiſe, that no-body could ſo much as take his part openly, yet he did not doubt, but the blow might be ſtill averted by the irreſiſtible power of money. The conſul *Beſtia*, who looked upon his *African* expedition as a glorious harveſt, heard with great concern the news of the *Numidian* prince's arrival in *Italy*. He was afraid, leſt, by his intrigues and preſents, he ſhould prevail upon the conſcript fathers to poſtpone the war, from which the conſul propoſed to reap great riches. He therefore oppoſed the embaſſy with all his intereſt, and got a decree paſſed, ordering *Jugurtha*'s ſon and his attendants to depart *Italy* in ten days, unleſs they were come to deliver up the king of *Numidia*, and all his dominions, to the republic, by way of *dedition*. This decree being notified to them by the conſul, they returned, without ſo much as having entered the gates of *Rome* [p].

Jugurtha's ſon ſent to Rome.

But is ordered to quit Italy.

UPON their departure *Beſtia* haſtened his preparations. As he was not ignorant, that he might one day be called to a ſevere account for his conduct by the tribunes of the people, he had the precaution to chuſe for his council and lieutenants ſome of the moſt eminent members of the ſenate, under pretence, that he ſtood in need of perſons conſummate in the art

[p] Idem ibid

of

of war, and well ſkilled in negotiations. But his real deſign was, to throw upon them the odium of his future miſconduct, and ſcreen himſelf under their names and credit againſt all inquiry. *Scaurus*, with whoſe vices he was well acquainted, though the prince of the ſenate affected to conceal the depravity of his heart, appeared to him a very proper man for his purpoſe; ſince both his extreme avarice and his weight in the ſenate were proper qualifications for it. *Scaurus* readily conſented to follow the conſul, promiſing himſelf great wealth from a war, which was to be carried on in a country never before entered by any *Roman* army. And now all things being ready, the legions marched by land to *Rhegium*, there imbarqued for *Sicily*, and from *Sicily* croſſed over into *Africa*.

Calpurnius Beſtia ſets out for Africa.

The conſul upon his arrival briſkly attacked *Jugurtha*'s dominions, reduced ſeveral cities, took ſome caſtles, and made a great many priſoners. This he did in order to bring *Jugurtha* into his meaſures. And indeed theſe acts of hoſtility did not much affect the *Numidian* king. Though he was not acquainted with the conſul's character, he conceived great hopes from the preſence of *Scaurus*, to whoſe avarice he was no ſtranger. He therefore ſent a deputation to the conſul, deſiring a conference, and promiſing to come himſelf to the *Roman* camp, upon an aſſurance of ſafety for his perſon. The offer was accepted, and from that moment a ſuſpenſion of arms took place. And now, to bring the *Numidian* king to the conference he had deſired, and at the ſame time to ſave appearances, the conſul and *Scaurus* agreed to ſend the quæſtor *P. Sextius* to the city of *Vacca*, where *Jugurtha* reſided, under pretence of getting a certain quantity of corn, which, they ſaid, the king had promiſed in order to obtain a truce. But their real intent was, that he ſhould be an hoſtage for the king's ſafety, who, upon this proof of their ſincerity, came to the conſul's camp. A council of war was immediately aſſembled to hear his propoſals; but he there only made ſome excuſes, endeavoured to clear himſelf from the crimes laid to his charge, and dropped a few words about a dedition. The reſt was ſettled between *Beſtia*, *Scaurus*, and himſelf, in private conferences; and it is not to be doubted, but *Rome* was betrayed by theſe two avaricious men, ſince they granted the king more advantageous terms, than could reaſonably have been expected. They only obliged him to give the republic a certain number of horſes and cattle, thirty elephants, and a very inconſiderable ſum of money. Upon theſe terms they made a ſolemn treaty of friendſhip, with one who had baſely and treacherouſly murdered two kings, uſurped their dominions,

The corruption of Beſtia and Scaurus.

dominions, and deſpiſed the orders of the ſenate. All men therefore ſuſpected, that *Jugurtha* had paid the conſul and his lieutenant very dear for a peace, which was ſo little to the honour of the *Roman* name. However, the reſpect which the ſenators had for *Scaurus*, their preſident, kept them in ſuſpence, no one daring to propoſe the diſannulling of the treaty, till they had heard the particulars of the agreement from the conſul himſelf and from *Scaurus*. In the mean while, *Scipio Naſica* dying, and the time for the great elections approaching, *Beſtia*, the only ſurviving conſul, was recalled to preſide in the comitia, in which *M. Minucius Rufus* and *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus* were choſen conſuls. *Numidia* fell by lot to *Poſthumius*, and *Macedon* to *Minucius*. The latter marched againſt the *Scordiſci*, who, though driven back beyond the *Danube*, as we have related above, repaſſed that river every winter on the ice, and laid waſte the *Roman* provinces. The *Triballi* (E), a people of *Lower Mœſia*, and the *Daci* (F), of *Upper Mœſia*, had joined them, and together penetrated as far as *Macedon*, where they committed moſt dreadful devaſtations. But the conſul, having attacked them among rocks and mountains, put them to flight, and obliged them to croſs

The Scordiſci and Triballi defeated by Minucius.

(E) The country, now known by the name of *Bulgaria*, was inhabited by the *Triballi* at the time we are ſpeaking of. *Strabo* indeed places the *Triballi* in *Thrace*; but we have obſerved in our hiſtory of that country, that the antients extended its boundaries far beyond the river *Strymon*, which divided it from *Macedon*, and beyond mount *Hæmus*, which parted it from *Mœſia*. *Herodotus* ſpeaks of *Thrace* as the largeſt country in the world, except the *Indies*; *Pliny* extends its frontiers to the *Danube*, and *Appian* joins it to *Illyricum*. And hence it is, that *Stephanus* reckons the *Triballi* among the *Illyrian* nations.

(F) *Dacia* is generally placed by geographers between the *Boryſthenes* and *European Sarmatia* to the north; *Upper Hungary* to the weſt; the *Danube* to the ſouth; and the river *Pruth* and the *Euxine* ſea to the eaſt. This vaſt country is divided by geographers into three large provinces, viz. *Dacia Alpeſtris*, *Dacia Ripenſis*, and *Dacia Mediterranea*. The firſt contained part of *Upper Hungary*, *Tranſilvania*, *Raſcia*, and the bannat of *Temeſwar*; the ſecond *Walachia* and *Moldavia*; and the third the greateſt part of *Upper Hungary*. *Dio* places in *Dacia* all the countries on both ſides the *Danube*, from mount *Hæmus* to the mouth of that river. *Pliny* ſuppoſes the *Daci* and *Getæ*, who inhabited *European Scythia* near the *Euxine* ſea, to be one and the ſame nation; and adds, that the people, who were called *Getæ* by the *Greeks*, were named *Daci* by the *Latins* (1).

(1) *Plin. l.* vii. *&. l.* xxii.

the

the *Hebrus*, on the banks of which river the battle was fought. As the river was then frozen over, the enemy ventured to croſs it on the ice; but that breaking under the weight of their heavy carriages, the river ſwallowed up great numbers of them, and the reſt diſperſed; ſo that *Minucius*, after having ſettled all thoſe countries in peace, returned to *Rome* the following year, where he was honoured with a triumph [q].

But the people were little affected with the ſucceſs of theſe wars in the north. Their whole attention was turned towards *Numidia*. The peace lately made with *Jugurtha* was looked upon with deteſtation at *Rome*. The ſenators indeed continued ſilent out of reſpect to their head; but *Caius Memmius*, tribune of the people, addreſſed himſelf to the comitia, and, after having bitterly inveighed againſt the ſenate, concluded his ſpeech thus: *We are told, that the* Numidian *has yielded up to the republic himſelf, his troops, his ſtrong-holds, and his elephants. Let us convince ourſelves of the truth of this aſſertion by ſummoning* Jugurtha *to* Rome. *If he has truly ſubmitted, he will obey your orders; if he does not obey, you may eaſily judge, that what they call a treaty is nothing but a colluſion between that crafty prince and our generals.* His diſcourſe ſtirred up the public animoſity to the higheſt degree. As the people could know with certainty only from the mouth of *Jugurtha* himſelf, whether *Opimius*, *Scaurus*, or *Beſtia* had been corrupted with his money, the people upon this conſideration likewiſe paſſed a decree, ſummoning *Jugurtha* before their tribunal. The prætor *Caſſius*, a man of great addreſs and unſpotted probity, was thought a proper perſon to carry the decree of the people into *Numidia*. Accordingly, he was charged with this important commiſſion, and ſet ſail without delay for *Africa*, where he found the army univerſally corrupted. The inferior officers and the private men, following the example of their general, thought of nothing but acquiring riches. Some had ſold to *Jugurtha* the thirty elephants, which he had given to the republic; others had ſet the deſerters at liberty for money, plundered the countries of their allies, and committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages. But the prætor, without taking notice of theſe diſorders, which it was not his province to correct, applied himſelf wholly to cure *Jugurtha* of his ſuſpicions, and to perſuade him to come to *Rome*. The *Numidian*, after a long ſtruggle with himſelf, reſolved at length to comply with the orders of

Jugurtha ſummoned before the people.

[q] Liv. epit. Front. ſtrat. l. ii. Vell. Patercul.

the

the *Roman* people, having for his ſafeguard the public faith, and, what he chiefly relied on, the word of *Caſſius*. A great honour indeed to the *Roman* people, to ſee the powerful and warlike king of *Numidia* come to *Rome*, in compliance with their ſummons, and by that act of obedience acknowledge their ſovereignty. The king, to raiſe compaſſion, entered the city without any pomp or attendance, and dreſſed in a very negligent manner. He was no ſooner arrived, than he had recourſe to his uſual weapons, money. He knew, that the ſecuring of one of the tribunes was ſufficient to put a ſtop to all proceedings before the aſſembly of the people. He therefore, without loſs of time, gained with a large ſum one of the ten, named *Caius Bæbius Salca*, a man of great boldneſs and unbounded avarice. Having ſecured this point, he preſented himſelf before the people aſſembled, when the tribune *Memmius* reproached him with his ingratitude to the family of *Micipſa*, his cruelty, his exceſſive ambition, the murder of his two adopted brothers, his diſobedience to the orders of the ſenate, and his private intelligence with thoſe whom the ſenate had commiſſioned to carry them, which, he ſaid, was highly criminal, and odious to the republic. The zealous tribune ended his ſpeech with theſe words: *You would never have carried your audacioufneſs to ſo great a height, if you had not been ſupported by a* Roman *faction, which you have purchaſed with money. We know them all; their zeal for ſupporting you in your iniquity has betrayed them. But it concerns us to have their names from your mouth. You may hope for all favour from the faith and clemency of the* Romans, *if you honeſtly declare to us, without any evaſions, the perſons whoſe protection you have purchaſed. But if you conceal, or diſguiſe, the truth, you are irrecoverably loſt. Speak*, Jugurtha, *ſpeak, and anſwer the expectations of the* Roman *people.* While *Jugurtha* was preparing to reply, *Bæbius*, the mercenary tribune, whom the king had purchaſed, ſtood up, and with an imperious tone, *Though they preſs you to ſpeak*, Jugurtha, ſaid he, *I enjoin you ſilence.* This unexpected oppoſition raiſed ſuch murmurs and clamours, as would have confounded a man of leſs impudence and intrepidity than *Bæbius*. But he obſtinately perſiſted in his oppoſition; ſo that the people, betrayed by one of their own magiſtrates, were forced to break up the aſſembly, without having received the leaſt information. *Jugurtha*, having thus eſcaped the judgment of the people with impunity, carried his villainy to an exceſs ſcarce to be imagined. We have obſerved above, that *Gaſſa*, brother to *Maſſiva*, left an illegitimate ſon, named

Comes to Rome.

Gains over one of the tribunes.

He eſcapes with impunity.

Maſſiva. This prince had eſpouſed the cauſe of *Adherbal*, as the moſt juſt; but after the taking of *Cirtha*, and the cruel death of the king his relation, he had fled for refuge to *Rome*, where the few men of honour, whom *Jugurtha* could not corrupt, encouraged him to demand of the ſenate and people the crown of his anceſtors, which *Jugurtha* had forfeited by the many crimes he had committed. The conſul *Poſthumius Albinus*, to whoſe lot *Numidia* was now fallen, was his avowed friend and moſt zealous protector. At his motion the people were ſtrongly inclined to beſtow the crown of *Numidia* on this prince, who, though he had not been adopted by *Micipſa*, was of the blood-royal, and grandſon to *Maſiniſſa*. But *Jugurtha*, to defeat at once all the deſigns of his enemies, cauſed *Maſſiva* to be aſſaſſinated in *Rome* itſelf, and in the face of the republic. The wretch who executed the villainy was inſtantly ſeized, and brought before the prætor, to whom he confeſſed, that he had been hired by *Bomilcar*, one of the king's attendants, to commit the murder. Hereupon *Bomilcar* was cited to appear before the prætor; but *Jugurtha* found means to convey him privately out of *Rome*, and ſend him back into *Africa*. Upon the ſudden diſappearing of *Bomilcar*, all the odium of the baſe aſſaſſination fell upon *Jugurtha*. But, as the treating him like a criminal was contrary to the promiſe made him, he was ordered by the ſenate to quit *Rome* immediately; which he did, without taking leave of the conſcript fathers, and, for fear of being ſtopped, made all poſſible haſte to embarque at the neareſt port. As he was on the road, he looked back on the city, and cried out, *O mercenary city, thou wouldſt even ſell thyſelf, if thou couldſt find a man rich enough to purchaſe thee.* He was no ſooner gone, than the ſenate by a ſpecial decree diſannulled the infamous peace which *Beſtia* had made with him; and then *Poſthumius Albinus*, having raiſed with all poſſible expedition the neceſſary troops, croſſed over into *Africa*, flattering himſelf, that he ſhould be able to put an end to the war, before the year of his conſulate expired, though it was already far advanced. But the artful *Numidian* found means to amuſe him, at one time pretending to be ready to ſurrender himſelf up to the *Romans*, at another declaring, that he would ſooner part with his life than his crown. When the conſul began to puſh on the war with vigour, he ſent deputies to treat of a peace, and promiſed to ſubmit to all that was demanded of him; but when he was preſſed to perform his promiſe, he found out a thouſand pretences to put off the execution of the articles which he had agreed to. Thus, by one evaſion

Cauſes Maſſiva to be aſſaſſinated.

Is ordered to quit Rome.

evaſion or other, he gained time, which he improved to the beſt advantage in the regulation of his affairs. And now, the conſular year being ready to expire, *Poſthumius* was obliged to return to *Rome*, to preſide in the comitia for the new elections; ſo that he left *Africa* without having concluded any thing, either by action or treaty. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, he was loaded with the curſes of the people, and ſtrongly ſuſpected of having betrayed his country, as his predeceſſors had done. No-body believed, that the *Numidian* could have found means, by artifices alone, and without any connivance in the general, to ſuſpend the motions of a large army, which *Rome* maintained in *Africa* at a vaſt expence[r].

THE conſul on his return found great diſturbances in *Rome*, occaſioned by ſome tribunes of the people. *Licinius Craſſus* had paſſed a law againſt luxury and expenſive tables, and *C. Manilius* another for erecting a tribunal to try thoſe whom *Jugurtha* had corrupted. The law publiſhed by *Licinius* was in ſubſtance this; that on the days of the calends, nones, markets, and great games, any one might lay out on his table thirty aſſes, that is, 1 *s.* 11 *d.* but that on other days no man ſhould have more than three pounds of freſh meat, and one of ſalt, at a meal; but as to pulſe, herbs, and fruits, every one might have what quantity of them he pleaſed. This, though a ſevere edict, met with ſo ready a compliance from the citizens, that they put it in execution, even before it was confirmed by the people. Upon the merit of this law, *Licinius* endeavoured to get himſelf continued in his office; as did alſo his collegue *Manilius*. But this ended only in protracting the elections, which at laſt came on, when *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* and *M. Junius Silanus* were choſen conſuls. During their adminiſtration, the commiſſioners, appointed to try thoſe who had been corrupted by *Jugurtha*, purſuant to the law paſſed at the motion of *Manilius*, ended their inquiries after they had been two years in that commiſſion. *Scaurus*, prince of the ſenate, and the moſt guilty among them, was artful enough to get himſelf nominated at the head of the commiſſion, which he diſcharged with the utmoſt ſeverity, puniſhing many who were leſs criminal than himſelf. He condemned to baniſhment ſeveral conſular men, and even one pontifex, a thing never heard of before. He did not even ſpare his accomplice *Lucius Calpurnius Beſtia*, but baniſhed him with the late conſul *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus*, and the famous

The Licinian *law againſt luxury.*

Scaurus a ſeverejudge and condemns ſeveral innocent.

[r] Idem ibid.

proſecutor of the *Gracchi*, *L. Opimius*, who died of want at *Dyrrachium*. *Cicero* never mentions the baniſhment of *Opimius*, but with indignation. *To the ſhame of the* Romans, ſays he, *this great man, who had juſt ſaved his country from the fury of the* Gracchi, *could not find a quiet retreat for his old age in the city he had preſerved.* Rome *proclaims the importance of his ſervices by a famous monument erected to his memory in the forum; and yet forces him to ſeek a ſepulchre in a foreign country*[r]. Thus *Scaurus*, who had been himſelf moſt ſcandalouſly bribed by *Jugurtha*, not only eſcaped puniſhment, but judged and puniſhed others for having ſuffered themſelves to be bribed.

The Romans *defeated by the* Cimbri.

The new conſuls having drawn lots, *Narbonne Gaul* fell to *Silanus*, who marched againſt the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*; but his army was routed at the firſt onſet, and, in conſequence of this defeat, all *Narbonne Gaul* expoſed at once to the ravages of thoſe barbarians. *Rome* only continued miſtreſs of thoſe cities, which the *Cimbri* could not take for want of ſkill in carrying on ſieges[s]. As for *Metellus*, it fell to his lot to make war in *Numidia*, where he was attended with better ſucceſs. *Jugurtha* had gained a conſiderable advantage over the *Roman* army, after the departure of the late conſul *Poſthumius Albinus*. That general, before he left *Africa*, had given the command of the army to his brother *Aulus Poſthumius*, whoſe only qualification was his being the conſul's brother. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf at the head of forty thouſand men, than he reſolved to take the advantage of the conſul's abſence, in order to gain himſelf both riches and glory. Though the troops were in winter-quarters, and the month of *January* was a very improper time for military expeditions, he aſſembled all his forces, marched into the field, and, through roads almoſt impaſſable, brought them before *Suthul*, a ſtrong-hold in *Numidia*, where the king's treaſures were lodged. This was the lure that drew him; but the caſtle ſtood upon the brow of a hill, and was ſurrounded by marſhes, which in the winter made it altogether inacceſſible. However *Aulus*, blinded by his avarice, ventured to beſiege it. *Jugurtha* overjoyed to ſee him loſe his time and tire his troops, in ſo difficult an undertaking, cauſed ſeveral propoſals to be made to him, as if he dreaded the ſucceſs of his arms. To keep up his preſumption, he ſent deputies from time to time to beg peace, in as ſubmiſſive terms, as if he had been under the greateſt apprehenſions. He did not, however, neglect to ad-

Aulus Poſthumius *beſieges* Suthul.

[r] Cic. pro Sexto pro Planco, & in Piſon. [s] Liv epit. l. lxvii. Eutrop. Oros.

vance

vance with his army, as if he intended to throw ſuccours into the place. As he drew near *Suthul*, he pretended to be terrified at the ſight of the *Roman* forces, and, in order to increaſe the confidence of the general, he retired from poſt to poſt through difficult roads. *Aulus*, quitting *Suthul*, purſued him cloſe, leſt he ſhould find means to make his eſcape. But the crafty *Numidian*, who was well acquainted with the country, drew him inſenſibly into narrow paſſes, and then returned to his uſual artifices. He held the general in ſo great contempt, that he did not think it worth his while to bribe him; but he applied himſelf to the officers and ſoldiers of the army, and gained over, by his emiſſaries, not only two cohorts of *Thracians* and one of *Ligurians*, but many of the legionaries themſelves, who baſely agreed to ſacrifice the good of their country, and the lives of their fellow-citizens, to their private intereſt. As *Jugurtha*'s camp was not far from that of the *Romans*, the king ordered his light-armed *Numidians* to mount the enemy's ramparts in the dead of the night; which they did with inconceivable ſwiftneſs, and filled the camp with terror and confuſion. In the mean time, the chief officer of the third legion, purſuant to his agreement with *Jugurtha*, opened to him two gates of the camp, and, being joined by the *Ligurian* and *Thracian* cohorts, covered the *Numidian* army as they entered. The *Romans* with their general abandoned the camp, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The ſlaughter was not great, the darkneſs of the night favouring the retreat of the fugitives; they fled through the two other gates of the camp, and, taking different roads, gained a neighbouring eminence, and poſted themſelves there. When it was day, *Aulus* found ſcarce any of his men wanting, except thoſe who had ſold themſelves to the enemy; but the greateſt part of them had thrown away their arms, that they might fly with more expedition. *Jugurtha takes the Roman camp.*

EARLY next morning, *Jugurtha* ſurrounded the hill on which the *Romans* were poſted; and then *Aulus*, ſeeing himſelf beſieged by a victorious enemy, ſent a ſhameful deputation to *Jugurtha*, demanding quarter only, and offering a laſting peace, which he would undertake to get ratified by the ſenate and people. The *Numidian* anſwered, that he would grant the *Romans* life and liberty, upon condition that they ſhould all paſs under the yoke, and quit *Numidia* in ten days. To this the timorous general ſubmitted, and marched with all his army between two poſts ſet up for that purpoſe, amidſt the taunts and ſhouts of the *Numidian* ſoldiers. The *Roman* troops, thus diſgraced, diſbanded themſelves, and retired into the *African* province, that is, the ancient dominions of *Car-*

The Ro-
man army
[illegible]
[illegible]

thage,

thage, which were now poſſeſſed by the republic. The ſenate was no ſooner informed of this ſhameful peace, than they declared it void, and recalled *Aulus*, who was ſoon after tried by *Scaurus*, and condemned to baniſhment. *Metellus*, to whoſe lot *Numidia* was fallen, as we have related above, haſtened the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war with the utmoſt vigour. He was a ſenator of great virtue and integrity and, beſides, had given proofs of uncommon valour and prudence in the command of armies; ſo that all things ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs to his enterprize. The *Romans*, fully perſuaded that it would not be in *Jugurtha*'s power to corrupt him with offers, readily decreed him the recruits he deſired, and at his requeſt even diſannulled ſome laws which reduced the pay of the legionaries. In ſhort, the people refuſed him nothing which he thought neceſſary for the carrying on of the war, and wiping off one of the moſt ſhameful reproache, that had ever been caſt on the *Roman* name, ſince the diſgrace of the *Caudine Forks*. As for *Metellus* himſelf, his chief concern was, to chuſe ſuch ſubalterns as he could confide in, and whoſe skill in the art of war had been already proved. Among theſe was the famous *Marius*, who, as he had neither birth, fortune, nor eloquence ſufficient to raiſe him to the firſt dignities, had continued quite idle at *Rome* ever ſince his prætorſhip. He therefore joyfully accepted the offer *Metellus* made him, of being one of his lieutenant-generals. When all things were ready, the conſul ſet out without delay, and, landing in *Africa*, ſpent the whole ſummer in diſciplining his troops, which lived diſperſed about the province in the utmoſt diſorder, declaring, that he would not ſuffer them to engage, till they had learnt how to conquer. And now *Jugurtha*, finding he had to deal with a general whom he could neither over-reach nor bribe, ſent an embaſſy to him, with all poſſible marks of a ſincere ſubmiſſion, begging only quarter for himſelf and children. But *Metellus*, ſuſpecting the *Numidian* of double dealing, oppoſed artifice with artifice. He took each of the embaſſadors aſide, and prevailed upon them to promiſe, that they would deliver up to him the uſurper, dead or alive. But this project being diſconcerted by the circumſpection, vigilance, and ſuſpicions of the king, the conſul reſolved to attack him with open force. Accordingly he entered *Numidia*, and, tho' no enemy appeared, he kept conſtantly upon his guard againſt a ſurpriſe. His troops always marched in order of battle. *Metellus* himſelf led on the advanced guard at the head of the archers, ſlingers, and light-armed troops; *Marius* commanded the cavalry of the legions in the rear, and *Rutilius*, another

Metellus *ſent into* Numidia.

Marius *lieutenant to* Metellus.

other of *Metellus*'s lieutenants, the foot in the centre. In this fine order the conſular army appeared before *Vacca*, a trading city full of *Italian* merchants, which upon the firſt ſummons received a *Roman* gariſon. From *Vacca* the conſul ſtill kept advancing, in the ſame order, towards the heart of *Numidia*. In the mean time, *Jugurtha*, having drawn together all the troops he could, lay in ambuſh for the *Romans*, waiting to engage them as they ſhould come down from a mountain, which ſtood directly in the conſul's road. *Metellus* no ſooner reached the top of the mountain, than he diſcovered men and horſes concealed among the buſhes, which were not thick enough to cover them; and being fully ſatisfied, as he drew nearer, that the enemy was in ambuſh there, he changed both the rout and diſpoſition of the army. In the firſt place, he ordered *Rutilius* to march down the hill another way, and pitch a camp on the banks of the *Muthullus*, about twenty thouſand paces from the hill. This was a wiſe precaution to ſecure water for his troops in that dry and burning climate. As he was reſolved to leave the hill on his right hand, he altered the diſpoſition of his troops, and made his right wing three times as ſtrong as uſual, knowing it would be moſt expoſed to the enemy. In the centre he placed his infantry, intermixed with ſome manipuli of light-armed troops, and ordered his cavalry to cover the army in the flanks. In this order he marched down the ſteepeſt part of the hill, and advanced ſlowly towards the plain. *Marius* commanded in the centre; and *Metellus* himſelf in the right wing, which muſt naturally be firſt attacked. As ſoon as the conſular troops had got below the top of the hill, *Jugurtha* began to move, and, having ordered two thouſand men to take poſſeſſion of the top of the mountain, which the *Romans* had quitted, he ſounded the charge. The *Romans* faced about, but could not bring the *Numidians* to a cloſe engagement. As they had got above the conſular troops, they diſcharged ſhowers of darts upon them, and wounded them at a great diſtance. If they were purſued by the *Roman* cavalry, they diſperſed and fled ſingly, entering the coppices, whither the enemy durſt not purſue them. They then rallied, and, ſallying out again, fell unexpectedly on the conſular army in different quarters. Never was a more extraordinary battle fought; they all engaged in ſmall parties, every one attacking the enemy, or defending himſelf, as occaſion offered, without any rule or order. The day was far advanced, before it could be known which ſide had the advantage. Both armies were equally tired, and exhauſted with heat

Vacca *taken by* Metellus.

Jugurtha *defeated by* Metellus.

heat and fatigue; and many had fallen on both ſides in the ſeveral attacks, which had ſucceeded one another, without intermiſſion, from morning to night. At length the *Numidians*, towards the cloſe of the day, being briſkly attacked by the *Roman* legionaries, and purſued from poſt to poſt, diſperſed, and no more appeared [u].

While *Metellus* was thus engaged on the mountain, *Rutilius*, who had been ſent by the conſul to pitch a camp on the banks of the *Muthullus*, was vigorouſly attacked by *Bomilcar*, one of the king's generals. But that brave *Roman* repulſed the enemy with great ſlaughter, and, having purſued them, took four of their elephants, and killed the reſt to the number of forty; ſo that the conſul gained two victories on one day. *Metellus* continued his march all night, and arrived before day-break with all his troops at the camp on the *Muthullus*, which he found finiſhed. There he reſted four days, to refreſh his men and have their wounds dreſſed. In this camp he received intelligence, that the *Numidian*, being abandoned by his army, had retired to a diſtant place, covered with woods and rocks, and was there forming a new one. Deſertion was no crime among the *Numidians*, who, after the firſt defeat, were at liberty to return home, or continue in the army, as they pleaſed. However, the *Roman* general did not think it adviſeable to follow the fugitive king, but contented himſelf with ſending out parties to plunder the country. On the other hand, *Jugurtha* behaved with the addreſs and ability of a great commander. He ſeemed to be in all places, appeared, when leaſt expected, at the head of a flying army, and falling upon the *Romans*, diſperſed about the fields, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and then retired to the mountains and foreſts. In the mean time, news being brought to *Rome* of the victory gained by *Metellus* and his lieutenant *Rutilius*, the temples were opened, and ſupplications made by way of thankſgiving to the gods, for the ſucceſs which had attended the arms of the republic in *Numidia*. The probity, diſintereſtedneſs, valour, and wiſdom of *Metellus*, were in the mouth of every *Roman* [w].

In the mean time, *Rome* raiſed *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* and *Q. Hortenſius* to the conſulate. But the latter, who was father to *Q. Hortenſius*, *Cicero*'s rival in eloquence, either declined the burden of the office, or was prevented by death

[u] Salluſt. bell Jugurth. & Plut. in Mario. [w] Salluſt. ibid. Flor. l. iii.

from

from enjoying that dignity; it being certain, that another was ſoon after choſen in his room, *viz. M. Aurelius Scaurus* [z]. At the ſame time *Metellus* was continued general of the *Roman* army in *Numidia*, with the title of proconſul. As for the new conſuls, *Italy* fell by lot to *Galba*, and *Narbonne Gaul* to *Scaurus*, whither he repaired to make war upon the *Cimbri*, who had reduced almoſt that whole province. But to return to *Numidia*: *Marius*, whoſe ambition was awaked by the applauſes *Rome* had given his general, was now become his rival, narrowly watched all his ſteps, and laid hold of every opportunity that offered to defame him. We are told by *Plutarch*, that *Marius* carried his ingratitude ſo far, as to boaſt, that he was not ſo much indebted to *Metellus*, as to fortune, which had led him into *Africa*, as to a great ſtage, where he ſhould, in the end, diſplay thoſe talents with which nature had liberally endowed him. And indeed the point he had now in view was, to raiſe himſelf at the expence of his general and benefactor. He was impatient of getting the conſulſhip, that he might put an end to the *Numidian* war, and be honoured with a triumph. His pretenſions were ſupported by all thoſe qualifications which are requiſite in a great commander. For he was famous for an heroic valour, a great love of diſcipline, a ſtrange aſcendant over the ſoldiers, a temperance carried to the ſevereſt abſtinence, great intrepidity in ſudden dangers, an uncommon coolneſs and preſence of mind in battle, and an extraordinary readineſs at expedients after bad ſucceſs. But as for thoſe virtues and diſpoſitions of mind, which form the character of an honeſt man, *Marius* was quite deſtitute of them. Honeſty and ingratitude are incompatible. *Metellus*, who ſaw into the deſigns of his lieutenant, began to be jealous of him, and to fear leaſt he ſhould be ſupplanted by him at the end of the year. He therefore took great care not to give any advantage to his malicious rival by ill conduct. He took care to have his convoys ſtrongly guarded, and always ſent out his whole cavalry together, ordering them not only to pillage the country, but to deſtroy whole towns with fire and ſword. The *Numidian*, ſeeing his country utterly ruined by this new way of making war, at laſt left his faſtneſſes, and followed the *Romans*, being always intent both on ſurpriſing and avoiding the enemy. He burnt up the forage, and poiſoned the waters in all places, where the legions were to paſs. He was every moment haraſſing either *Metel-*

The ingratitude of Marius *to* Metellus.

[z] FAST. CAPITOL

lus or *Marius*, and as ſoon as he had attacked them vigorouſly in the rear, he immediately regained the mountains. *Metellus*, finding he could not draw *Jugurtha* to a battle, reſolved, if poſſible, to force him to it. In order to this, he reſolved to beſiege *Zama*; but *Jugurtha*, upon the firſt notice of his deſign, flew thither, got to the place before him, and placed a ſtrong gariſon in it of *Roman* deſerters, on whom he could depend. Then he haſtened to *Sicca*, whither the proconſul had detached *Marius* for proviſions. He was very deſirous of entering the liſts with that commander, who had been his intimate friend, and had learnt the military art with him under *Scipio*, at the famous ſiege of *Numantia*. He arrived juſt as *Marius* was marching out of the city with his convoy, and fell upon him with a fury not to be expreſſed. But the *Roman* repulſed him, and, though ſurpriſed, behaved with ſuch preſence of mind and intrepidity, as made him ever after dread the very name of *Marius*. When the convoys came up, *Metellus* inveſted *Zama*, and made a general aſſault upon the place: but the beſieged repulſed the aggreſſors, and diſcharged ſuch ſhowers of darts, ſtones, and fire-brands upon them, that they were obliged to retire in the utmoſt confuſion. During the heat of the action, *Jugurtha* appeared on a ſudden, and as moſt of the legionaries, left to guard the *Roman* camp, were gone out to ſee the attack, he made himſelf maſter of one of the gates. Hereupon ſome of the *Romans*, who guarded the tents, ran to their arms, others betook themſelves to flight; but a ſmall body of forty men only, poſting themſelves on an eminence within the camp, defended it with ſurpriſing valour, till *Marius* came to their relief. For *Metellus* no ſooner heard, that the king had ſurprized his camp, than he detached that brave commander with all the cavalry to drive him out. *Marius* flew with joy to a ſecond engagement with the *Numidian*, forced his way into the camp, and obliged the king to fly out of one of the gates, and ſhelter himſelf among the rocks. As for *Metellus*, after a vain attempt upon the town, he retired to paſs the night in his camp. The next day he renewed the attack, but with no better ſucceſs, the beſieged, who were all *Roman* deſerters, repulſing the aggreſſors with unparallelled bravery. During the aſſault, *Jugurtha* appeared anew, but, after a ſharp conflict, was put to flight by the cavalry, which *Metellus* had poſted with ſome manipuli on the road the king had taken the day before. In the mean time, night coming on, the proconſul returned to his camp; and, as the ſeaſon was far advanced, and the gariſon made a reſolute defence, he thought it adviſeable

Metellus *reſolves to beſiege* Zama.

Jugurtha *defeated by* Marius.

The ſiege of Zama *raiſed.*

able

able to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter quarters in the *Roman* province [y].

As *Metellus* did not doubt, but he ſhould be continued in the command of the army till all *Numidia* was reduced, he employed his time in making the neceſſary preparations for the next campaign. He found means to have a private interview with *Bomilcar*, who, as we have related above, had been the chief agent in the murder of *Maſſiva*. *Bomilcar* was greatly attached to *Jugurtha*; but, as he was a *Numidian*, *Metellus* did not deſpair of prevailing upon him to betray his maſter. He therefore not only promiſed him impunity, but aſſured him of the protection of the republic, in caſe he ſhould either diſpatch *Jugurtha*, or deliver him up alive into his hands. The *Numidian* hearkened to the proconſul's offers, and treacherouſly perſuaded *Jugurtha*, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to ſurrender himſelf up to the *Romans* without reſerve: *Prevent*, ſaid he, *the fatal deſigns which your own ſubjects may have on your life. Have recourſe to the* Roman *clemency, and depend on the ſincerity of their offers.* Metellus *has even more honour than bravery.* The king, not ſuſpecting any treachery, was eaſily prevailed upon to diſpatch an embaſſy to the proconſul, acquainting him, that he was ready to ſubmit to ſuch conditions as he ſhould think fit to impoſe upon him. Upon this *Metellus*, having aſſembled from all the places, where the army was quartered, ſuch officers as were of ſenatorial families, held a great council of war, in which it was agreed, that the king of *Numidia* ſhould, by way of preliminary, ſend the *Romans* two hundred thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, with all his elephants, and a certain number of horſes and arms, and deliver up all the deſerters. The king complied with theſe hard conditions, and immediately ordered all the deſerters, to the number of about three thouſand, moſtly *Thracians* or *Ligurians*, to be ſeized and ſent to the proconſul, by whoſe orders ſome had their hands cut off, others were ſet in the ground up to their waiſts, and ſhot to death by the *Roman* archers, and the reſt burnt alive [z]. The other two articles were likewiſe executed with great punctuality; the elephants, horſes, and arms, required by the proconſul, were delivered up, and the money paid down. And now the king, having ſtripped himſelf of his money, his elephants, his horſes, and his deſerters, in whom conſiſted the main ſtrength of his army,

Jugurtha *delivers up his elephants, money, arms, &c.*

[y] SALLUST. ibid. PLUT. in Mario. OROS. l. v. c. 3. [z] OROS. l. v. c. 3.

army, the proconſul ordered him to repair in perſon to *Tiſidium*, a city in *Numidia*, there to receive further directions. He ſtarted at this laſt ſtep, began to heſitate, and ſpent ſeveral days, without being able to come to any reſolution. The remembrance of his enormous crimes ſtung him with freſh remorſe; he dreaded the ſevere puniſhment, which his guilty conſcience repreſented to him in a very ſtrong light, as due for ſo many murders; the charms of a crown, and the horror of falling from a throne into ſlavery, made ſo deep an impreſſion upon his mind, that he reſolved, at all adventures, to try once more the fate of war. *A ſceptre*, ſaid he, *is not ſo heavy as chains. To arms! to arms! let us renew the war. It is better to periſh at the head of an army, than to fall at once from empire to ſlavery.* And from this time he never ſhewed the leaſt inclination to peace. He was now wholly intent on raiſing a new army, on fortifying the places which continued faithful to him, on providing arms, and endeavouring to ſurprize thoſe cities which had ſurrendered to the *Romans*. *Vacca* was an important poſt, of which *Metellus* had made himſelf maſter ſoon after his arrival in *Africa*, as we have related above, and given the government of it to *Turpilius Silanus*, a citizen of *Collatia*, a man of known equity and moderation, and his intimate friend. *Turpilius*, quite free from all pride and avarice, gained the affections of the inhabitants by the mildneſs of his government; but their averſion to a foreign yoke prevailed over the eſteem they had for their governor. The chief men of the city ſuffered themſelves to be gained over to the intereſt of *Jugurtha*, and plotted among themſelves the maſſacring of the *Roman* gariſon. To compaſs their treacherous deſign, they took the opportunity of a public feſtival to invite the officers to feaſt at their houſes; and, when they had eat and drank plentifully, every man, as had been agreed on before-hand, ſtabbed his gueſt. Such as got into the ſtreets, were overwhelmed and killed with ſtones from the tops of the houſes; ſo that *Turpilius* was the only man who eſcaped the common maſſacre. The proconſul no ſooner heard of the revolution in *Vacca*, than he ordered the legion, which was quartered near him, to arms, and, joining with them a great number of thoſe *Numidians* who had ſubmitted to *Rome*, marched in perſon to avenge the blood of his *Romans*. The inhabitants had ſhut their gates for fear of a ſurprize; but when they ſaw from their ramparts a body of *Numidian* cavalry advancing towards their city, without committing any devaſtations, they concluded, that *Jugurtha* muſt be at the head of them, and upon this preſumption

But afterwards reſolves to purſue the war.

The Romans maſſacred in Vacca.

preſumption marched out to meet him. But their miſtake proved fatal to them: the *Numidian* cavalry fell upon the diſarmed multiude, and cut them in pieces; and, in the mean time, the *Roman* legion coming up ſeized the gates of the city, retook, and plundered it. Thus the treacherous inhabitants of *Vacca*, after having enjoyed their liberty but two days, were brought again under ſubjection, and treated with the utmoſt ſeverity. Tho' *Metellus* was fully convinced, that *Turpilius* was no-ways guilty, he was obliged by the clamours of the army, contrary to his own inclination, to have him tried by a council of war. *Marius*, who was one of his judges, merely out of ſpite to *Metellus*, became his accuſer. He charged him with having ſold the town, and the lives of the *Romans* under his command, laid great ſtreſs on the diſtinction ſhewn him in having his life alone ſpared, and proſecuted the affair ſo warmly, that he got him condemned to be firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. Soon after the execution of the ſentence, the innocence of *Turpilius* plainly appeared; and then the other officers made their apologies to the proconſul for the ſentence they had pronounced, and bewailed with him the unfortunate end of a man, whom he had judged worthy of his friendſhip; but *Marius* publicly rejoiced at the death of the innocent *Turpilius*, and had even the inſolence to boaſt, that he had found means to torment *Metellus* with a perpetual remorſe, and an avenging fury, which would be continually requiring of him the innocent blood of his friend [a].

Vacca retaken.

Marius's inſolent conduct.

AND now, upon the news that the ſenate and people were inclined to continue *Metellus* in the command of the army, till the war with *Jugurtha* was ended, *Marius*'s hatred to his general broke out into open attacks upon him. He began with decrying and calumniating him among the ſoldiery; he repreſented him as an ambitious man, who prolonged the war, only to keep himſelf the longer in power and command; he pretended, that the natural ſloth and timorouſneſs of *Metellus*, which were increaſed by age, made him incapable of oppoſing an active and vigilant enemy; he bragged among the common ſoldiers, with whom he made himſelf very familiar, that, with half the troops *Metellus* had in his army, he would undertake, in one ſingle campaign, to bring *Jugurtha* to *Rome* dead or alive. Whatever *Marius* ſaid, the ſoldiers wrote to their relations and friends at *Rome*; and theſe letters, being communicated from houſe to houſe,

He defames his general.

[a] SALLUST. PLUT. ibid.

prejudiced

prejudiced the people againſt *Metellus*, and at the ſame time raiſed the reputation of his lieutenant, who, not content with adviſing the ſoldiers to ſend bad accounts of their general to *Rome*, went ſo far as openly to beg the votes of the *Roman* merchants at *Utica*, for chuſing him conſul at the next election, in order thereby to enable him to ſupplant his general and benefactor. He alſo prevailed on *Gauda*, the brother of *Jugurtha*, but by a different mother, whom *Metellus* had diſobliged (G), to write to the ſenate againſt the proconſul, and much in his favour. Theſe ſolicitations proved very advantageous to *Marius*, who being informed, by his emiſſaries at *Rome*, of the favourable inclination of the people towards him, publicly deſired leave of the proconſul to return to *Rome*, to make intereſt for the conſulate. *Metellus*, tho' a man of great honour and probity, was not quite free from that pride, which is almoſt inſeparable from noble birth. He therefore received this application with haughtineſs, and anſwered *Marius* with a kind of raillery; *It will be ſoon enough for you*, Marius, *to ſtand for the conſulate, when my ſon ſhall be old enough to be your collegue.* Young *Metellus* was then ſcarce twenty years of age; whereas a man was to be at leaſt forty before he could be choſen conſul. In ſhort, the proconſul told his lieutenant in plain terms, that he would not give him his diſcharge, ſo long as he had any occaſion for his ſervice. At the ſame time he applied again to *Bomilcar*, putting

Marius *aſks leave to return to* Rome.

(G) *Metellus* had not treated this prince with that honour and reſpect which he expected. When he firſt came to the *Roman* camp, he deſired two marks of diſtinction, *viz.* that in all public aſſemblies he ſhould be placed at the general's right hand; and that a troop of *Roman* horſe ſhould be aſſigned him for his guard. *Metellus* refuſed him both; the firſt, becauſe it was a mark of diſtinction, which the *Romans* ſhewed to thoſe only whom they acknowledged to be kings; and the ſecond, becauſe he thought it an affront to the *Roman* knights, to make them in a manner *Numidian* guards. *Marius* therefore, applying himſelf to the young prince, in the heat of his reſentment, endeavoured to exaſperate him againſt the proud proconſul, whom he repreſented as taking delight in ſeeing the ſons of kings groveling at his feet. He likewiſe aſſured him, that, if he was general, he would treat him with all the reſpect due to his character, and ſoon place him on the throne of his anceſtors, as the next heir to the crown. By theſe diſcourſes *Marius* eaſily attached *Gauda* to himſelf; and the *Numidian* wrote to the republic, in terms of great bitterneſs, againſt the proconſul, and as much to the advantage of his lieutenant (z).

(z) *Salluſt. bell. Jugurth.*

him

him in mind of the promiſe he had made of delivering up *Jugurtha* to him dead or alive; but *Bomilcar*, who had been ſuſpected by the king ever ſince he adviſed him to ſurrender, applied to *Nabdalſa*, a *Numidian* lord of diſtinction, and one of the greateſt favourites the king had. He communicated to him his deſign of ſacrificing the king to the welfare of his country. *Nabdalſa*, who was one of the moſt wealthy lords of *Numidia*, readily entered into the plot, which would ſecure his great eſtate, and both his own life and the lives of his children. The two traitors agreed to ſurpriſe their king, and carry him to the proconſul; the time was fixed for the execution of the deſign, and the ambuſh prepared. On the day appointed, *Bomilcar* came to the place agreed on; and if *Nabdalſa* had performed his part, an end had been put at once to the *Numidian* war; but *Nabdalſa* not appearing, *Bomilcar* wrote a letter to him, putting him in mind of his promiſe, and repreſenting to him, that the affairs of *Jugurtha* were deſperate; that he muſt ſoon periſh, either by their hands or the hands of the *Romans*; that it was not worth their while to ſacrifice their eſtates, their liberty, the lives of their wives and children, for an uſurper and aſſaſſin; that by delivering him up to the *Romans*, they would ſave their country from impending ruin, ſecure their lives and eſtates, and gain the favour of the powerful republic, *&c.* This letter was delivered ſafe into *Nabdalſa*'s hands, while he was lying on a couch, reſting himſelf after a violent exerciſe. After he had read it, he laid it on his pillow, and, muſing upon the contents of it, fell aſleep. In the mean time, his ſecretary coming into the room, and finding a letter open, read it, in order to anſwer it; but, being ſhocked at the propoſals of *Bomilcar*, he went immediately to acquaint the king with the plot. *Nabdalſa* ſoon after awaked, miſſed the letter, and finding, upon inquiry, that his ſecretary alone had been in the room, and had ſuddenly diſappeared, he diſpatched without delay ſome of his attendants after him; but, as he had got the ſtart of them, the letter was already in the king's hands. Hereupon *Nabdalſa* flew to court, and aſſured the king, that he would have diſcovered the plot, if his treacherous ſervant had not prevented him. *Jugurtha*, for fear of raiſing a ſedition, for *Naldalſa* was greatly beloved by the ſoldiery, ſeemed to be ſatisfied with the excuſe; but condemned *Bomilcar* and moſt of his accomplices to die[b]. The loſs of *Bomilcar* alſo fruſtrated the hopes of *Metellus*, who thereupon reſolved to

A conſpiracy againſt Jugurtha.

The conſpiracy diſcovered, and Bomilcar *executed.*

[b] SALLUST. PLUT. VEL. PATERC. ibid.

take

take the field. As he was now quite tired with the importunities of *Marius*, he gave him at length leave to go to *Rome*, but only twelve days before the election. Ambition gave *Marius* wings; for he reached the city in ſix days after his ſetting out, and there made the beſt uſe of the little time he had left to gain the favour of the people. He calumniated the proconſul, accuſed him of timorouſneſs, aſſured the people, that, as he was well acquainted with the country, and, without all doubt, more vigorous and active than *Metellus*, he *would*, with half the troops the proconſul commanded, in one campaign, take *Jugurtha* dead or alive; in ſhort, he omitted nothing that could either diſcredit his general, or gain himſelf a great reputation. As the nobility had of late conſtantly choſen two patricians to the conſulate, contrary to the antient law, *that one of the conſuls ſhould be a patrician, and the other a plebeian*; the people were highly diſpleaſed with the patricians in general, and wholly bent on promoting *Marius*, who bore an irreconcileable hatred to the nobility. All the mob of *Rome* crouded to his houſe, the artificers left their ſhops to attend him, and nothing was heard in the comitia, but the praiſes of *Marius*, and invectives againſt *Metellus*. In ſhort, he was raiſed to the conſulate by a great majority, with *L. Caſſius Longinus*. His next buſineſs was to ſupplant his benefactor, and get himſelf nominated to ſucceed him in the command of the army in *Numidia*. The ſenate had already, by a ſpecial decree, appointed *Metellus* to be proconſul in *Numidia* for the third year; but *Marius* applied to the people by their tribune *Manilius Mancinus*, and at his motion they determined, that *Marius* alone ſhould carry on the war with *Jugurtha*. His collegue had *Narbonne Gaul* for his province, where he fell into an ambuſh laid for him by the *Tigurini*. *L. Calpurnius Piſo*, one of his lieutenant-generals, a man of great reſolution, prudence, and courage, endeavoured to reſcue him; but periſhed with his general in the attempt. Then the *Roman* army was left wholly to the conduct of the other lieutenant-general, by name *Popilius*, an officer of no valour, and very little merit of any other kind. He, to ſave his life, offered to capitulate, ſhamefully ſurrendered his arms and baggage, and, with his whole army, paſſed under the yoke. As ſoon as he returned to *Rome*, where his name was become odious, he was accuſed before the people, and proſecuted with uncommon zeal; but he, to ſave his reputation, went into baniſhment of his own accord, before ſentence was pronounced againſt him[c]. *Æmi-*

Marius obtains leave to go to Rome.

Where he is choſen conſul, and appointed to ſucceed Metellus.

The Romans *are defeated by the* Tigurini, *and paſs under the yoke.*

[c] Tacit. de German. morib. Cæs. de bell. Gall. l. i. Cic. l. iii. de legib.

lius

lius Scaurus, prince of the ſenate, got himſelf elected conſul in the room of *Caſſius*, for the remaining part of the year (H).

BUT to return to *Marius*; his being obliged to preſide in the comitia for the election of the new conſul, kept him longer in *Rome* than he deſired. Being now inveſted with the ſupreme magiſtracy, he treated the nobility with the utmoſt contempt, declaring publicly, that it was matter of greater glory and triumph for him to have humbled the conſcript fathers, by obtaining of the people the command of the army in *Numidia*, which the ſenate had given to *Metellus*, than it would be to ſubdue that kingdom, and lead *Jugurtha* in chains. He inſulted all the patricians he met, and abuſed them in the groſſeſt manner. All his ſpeeches to the people were filled with his own praiſes, and with moſt bitter invectives againſt the nobility and the ſenate. He was no orator; but every thing was well taken from a man, who was become the idol of the people. This encouraged him to demand with inſolence a greater number of troops than the conſuls had been uſually allowed, and to ſend, of his own authority, to demand auxiliaries of the nations and kings, who were in friendſhip with the republic. At *Rome* he made his levies with the utmoſt rigour, obliging thoſe who were famed for valour in all parts of *Italy* to come to *Rome*, and take the military oaths, though they had already ſerved the time required by law; but the people took all the ſeverities of their plebeian conſul in good part, and were ſo zealous to follow him into *Africa*, that his legions were ſoon completed, and moſtly filled with men of the loweſt claſſes, who were ex- Marius's *inſolent behaviour.*

(H) *Scaurus* had one *P. Rutilius* for his competitor; but got the better of him by a piece of chicanery. He accuſed *Rutilius* of bribery in canvaſſing for the conſulſhip; and, in proof of his accuſation, produced a note under his hand, whereby *Scaurus* pretended, that his competitor had promiſed a citizen money for his vote. The note contained only theſe four letters, *A. F. P. R.* which *Scaurus* interpreted thus; *Actum fide P Rutilii*, that is, *P. Rutilius promiſes to perform the obligation.* But *C. Cannius*, a *Roman* knight, who was preſent at the trial, gave a very different interpretation to the four letters, making them ſtand for the following ſentence; *Æmilius fecit, plectetur Rutilius*, that is, Æmilius *made the note*; *but* Rutilius *will be puniſhed for it*; which was accuſing *Scaurus* of forgery, and at the ſame time ſhewing the folly of laying ſtreſs on the interpretation of initial letters, which are capable of many ſenſes. However, *Rutilius* was excluded, and *Scaurus* promoted (3).

(3) *Cic. in Brut.*

empted by their poverty from the ſervice. Theſe *Marius* preferred to any others, as if he had been afraid of having any ſoldiers in his troops, who were of a better condition than himſelf[d].

In the mean time, *Metellus*, ignorant of what paſſed at *Rome*, and not doubting but he ſhould be continued in the command of the army, till the intire reduction of *Numidia*, took the field; and having, after long and tedious marches, found out at laſt *Jugurtha*, poſted in places which he thought inacceſſible, he forced him to a battle, in which the *Numidians* were defeated and diſperſed. The king eſcaped by flight through vaſt deſerts and roads, with which he alone was acquainted, and retired to *Thala*, a place well fortified, where he had lodged his jewels and treaſures. *Metellus* followed him croſs the deſert, which was about fifty miles in extent, carrying with him corn enough to ſupport the army fourteen days, and a vaſt number of ſkins and barrels filled with water. The inhabitants of *Thala*, who thought their city inacceſſible, were ſtruck with terror at the approach of the *Roman* army. The king, dreading to be ſhut up in the place, immediately abandoned it, and rambled from deſert to deſert, his fear of being betrayed keeping him from fixing any-where; but the gariſon, conſiſting moſtly of deſerters from the *Roman* army, made all the reſiſtance that could be expected from brave men driven to deſpair. But when, after forty days ſiege, the *Romans* had made a large breach in the wall of the city, the gariſon, finding it impoſſible for them to avoid deſtruction, carried all the valuable things they could find to the king's palace, ſet fire to it, and periſhed all to a man in the flames. The proconſul had ſcarce entered the place, when he was informed, that one *Hamilcar*, a citizen of *Great Leptis*, was labouring under-hand to draw over his countrymen to *Jugurtha*. Hereupon he immediately detached thither four *Ligurian* cohorts, under the command of *Caius Anicius*, and by that means kept the neighbouring country in a ſtate of tranquillity. *Jugurtha*, having now neither troops, nor a place of refuge left, determined to go and treat in perſon with a people, who had never yet heard of the *Roman* name. Theſe were the *Getuli*, a barbarous nation, who inhabited the inner part of *Africa*, and led their flocks from paſture to paſture, living always in tents, without any fixed habitation. The king, having founds means to reduce them to follow his ſtandards, aſſembled the ſcattered ſhepherds, and taught them to keep their ranks, and obey

Jugurtha *defeated by* Metellus.

Thala *beſieged by* Metellus.

And taken.

[d] Plut. in Mario. Sallust. ibid.

the

the officers he ſet over them. From *Getulia* the *Numidian* king advanced to the confines of *Mauritania*, where *Bocchus* reigned over an *African* people, ſomewhat leſs barbarous, and better diſciplined, than the *Getuli*. As that prince had married one of *Jugurtha*'s daughters, he was eaſily prevailed upon to enter into an offenſive and defenſive league with the *Numidian*. And now the king, being joined by the *Getuli*, and all the forces of *Bocchus*, appeared anew in the field, and approached *Cyrtha*, the capital of *Numidia*, which *Metellus* had formerly taken, and made a magazine of arms and proviſions for his army. This obliged the proconſul to alter his conduct; he no longer offered battle, or bid defiance to the enemy, but kept cloſe within his intrenchments, and there watched the motions of the two kings, being determined to venture nothing, for fear of loſing all[c].

Jugurtha *is joined by* Bocchus *and the* Getuli.

SUCH was the ſtate of affairs in *Numidia*, when news was brought to *Metellus* of the promotion of *Marius* to the conſulate, and likewiſe to the command of the army. The proconſul, though a great and wiſe man, was thunder-ſtruck to hear, that a mean plebeian, an ungrateful creature of his own, raiſed by his family from the duſt, had found more credit and favour at *Rome* than himſelf, notwithſtanding his nobility and exploits. He was ſo much affected, that he could not forbear weeping, forgetting in a manner the dignity of his character; and indeed what could be more mortifying, than to have a conqueſt ſo far advanced ſnatched out of his hands, by one of the meaneſt of the people, drawn out of obſcurity by himſelf? But, after all, he was not ſo much grieved, as *Salluſt* informs us, at the glory he loſt, as at the advancement of *Marius*, who had decried his conduct, only to raiſe himſelf upon the ruins of his reputation. However, as in great minds the public good prevails over private reſentment, the proconſul ſpared no pains to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, tho' this would greatly facilitate the reduction of *Numidia* for his rival. He ſpent the whole time he remained in *Numidia* in private negotiations with that prince, who thereupon was leſs preſſing to give battle, which was partly what the proconſul had in view. At length advice came, that *Marius* was landed at *Utica*, with a very numerous body of *Romans* and allies. Hereupon *Metellus*, not being able to bear the thoughts of paying his homage to the new conſul, who had ſo treacherouſly and baſely ſupplanted him, inſtantly left the camp, which he had pitched near *Cyrtha*, and returned to *Italy*, after having appointed *Rutilius*, one of his

Marius *lands in* Africa.

[c] Idem ibid.

lieutenants, to deliver up the army to his perfidious and ungrateful rival. His preſence at *Rome*, and the account he gave of the ſucceſs of his arms, of the towns he had taken, of the provinces he had conquered, and of the battles he had fought, ſoon wiped off the calumnies, which had been caſt upon him. The eſteem and reſpect, which the people had formerly ſhewn for that great man, revived; he was received every-where with loud acclamations, and the people, to make him ſome amends for the injuſtice done him, decreed him, with an unanimous conſent, the honour of a triumph, and the glorious ſurname of *Numidicus* [f]. *Velleius Paterculus* obſerves here, that there were, at this time, above twelve perſons of the family of *Metellus* in *Rome*, who had been ſucceſſively raiſed either to the conſulate or cenſorſhip, and many of them honoured with triumphs, in leſs than twelve years [g]. But, notwithſtanding his nobility, his exploits, and his great reputation for probity, a tribune of the people had the boldneſs to accuſe him of having plundered the province from which he came; but when he produced his books in his defence, the *Roman* knights, who were judges in theſe civil cauſes, refuſed to examine his accounts, declaring, that they thought the whole courſe of his life a ſtronger proof of his innocence, than the wax, on which he had ſet down his diſburſements and receipts [h].

Metellus *is decreed a triumph.*

In the mean time, *Marius* put himſelf at the head of the army; but, as the troops he had brought with him were for the moſt part new levies, he did not care to run the hazard of a general action. He only watched the motions of the two kings, beſieged ſome weak places, and prevented the enemy from making incurſions into the countries which had ſubmitted to *Rome*. *Marius* having thus ſpent the ſummer, without any conſiderable exploit, his troops began to deſpiſe him, and to look upon *Metellus* as a much better general than his ſucceſſor. To remove theſe prejudices, which began to prevail, he reſolved on an enterprize, which would be ſufficient to raiſe his reputation, and eclipſe the glory of his predeceſſor. The city of *Capſa* ſtood in the middle of the burning ſands of *Africa*, ſurrounded on all ſides by a vaſt deſert, which made it in a manner inacceſſible, eſpecially by great armies. This city he reſolved to beſiege; and having provided corn and water, which he knew he ſhould want in the deſert, he ſet out on his march, without communicating his deſign even to his own lieutenants. He marched only by

[f] Vell. Paterc. l. ii c 2. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Val. Max. l. ii. c. 18, Cic. ad Attic. l. i. epiſt 16.

night,

night, the rays of the ſun being ſo ſtrongly reflected by the ſand, that his men could not bear the heat by day. In this manner he croſſed that inhoſpitable country, which was inhabited only by ſerpents of an enormous ſize, which heat and hunger made very troubleſome. After three nights march, with what danger and fatigue the reader may imagine, the army came within two miles of *Capſa* before day-break. They then halted among ſome hills, which covered the city and intercepted the ſight of the legions, and there waited, as in an ambuſh, till the ſun appeared; when *Marius* detached his light-armed infantry to ſeize the gates, and, appearing at the ſame time with his whole army before the place, ſtruck the inhabitants with ſuch terror, that they offered to ſurrender, upon condition that they ſhould have their lives ſpared; but *Marius*, to fill all *Numidia* at once with the dread of his name, entered the place ſword in hand, levelled it with the ground, put all the citizens, who were able to bear arms, to death, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves. This barbarous inſtance of ſeverity ſpread terror far and near; the people, wherever he came, ſubmitted to him, and many, without waiting for his preſence, ſent deputies to him, imploring his protection, and offering to ſupply his army with all ſorts of proviſions. He marched to the utmoſt confines of *Numidia*, and, in that long march, met with one place only which refuſed to ſubmit to him. This was a caſtle called *Mulucha*, ſituated on the ſummit of a rock, and perhaps the ſtrongeſt fortreſs then in the world. It was of no larger extent than the top of the rock, which was one intire body of flint, ſtanding quite by itſelf, and naturally ſo very ſmooth, that there was not the leaſt hold for the hands, or projection for the feet to reſt on. The only way up to it was what the inhabitants had cut in the rock, ſo narrow, that two men could not, without difficulty, walk a-breaſt in it. However, *Marius* undertook the reduction of the place; but the beſieged threw ſuch a quantity of firebrands from the tops of their ramparts, and rolled down the rock ſuch vaſt ſtones, that the machines were burnt, and thoſe who managed them dangerouſly wounded. The attempt was often renewed, but always proved fruitleſs; beſides, the caſtle was ſo well ſtored with proviſions and ammunition, and the ſeaſon ſo far advanced, that the *Roman* general could not entertain any hopes of reducing it by famine: yet he perſiſted; and at length mere chance did more than his utmoſt efforts could have effected. A *Ligurian* ſoldier, having obſerved ſome ſnails creeping along the rocks, as he was filling his pitcher at a neighbouring fountain,

Marius *takes* Capſa.

Beſieges Mulucha.

took

took it in his head to climb up after them. The higher he went, the more ſnails he found in the cracks of the rock, which was moiſter on this ſide than any other. In the mean time, the attack was carrying on on the oppoſite ſide; and this encouraged the *Ligurian* to mount up to the very top of the rock. When he came to the foot of the wall, he found it quite deſerted on that ſide by the gariſon, who were all engaged in repulſing the aggreſſors on the other. Being therefore under no apprehenſion, his curioſity led him to get up upon the wall, which he did by the help of an old oak that grew cloſe to it. When he had, from the wall, taken a view of the place, he ſlid down the rock, without being diſcovered, and returned to the camp. He did the ſame thing a ſecond time, and particularly examined, whether it were poſſible to introduce a company of active and intrepid men into the place that way. In the mean time, *Marius*, diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of his attempts, was in ſuſpence, whether he ſhould give over the enterprize, and put an end to the campaign; but when the *Ligurian* acquainted him with his exploit, he conceived ſome hopes of making himſelf maſter of the place, and immediately ſent experienced officers to view the rock, and report their ſentiments. Of theſe ſome thought the thing impracticable; but others, more bold and enterpriſing, declared, that, in their opinion, the attempt, if well conducted, might ſucceed. As the loſs, at all adventures, could not be great, the opinion of the latter prevailed; and the *Ligurian* was put at the head of four centuries of choſen men, provided with hooks, cramping-irons, nails, and hammers. Theſe filed off in the night, and lay in ambuſh near the fountain, till the attack was renewed the next day. Then, while the gariſon was engaged on the oppoſite ſide, with the help of their tools they got up, not without great labour, to the foot of the wall, which they eaſily mounted. *Marius* had ſent a company of trumpets with them, ordering them to ſound the alarm, as ſoon as they got on the ramparts; which they did accordingly, and with that unexpected noiſe ſo terrified the beſieged, that they abandoned the attack on the other ſide, and by that means gave the legionaries an opportunity of advancing up the narrow path to the gate, which they broke down, and, entering the fortreſs, joined their companions. Being thus maſters of the place, they put both the gariſon and inhabitants to the ſword without diſtinction, ſeized the king's treaſures, and then went into winter-quarters, loaded with glory and booty [1].

Muluchа *taken.*

[1] Salluſt. ibid. Front. ſtrat. l. iii. ſc. 9.

Soon

SOON after the reduction of *Mulucha*, *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* landed at *Utica*, with a reinforcement for the conſular army. He was by birth a patrician, and deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*. He had ſomething very engaging in his converſation, was of a graceful aſpect, a noble air, eaſy manners, affable, inſinuating, and ever ready to oblige all, even at the expence of his own fortune, which was but very ſmall; for his branch of the *Cornelian* family had been long eclipſed. One of his anceſtors, by name *Publius Cornelius Rufinus*, a ſenator of great reputation, having been degraded by the cenſors, for keeping in his houſe, contrary to law, ten pounds weight of ſilver in plate, his diſgrace deſcended to his poſterity, who continued long in obſcurity, and were excluded from honours and public offices, as *Plutarch* informs us, to the ſixth generation. *Sylla*, in his youth, fell in with the cuſtoms of the young patricians of his time, and gave himſelf intirely up to pleaſures and debauchery, keeping company only with lewd women, ſtage-players, and buffoons; in ſhort, he was reckoned one of the moſt debauched and effeminate young men in *Rome*. A young courteſan, named *Nicopolis*, taken with his graceful perſon, ſupplied him plentifully with money, which was the fruit of her debaucheries; and, as the young *Roman* proved conſtant to her, ſhe left him great wealth at her death. Soon after his mother-in-law likewiſe died, and left him a plentiful eſtate. From that time, as he was ſatiated with pleaſures, he began to be tired with a private life, and, his wealth rouſing his ambition, he demanded and obtained the quæſtorſhip, the ſame year that *Marius* was raiſed to the conſulate. The people, whom he eaſily gained by his gentle and obliging carriage, appointed him to ſerve under *Marius*, who was then ready to ſet out for *Africa*; but that general, thinking that a man of pleaſure could never prove a good ſoldier, or that a body, enervated by vice and debauchery, could bear the fatigues of war, was highly diſpleaſed with the quæſtor allotted him, and therefore left him behind in *Italy*, under pretence of raiſing a reinforcement of auxiliary troops among the allies, but in reality to get rid of a man, of whoſe conduct in war he had but a very mean opinion. The quæſtor, tho' very ſenſible of the contempt ſhewn him, obeyed, and came not to the army till after the reduction of *Mulucha*, when the troops were ready to go into winter-quarters. The moment he arrived in *Africa*, he threw off the man of pleaſure, was always ready to undertake the moſt painful and laborious duties, contented himſelf with the food of the common ſol-

The character of Sylla.

Sylla's *change in conduct.*

diers,

diers, and, by affecting to imitate *Marius*, gained both his eſteem and friendſhip: ſo that nothing now ſeemed wanting to the quæſtor, but an opportunity to give proofs of his valour. It was the quæſtor's province to ſupply the troops with proviſions, and the neceſſary ſums for carrying on the war; but this office did not exempt him from partaking of the dangers, or prevent his commanding the troops. In an action the quæſtor performed the office of the firſt lieutenant-general of the army, immediately under the chief commander; and in this office *Sylla* ſignalized himſelf, as we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this war, and carefully improved the opportunities that offered of recovering the time he had loſt [k].

Marius, after the taking of *Mulucha*, retired towards the ſea-coaſt, with a deſign to put his troops into winter-quarters in the maritime cities, that by this means they might be the more eaſily ſupplied with proviſions. But in his retreat his army was ſurpriſed by the united forces of the two kings, who, coming unexpectedly upon them towards the cloſe of the day, charged them with great fury. As the *Romans* were neither upon their guard, nor armed for fighting, nor drawn up in battalia, the legionaries, being hard preſſed by the *Mauritanian* and *Getulian* cavalry, began to give ground. But, in the mean time, the *Roman* cavalry, arriving very ſeaſonably, made head againſt the enemy, and ſuſtained the ſhock of their cavalry, till the legionaries drew up, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Then a tumultuary battle, or rather a great fray, enſued: none of the ſoldiers repaired to their colours; but fought, as they could, horſe and foot mixed together, without any rule or order. Both *Marius* and his quæſtor diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion in a very eminent manner; the latter fell, like a lion, on a troop of barbarians, who had already ſurrounded one of the manipuli, and cut moſt of them in pieces; the former ſeemed to be in all places at once, and, being attended by a body of choice troops, obliged the enemy to give way where-ever he appeared. When it began to grow dark, *Marius* retired by degrees to two neighbouring hills, and, having there rallied his troops, fortified in all haſte that which was leaſt ſteep, poſting his men on the declivity of the two hills, and in the valley between them. At the foot of one of the hills was a plentiful ſpring of freſh water, a great refreſhment to troops fatigued with a long march and a warm battle. The two kings ſurrounded the hills, on which the *Romans* were poſted, with numberleſs multitudes of *Numidians*, *Mauritanians*, and

The two kings ſurpriſe Marius.

[k] Sallust ibid. Plut. in Syll. & Mar.

Getulians,

Getulians, who all looked on this action only as the beginning of a certain victory, which they ſhould complete at the riſing of the ſun. *Jugurtha* did not doubt, but he ſhould be able to extinguiſh the *Roman* name in *Numidia*; and the *African* ſoldiers, looking upon the conſular army as a certain prey, kindled great fires, danced round them with loud ſhouts, and paſſed the beſt part of the night in feaſtings and rejoicings. *Marius*, who ſaw, from the eminence on which he was incamped, all that paſſed, kept within his intrenchments, till the enemy, tired with dancing and revelling, retired to their tents to refreſh themſelves with ſleep, that they might be able to renew the attack at break of day with more vigour. He then drew out his legions in order of battle; and, placing all the trumpets in the firſt line, advanced in ſilence and good order towards the enemy. When he was within reach of them, the trumpets ſounded the charge, and made ſo terrible a noiſe, that the barbarians, who were moſt of them aſleep, had not in that ſurpriſe the courage to take up their arms but fled, many of them half naked, in the utmoſt confuſion. The *Romans* purſued the fugitives, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of the diſarmed multitude. We are told, that *Jugurtha* and *Bocchus* loſt more men in this ſurpriſe, than in any other action. Four days after this defeat, they again came up with the *Roman* army, hoping to find them once more off their guard. But *Marius*, who was ready to receive them, made ſuch a ſlaughter of the barbarians, that he had reaſon to believe the war was near ended. The enemy's army, which had been juſt reinforced by a numerous body, under the command of *Volux* the ſon of *Bocchus*, and conſiſted of ninety thouſand men, was almoſt intirely cut off. *Jugurtha* on this occaſion gave uncommon proofs of his valour and conduct. At the head of his cavalry he broke through the firſt line of the *Romans*, and, ſhewing his bloody ſword to the legionaries, cried out in the *Latin* tongue, which he had learnt at the ſiege of *Numantia*, Marius *is dead. This ſword is ſtained with his blood.* Hereupon the ſecond line of the *Romans* began to give ground, and the *Numidians*, animated by the example of their king, renewed the charge with more fury than ever. But, in the mean time, *Sylla*, having routed the numberleſs forces of *Bocchus* and *Volux*, arrived very ſeaſonably at the head of the cavalry, revived the courage of the legionaries, and falling upon the enemy's flank robbed them of a victory, which they thought certain. The *Numidians*, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, were forced to fly before *Sylla*, who, having had all opportunities to efface the prejudice

Who ſurpriſes them in his turn, and puts them to flight.

The confederate kings defeated a ſecond time by Sylla's bravery.

entertained of his effeminacy, performed wonders. The king himself, who retired with his *Numidians*, narrowly escaped falling into his hands. Thus *Sylla* displayed for the first time his courage and intrepidity greatly to his advantage. *Marius* had the honour of conducting the whole action with the prudence of a great commander, and *Sylla* that of executing the orders of his general with uncommon valour [1].

Bocchus treats with the Romans.

The labours of the campaign were succeeded by negotiations. *Bocchus*, who had been long inclined to peace, sent an embassy to the consul, desiring him to dispatch some persons to him, to whom he might safely communicate his thoughts. Hereupon *Marius* immediately appointed *Sylla* his quæstor and *Manlius* one of his lieutenants, to wait upon the king. In their first audience, *Sylla* endeavoured, not only to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, but to prevail upon him to deliver up the *Numidian* king alive into the consul's hands. But *Bocchus*, without taking any notice of what *Sylla* had said on that head, only begged leave to send an embassy, first to the consul, and then to *Rome*, to negotiate a peace and alliance with the *Roman* senate and people. This the quæstor readily granted, and then set out with his collegue *Manlius* for *Cirtha*, where *Marius* then was in winter-quarters. They were soon followed by five embassadors, all men of great distinction, from the king of *Mauritania*; but, *Marius* being gone from *Cirtha* to surprise a castle at a great distance, which was said to be full of *Roman* deserters, the embassadors proceeded to *Utica*, where *Sylla* commanded the main body of the army in the consul's absence. *Sylla* received them with the highest marks of honour; and, upon the return of the consul, who failed in his attempt upon the castle, their proposals were accepted, a truce was agreed on between the *Romans* and *Mauritanians*, and two of the embassadors sent back to carry the news to the king, while the other three imbarqued for *Italy*, with the second quæstor *Cneius Octavius*, who was lately come from *Rome* with large sums for the payment of the troops and other expences of the war. When they arrived at *Rome*, they found *C. Attilius Serranus* and *Q. Servilius Cæpio* in the consulate. The latter had *Narbonne Gaul*, and the former *Italy*, for his province. *Marius* was continued in the command of the army in *Africa* in quality of proconsul, and *Sylla* confirmed in his office with the title of proquæstor. The senate, when they had heard from the embassadors the request of their master, returned them the following answer: *The senate and people of* Rome *are*

Sends embassadors to the consul and to Rome.

[1] Sallust. & Plut. ibid.

mai

not eaſily reconciled to thoſe who have dared, without any provocation to bear arms againſt them. Nevertheleſs, the repentance of Bocchus *diſarms us. Let him enjoy the truce with which* Marius *has favoured him, and the peace which we now grant him. But as to an alliance with* Rome, *it is incumbent on him firſt to deſerve it by ſome important ſervices.* By this *Bocchus* well knew was meant his delivering up *Jugurtha*, and, being reſolved to comply with the deſire of the ſenate, he intreated *Marius* to ſend *Sylla* to him, in order to facilitate the execution of his deſign. *Sylla*, ready to run all hazards in the negotiating of an affair, which would put an end to the war at once, willingly accepted of the office. *Jugurtha*, in the mean time, though in want of every thing, ſtill ſupported himſelf by his courage. When he heard of the treaty which the *Mauritanian* had juſt concluded with *Rome*, he ſent one *Aſpar*, a faithful and able miniſter, to *Bocchus*, not doubting but he ſhould be able, by well-conducted negotiations, and by the mediation of his ſon-in-law, to get himſelf included in the treaty, and ſave both his perſon and part of his dominions. As *Aſpar* arrived at the *Mauritanian* court before *Sylla*, he inſinuated himſelf ſo much into the king's affections, that he had very like to have gained him over entirely to his maſter's intereſt. A *Numidian* prince, named *Dabar*, grandſon to *Maſiniſſa* by a concubine, and greatly attached to the *Romans*, being then at the court of the *Mauritanian*, employed all his intereſt in favour of the republic, and with much ado kept *Bocchus* wavering between *Rome* and *Jugurtha*.

A peace is granted him by the ſenate.

Sylla was already upon the road to *Mauritania*, with a pretty numerous guard of cavalry, light-armed infantry, archers, ſlingers, and a whole cohort of *Peligni*. After five days march he was met by *Volux*, the ſon of *Bocchus*, at the head of a thouſand choſen men. The pro-quæſtor received the king's ſon with all the politeneſs and addreſs that was natural to him, and marched with him the firſt day without the leaſt appearance of diſtruſt. When the ſun was down, they incamped together; and then *Volux*, entering in great haſte the *Roman* commander's pavilion, told him, that he was informed by his ſcouts, that *Jugurtha* was near with a body of troops far ſuperior to theirs when joined together. This, with the advice the *Mauritanian* gave *Sylla*, made the *Roman* ſuſpect both him and his father of treachery. *Let us fly*, ſaid the young prince, *and leave our camp and men to the mercy of the enemy. I will take upon me to conduct you to a place of ſafety in the dark.* The brave pro-quæſtor, ſhocked at this propoſal, replied reſolutely, *Shall I fly before an enemy, who ne-*

Sylla ſets out for the Mauritanian court.

Is met by Jugurtha.

been ſo often vanquiſhed? Shall I be coward enough to abandon my men without a leader? I know the valour of my troops; and either they ſhall conquer with me, or I periſh with them. However, *Volux* prevailed on *Sylla* to decamp immediately, and purſue his march in ſilence. But *Jugurtha*, being informed of what had happened, got before them, and poſted himſelf on the road through which the *Romans* were to paſs. When the *Romans*, after having marched all night, obſerved early next morning, *Jugurtha*'s army incamped about two miles from them, they cried out, *We are betrayed*; Volux *has ſold us to* Jugurtha; *let us kill the traytor.* But *Sylla*, putting on an air of ſecurity, encouraged his men to behave like *Romans*; and then taking *Volux* aſide, *I am fully convinced*, ſaid he, *that you have betrayed us; but that I may not be as wicked as yourſelf, I will ſave your life. Be gone from the camp this minute, and join the army which* Jugurtha *has brought againſt us.* The *Mauritanian*, aſtoniſhed, in appearance, at theſe words, replied, *I cannot think* Jugurtha *ſo imprudent as to inſult an embaſſador, who is under the protection of the ſon of the only friend he has in the world. His only aim in ſtopping the way into* Mauritania *is, to make a merit with the republic of giving* Sylla *a free paſſage through the midſt of his troops. You will ſee him embrace with pleaſure the opportunity that now offers of making his court to you. Let us go together without any troops; he will let us paſs unmoleſted.* *Sylla* thought this a dangerous experiment; but nevertheleſs reſolved to run the hazard of it; and accordingly, followed only by his attendants as embaſſador, he paſſed through *Jugurtha*'s army without moleſtation. The *Numidian*, by thus ſuffering *Sylla* to paſs unmoleſted, hoped to gain his friendſhip, and by that means be included in the peace. But be that as it will, *Sylla*, from this extraordinary piece of good fortune, was ever after called *The Fortunate.* After he had thus happily eſcaped the hands of *Jugurtha*, he proceeded with *Volux* to the court of *Bocchus*, where he was received in the moſt reſpectful manner. The king, who was ſtill wavering between *Rome* and *Numidia*, gave audience to *Sylla*, and *Aſpar*, the king of *Numidia*'s agent, at the ſame time. The former delivered his meſſage with all the pride of a *Roman*, in theſe words; *I only come to know, whether you will have war or peace. Take your choice, that I may be gone.* This ſtopped the mouth of the *Numidian* embaſſador; and *Bocchus* made only this ſhort reply; *I am not yet determined. I will take ten days to conſider of it, and then declare my reſolution.* *Bocchus* was inclined to favour *Jugurtha*; but, on the other hand, he dreaded the power of the *Romans*; and therefore

Jugurtha *ſuffers* Sylla *to paſs through his army.*

His negotiations with Bocchus.

therefore made it his buſineſs to deceive both embaſſadors. However, he ſeemed to pay moſt deference to *Sylla*, with whom he had, the night following, a private conference in his own apartment; when he declared, that his arms, auxiliaries, money, and in ſhort the whole power of his kingdom were intirely at the diſpoſal of the ſenate and people of *Rome*. *I give up*, ſaid he, Jugurtha *to your reſentments, and am determined to lend no further aſſiſtance to a prince who has incurred your diſpleaſure. What more can you deſire? Sylla*, on the other hand, juſtified the proceedings of *Rome* againſt *Jugurtha*, magnified the favour ſhewn to the *Mauritanian* by the peace, and then, with regard to the moſt material part of his commiſſion, went on thus: *The moſt powerful kings cannot obtain an alliance with* Rome, *but by ſome very extraordinary piece of ſervice. Seize then the opportunity which fortune offers you. It is now in your power to ſeize and deliver up* Jugurtha *to us. Your ſacrificing that perfidious uſurper will procure you the friendſhip of our republic, and eſtabliſh you on the throne of your anceſtors for ever. Nor is this all: the beſt part of* Numidia *will be the reward of your bringing to puniſhment a wicked, ungrateful, and treacherous wretch, whoſe hands are yet ſtained with the innocent blood of his brothers. Aſſiſt* Rome *then in executing the vengeance of the gods; deliver up* Jugurtha *into my hands before my departure, and depend on the perpetual protection and friendſhip of the* Romans. *Bocchus*, pretending to be ſurpriſed at the propoſal, cried out, *What? betray a father-in-law, a neighbouring king, a friend, an ally! What will all* Africa *think of ſuch a black treachery?* But *Sylla*, who was very eloquent, by preſſing and urging in the ſtrongeſt terms, that nothing elſe could procure him the friendſhip of *Rome*, obtained at length an expreſs promiſe from him to deliver up the king of *Numidia* into his hands. The expedient they agreed on to inſnare him was, to give him ſome hopes of being included in the treaty of peace with *Rome*, and by that bait draw him to the court of the *Mauritanian* king. Accordingly, the next morning *Bocchus* ſent for *Aſpar*, and, with an unuſual air of gaiety, told him, that the *Roman* embaſſador ſeemed inclined to include his maſter in the treaty of peace. Inform him therefore, ſaid he, that the critical time for putting an end to ſo deſtructive a war is come, and adviſe him to haſten hither, and finiſh the negotiation in perſon. With this good news *Aſpar* immediately ſet out for *Jugurtha*'s camp, and, in eight Days, returned to *Bocchus*'s court with this anſwer; that his maſter was very deſirous of putting an end to ſo troubleſome a war; but that, as the ſenate often diſannulled the treaties concluded

Bocchus *promiſes to deliver up* Jugurtha *to* Sylla.

cluded with their conſuls, no wiſe man would enter into negotiations with them, unleſs he had ſome ſecurity for the performance of the articles; that, in the preſent caſe, he ſaw nothing that could ſecure to him the peace which *Marius* was negotiating, except the delivering up of the proconſul's embaſſador into his hands; that if he were detained, this would be a powerful motive for the ſenate to confirm a treaty, which they could not break but by ſacrificing ſo illuſtrious a patrician. The *Mauritanian* was ſo ſtruck with this propoſal, that he immediately came into it; ſo that he had now baſely engaged to deliver up the *Roman* to the *Numidian*, and the *Numidian* to the *Roman*. As he had ſolemnly given his word to both embaſſadors, they both equally expreſſed their ſatisfaction. There was no diſtruſt or jealouſy between them; each depended on the promiſe made him, and looked on his rival as inſnared and ſacrificed by the treacherous king. As for *Bocchus* himſelf, he ſtill continued wavering; his heart was with *Jugurtha*; but his intereſt inclined him to favour *Sylla*. In ſhort, he did not determine which of the two he ſhould betray to the other, till the very night before the appointed conference between himſelf, *Sylla*, and *Jugurtha*. For the latter, depending upon the promiſe of his ſon-in-law, had left his army, and was already incamped with a ſmall body of choſen troops within reach of the court. When *Bocchus* received advice of the approach of *Jugurtha*, he fell into greater perplexity than ever; he could not prevail upon himſelf to betray *Jugurtha*, his relation, his friend, and his ally; and, on the other hand, he was afraid to ſeize *Sylla*, and by that piece of treachery draw upon himſelf and his poſterity the vengeance of the powerful republic. He paſſed the night in great anxiety, and was obſerved to walk to and fro in his apartment with unuſual agitations of body, to change colour often, and to fall into deep reflections. After having ſpent ſome hours in private, he at length came to a final determination; and, having ſent for *Sylla*, entered into meaſures with him for drawing *Jugurtha* into the ſnare. A very high hill was appointed for the place of the conference; and thither *Bocchus*, by the advice of *Sylla*, ſent ſome troops before day-break, with orders to conceal themſelves among the neighbouring rocks, and inveſt the hill as ſoon as *Jugurtha* ſhould appear upon it. This done, *Bocchus* and *Sylla*, upon advice that the king of *Numidia* was drawing near, ſet out together to meet him. After the firſt civilities, the two kings and the *Roman* embaſſador proceeded towards the hill. *Jugurtha* was ſo fully perſuaded, that his father-in-law was going to deliver the illuſtrious *Roman* into his hands, that he took

The double treachery of Bocchus.

took no other guard with him but ſome few friends. As ſoon as they arrived at the top of the hill, the *Mauritanians* came out of their ambuſh; but this ſight did not in the leaſt affect the king of *Numidia*, though naturally very ſuſpicious. He believed they were coming to ſeize *Sylla*, and therefore expreſſed great joy in ſeeing himſelf, as he imagined, at length ſure of his prey. Nor was he undeceived, till the detachment, falling upon his attendants, cut them in pieces, and then ſurrounded and ſeized him. He ſcarce believed his own eyes, till he was delivered into the *Roman* embaſſador's hands, who loaded him with chains, and ſet out with him, under a ſtrong guard, for *Cirtha*, which *Marius* had choſen for the uſual place of his reſidence. When *Sylla* entered that city with the captive king, the *Roman* army received him with loud ſhouts, and ſuch demonſtrations of joy and marks of eſteem, as cannot eaſily be deſcribed. They looked upon him as the chief conqueror of *Numidia*; and this raiſed the envy of his general, who could not help ſhewing his diſpleaſure at the praiſes, which the ſoldiers ſo liberally beſtowed on the pro-quæſtor. He burnt with envy in ſeeing his ſubaltern thus honoured by the ſoldiery, and in a manner preferred to himſelf. And indeed it was but juſt, that *Marius* ſhould have the mortification of ſeeing the glory of the campaign divided between a ſubaltern and himſelf. He had ſupplanted his predeceſſor *Metellus* by ſecret artifices and public calumnies; and providence now raiſed up one to avenge his quarrel. From this ſmall beginning the famous wars between *Marius* and *Sylla* took their riſe, and did not end, as their mutual jealouſy daily increaſed, but with the deſtruction of the republic [m]. Never was there more univerſal joy in *Rome*, than at the ſight of the illuſtrious captive whom *Marius* had ſent them from *Africa*. By the taking of *Jugurtha* the war in *Numidia* was at an end, and that great kingdom entirely reduced. As for the captive king, he was kept in cloſe confinement, to grace the triumph of the proconſul, when he ſhould return from *Africa*.

Jugurtha *delivered up to* Sylla. Year of the Flood, 2898. Before Chriſt, 101. *Of Rome*, 647.

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Numidia*, the conſul Q. *Servilius Cæpio*, to whoſe lot *Tranſalpine Gaul* had fallen, as we have obſerved above, recovered the city of *Toloſa*, now *Toulouſe*, the capital of the *Tectoſages*, from the *Cimbri*; but ſtained the glory, which this conqueſt deſerved, by his avarice and rapines. For he gave the city up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, though the inhabitants themſelves had delivered

Cæpio *recovers* Toulouſe *from the* Cimbri.

[m] SALLUST. bell. Jugurth. PLUT. in Mario & Sylla.

it

it up into his hands, and robbed the temples of thoſe immenſe ſums which the *Tectoſages* were ſaid to have brought thither, after having plundered the famous temple of *Delphos*. Thoſe writers among the antients, who were the moſt modeſt in their computations, make the ſum, which *Cæpio* found in the temple of *Apollo* in *Toulouſe*, amount to a hundred thouſand pounds weight of gold, and as many of ſilver. Some writers tell us, that the *Tectoſages* brought from *Delphos* a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds weight of gold and five millions of pounds weight of ſilver, which they lodged in their temple of *Apollo*. But *Strabo*, *Pauſanias*, and *Polybius*, aſſure us, that not one of thoſe *Gauls*, who were concerned in the plundering of the temple of *Delphos*, returned home, both gods and men having in a manner combined to extirpate that ſacrilegious race. The immenſe treaſures therefore, with which the temples of the *Tectoſages* were inriched, could not have been brought from *Delphos*; but were moſt likely, according to *Strabo* and *Pauſanias*, dug out of the ſilver and gold mines, with which the country of the *Tectoſages* formerly abounded. But from what part ſoever theſe treaſures were brought, it is very certain, that they were immenſely great, and that the general and his troops inriched themſelves by the ſacrilege, without ſuffering the republic to reap any advantage by it. The conſul pretended to ſet apart a conſiderable ſhare for the public treaſury, and ſent it away under a ſmall guard to *Marſeilles*; but at the ſame time he placed a more numerous body on the road, who ſeized it, and privately conveyed it to him. However, as he had retaken *Toulouſe* from the *Cimbri*, he was continued in the government of *Narbonne Gaul* with the title of proconſul [n]. During the preſent conſulate, two great men were born, who will furniſh us with ample matter for the ſequel of this hiſtory, *viz.* the great *Pompey* at *Rome*, and the celebrated *Cicero* in the territory of *Arpinum*, a city of the *Volſci*.

And plunders the temples there.

The avarice of Cæpio.

The following year, *P. Rutilius Rufus* and *Cn. Mallius Maximus* were advanced to the conſulate; the former a patrician of known abilities and unſpotted reputation; the latter a man of no birth or talents. Nevertheleſs it fell to the lot of *Mallius* to carry on the war with the *Cimbri* in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, at the head of a new army, while his collegue continued inactive in *Italy*. As for *Marius*, he was continued proconſul in *Numidia*, where he divided the dominions

The dominions of Jugurtha divided.

[n] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. Plut. Act. Gell. l. xv. & epiſt. ad Attic.

of

of the deprived king in the following manner: That part which lay next to *Mauritania*, and was known by the name of *Maſſylia*, was aſſigned to *Bocchus*, and from this time took the name of *New Mauritania*. *Numidia*, properly ſo called, was divided into three parts; one was given to *Hiempſal*, another to *Mondriſtal*, who were, without all doubt, the next heirs to *Maſſiniſſa*; and the third, which lay next to the *Roman* province, the republic reſerved for herſelf, and ſubjected it to the prætor, whom ſhe annually ſent to govern the *African* province [o].

IN the mean time, the conſul *Mallius* haſtened into *Gaul* to aſſiſt the proconſul *Cæpio*, who was not ſtrong enough to ſtop the inundation of the *Gauls*, who were marching from all parts to join the *Cimbri*, with a deſign to croſs the *Alps* and invade *Italy*. The *Ambrones* the *Tigurini*, the *Tugenes*, the *Urbigines*, and in ſhort all the nations that inhabited the country now known by the name of *Switzerland*, were in motion to join the *Northern Gauls*, who had already made themſelves maſters of almoſt all the country between *Narbonne* and the *Pyrenees*. *Mallius* ſoon after his arrival quarrelled with *Cæpio*. Perhaps the latter, who was far ſuperior to the conſul with regard to birth and knowledge in military affairs, did not pay him the reſpect which was due to his character. However that be, it is certain, that their diſputes were carried to ſuch a height, that the officers of the two armies, finding they could not by any means agree, adviſed them to ſeparate: A fatal advice, which brought the republic into greater danger than had ever threatened her ſince the foundation of the city. The barbarians no ſooner ſaw the *Roman* forces divided, than they fell upon a ſtrong detachment of the conſular army, which was commanded by *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, a lieutenant-general of great diſtinction, who had been conſul three years before, cut them all to a man in pieces, and made *Scaurus* himſelf priſoner. *Mallius*, greatly intimidated at this defeat, thought proper to call *Cæpio* to his aſſiſtance. But the proconſul anſwered in a haughty manner, *We have each our province; let the conſul take care of himſelf.* However, he afterwards drew nearer the conſular army, fearing the conſul might conquer the *Gauls* without his aſſiſtance, and by that means have all the glory of the campaign. To prevent this, he incamped in the way where the *Cimbri* muſt paſs to fall on the conſular army, hoping, that he ſhould be able to withſtand the enemy with his own troops, and thereby deprive his

Cæpio *and* Mallius *quarrel.*

[o] APPIAN. de bell civil. PLUT in Mario.

rival of the opportunity of ſharing the honour of the victory. As for the *Cimbri*, when they ſaw the two generals draw near each other, they concluded, that they had made up their differences, and were in perfect union and friendſhip. They therefore ſent deputies to the conſul to propoſe a peace. As theſe deputies could not help paſſing through *Cæpio*'s army, he ordered them to be brought before him; and finding that they were empowered to treat only with *Mallius*, he treated them like ſpies, and would have put them to death, had not both the legionaries and officers of his army reſtrained his fury, and even forced him to go to the conſul's camp, and confer with him about the propoſals which the enemy had ſent to the republic. But, as he went to the conſul's tent againſt his will, he oppoſed him in all things, contradicted him with great obſtinacy and rudeneſs, and inſulted him in the groſſeſt manner. This increaſed the hatred between the two commanders; and the *Gauls* and *Cimbri*, being informed by their deputies of the miſunderſtanding between the generals, laid hold of this opportunity to give battle. The *Gauls* attacked *Mallius*'s camp, and the *Cimbri Cæpio*'s. The ſlaughter they made was exceeding great. Fourſcore thouſand men, *Romans* and allies, with the two ſons of the conſul, and forty thouſand ſervants and ſuttlers, periſhed on this fatal day. Of the two *Roman* armies only ten men eſcaped with the two generals to carry the news of ſo dreadful a defeat to *Rome*. Among theſe was the famous *Sertorius*, who, being yet very young, was making his firſt campaign under *Cæpio*. As he ſerved in the cavalry and was well mounted, he ſaved himſelf by ſwimming croſs the *Rhone*. The conquerors deſtroyed all the ſpoils they took, purſuant to a vow they had made before the battle. The gold and ſilver they threw into the *Rhone*, drowned the horſes they had taken, and put to death all the priſoners. Thus they revenged, without avarice, the injuries done to *Apollo*, whoſe temple the ſacrilegious and covetous *Romans* had plundered [p].

Cæpio *and* Mallius *entirely defeated by the* Cimbri *and* Gauls.

The news of this misfortune filled *Rome* with fear and conſternation. At the ſame time advice came from *Spain*, that a prætorian army had been cut in pieces there by the *Luſitanians*. As both theſe melancholy accounts arrived on the eve of the nones of *October*, the ſenate ordered, that this ſhould for ever be reckoned among the unlucky days. In this general conſternation, all the ſhops in the city were ſhut up, and the citizens, laying aſide the *toga*, put on the

[p] Plut. in Sertorio. Valer. Auctas apud Liv. Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxvi.

military

military habit. They ſaw themſelves threatened with a new deluge of *Cimbri* and *Gauls*, numerous enough to over-run the whole country. Two conſular armies, which were their chief dependence, were utterly deſtroyed, and *Rome* in ſo iminent a danger left quite defenceleſs. The people, highly incenſed againſt *Cæpio*, iſſued a decree, depoſing him, and declaring him incapable of any command in the *Roman* armies for the future. As no *Roman* general, how faulty ſoever, had ſuffered ſo great a diſgrace ſince the beginning of the republic, the decree of the people did not paſs without oppoſition. The nobility and ſenate exclaimed againſt it as a novelty, and a blow which affected the whole body of the patricians, and raiſed ſuch diſturbances in the comitia, that *C. Junius Norbanus*, tribune of the people, was forced to drive the patricians by force out of the aſſembly. In the fray which happened on this occaſion, *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, prince of the ſenate, was wounded on the head with a ſtone. The nobility being driven out of the aſſembly with two of the tribunes, *L. Cotta* and *C. Didius*, who proteſted againſt the law their collegues had propoſed, the ſacrilegious *Cæpio* was depoſed (I) [9]. Upon this depoſition the whole government of the republic for the reſt of the year fell to *P. Rutilius* Cæpio *depoſed*.

[9] VAL. MAX. l vi. c 9. CIC. de orat. l. ii. in Brut & pro Balbo.

(I) *Cæpio*, according to ſome authors, was condemned to baniſhment; according to others, he died in priſon His body, if we believe *Valerius Maximus* (4), was cut in pieces by the public executioner, and expoſed to the view of all the *Roman* people. He had been honoured with a triumph, with the dignity of pontifex maximus, and the title of *Protector of the ſenate*. But notwithſtanding his former honours and deſerts, he was treated like a common criminal on account of his having been the chief cauſe of the defeat of the *Romans* by the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* Some writers even tell us, that his body was dragged to the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, and there barbarouſly abuſed by the incenſed multitude But *Cicero* ſays in expreſs words (5), that *Servilius Cæpio*, being baniſhed *Rome*, retired to *Smyrna*, whence ſome writers, in order to reconcile the antients, have imagined, that he was by the intereſt of his family and friends recalled from baniſhment; but that the tribunes, having revived the old accuſations againſt him obtained on the people to ſentence him to death for having ſacrificed the intereſts of his country to his avarice and ambition.

(4) *Val. Max.* l. vi. c. 9. (5) *Cic. de orat. pro Balbo.*

Ruſus, who, being impowered to guard *Rome* againſt the misfortunes that threatened her, raiſed a new army with incredible expedition, no citizen, who was of age to bear arms, being exempted. The conſul would not diſpenſe even with his own ſon, whom, though ſcarce ſeventeen, he obliged to ſerve as a common ſoldier in one of the legions. *Rutilius* on this occaſion firſt introduced fencing maſters into the *Roman* camp, whoſe buſineſs it was to teach the young ſoldiers how to handle their arms, attack the enemy, and defend themſelves. By this means the conſul, who was a ſkilful commander, prepared for his ſucceſſor an invincible army [r].

In the mean time, the *Cimbri* and *Gauls* held a council of war, in which ſome were for paſſing the *Alps*, deſcending into the plains of *Inſubria*, and advancing towards *Rome*. Others thought it more adviſeable to reduce firſt the new *Roman* province. But before they came to any reſolution, they thought it proper to bring into the council their priſoner *Aurelius Scaurus*, and aſk his opinion of their deſcent into *Italy*. The *Roman* with great conſtancy and intrepidity told them, that they were not to expect from him any advice, which could be prejudicial to his country, but that he would give them ſuch as might be uſeful for themſelves. He then adviſed them to lay aſide all thoughts of paſſing into *Italy*, where they would meet with the ſame misfortunes which had formerly befallen *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal*: *Enjoy*, ſaid he, *the glory fortune has given you in your firſt battle. You have gained a victory by the diſagreement of two bad commanders; but when you come to engage the forces of the republic under the conduct of an experienced general, you will find them invincible.* *Scaurus* had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when *Bojorix*, one of the kings or leaders of the *Cimbri*, thinking this too inſolent a ſpeech from the mouth of a captive, drew his ſword and ſtabbed him. In the mean time, the republic choſe new conſuls, and raiſed to that dignity *C. Fulvius Fimbria* and *C. Marius* a ſecond time. Two laws were urged againſt the promotion of the latter, one forbidding the choice of any abſent perſon, the other enacting, that no one ſhould be raiſed to the conſulate a ſecond time, till ten years after the firſt. But the people made the laws give way to the public good. This news was a very agreeable ſurpriſe to *Marius*, who was buſy in regulating his conqueſts in *Africa*, and thought of nothing leſs than his new promotion. He left *Numidia* without delay, and, returning to *Rome* about the end of *Decem-*

Aurelius Scaurus murdered by the Cimbri.

Marius a ſecond time conſul.

[r] Liv. & Val. Max. l. ii. c. 3.

ber

ber, on the firſt day of *January* both entered on his office and triumphed on account of his *Numidian* conqueſt. His triumphal chariot was preceded by the riches which he had brought from his province, conſiſting of three thouſand ſeven hundred pounds weight of gold in ingots, 5775 pounds weight of ſilver in bars, and 287000 drachmæ, or ſilver denarii, in ſpecie. But nothing ſtruck the ſpectators ſo much as the ſight of the captive king, who with his two ſons was led in chains before the conqueror's chariot. After he had been made a ſhow to the inſulting populace, he was uſed with the utmoſt inſolence by the ſoldiery after the proceſſion. They tore his ears in a barbarous manner in ſnatching away his pendants, with which inſult the unhappy prince was deeply affected. After he had been abuſed in the groſſeſt manner by the rabble, he was thrown into a dungeon, in which he ſoon periſhed. *Livy*, *Eutropius*, and *Oroſius* tell us, that, as ſoon as the ceremony of the triumph was over, he was carried back to priſon, and there ſtrangled. His two ſons ſurvived him, and ſpent their lives in captivity at *Venuſium* [c].

His triumph.

Death of Jugurtha.

As ſoon as the victor came down from his chariot, he went to the ſenate-houſe in his triumphal robes, either by miſtake, or out of affectation. But, as the thing was new and the ſenators expreſſed their reſentments by their looks, he went out immediately, pulled off his triumphal robes, and returned in a prætexta, the uſual dreſs of conſuls. The people had already decreed, that *Marius* ſhould manage the war beyond the *Alps*, and that *Sylla* ſhould ſerve under him as his lieutenant-general. As for *Fimbria*, he was ordered to continue in *Italy*, to oppoſe the barbarians, in caſe they ſhould croſs the mountains. All that remained was to divide the two armies now on foot between the conſuls. *Marius* had his choice, and he readily preferred the new legions, which *Rutilius* had inſtructed, to the old troops which he had brought from *Africa*. So many honours heaped on a plebeian were a great mortification to the patricians, and encouraged four of the tribunes to make attempts in favour of the people, and greatly to the diſadvantage of the ſenate and nobility. *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the great grandfather of the emperor *Nero*, *Caſſius Longinus*, *Servilius Glaucia*, and *Marcius Philippus*, all propoſed new laws, tending to the diminution of the power of the ſenate, and the three former ſucceeded. The firſt tranſferred the power of electing the pontifices from their own college to the people. The ſecond got it enacted, that every

Marius *appointed to command againſt the* Gauls *and* Cimbri.

The Domitian, Caſſian, *and* Servilian *laws.*

[c] Liv. epit. l. lxvii. Front. Strat. l. iv.

citizen,

citizen, degraded by a plebiſcitum, ſhould for ever be deprived of his ſeat in the ſenate. This took away from the ſenators the power of reinſtating thoſe in their honours, whom the people had diſgraced. The third prevailed on the people to paſs a law, in virtue of which, the allies of *Latium*, who ſhould accuſe a ſenator, and prove their charge, were to enjoy all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. As for the tribune *Marcius Philippus*, he attempted to revive the law of *Tiberius Gracchus* concerning the diſtribution of the lands; but this was thought a ſeditious attempt, and therefore not ſeconded by the generality of the people[t].

Marius *ſets out for* Tranſalpine Gaul.

In the mean time, *Marius* ſet out for *Tranſalpine Gaul*, but finding that the enemy, after the defeat of *Cæpio* and *Mallius*, had inſtead of paſſing the *Alps*, marched into *Spain*, being drawn thither by the hopes of booty, he applied himſelf wholly to the perfecting of his troops in diſcipline againſt their return. He taught his troops frugality by his example, and by the ſeverity that appeared in his whole deportment. There was a wildneſs and fierceneſs in his looks not to be deſcribed. The very tone of his voice was ſo rough and harſh, that whenever he gave orders, he made thoſe who received them tremble. This kept his men in exact obedience and ſubjection. In order to inure them to the dangers of battles, he ſent moſt of the young ſoldiers under the command of *Sylla* to make war on all the enemies of the republic, who were diſperſed from *Narbonne* to the *Pyrenees*. *Sylla* on this occaſion maintained the reputation he had acquired in *Numidia*, defeated in ſeveral battles the *Tectoſages*, and took one of their kings, named *Copillus*, priſoner of war. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, *Marius*, not thinking the troops he had brought from *Italy* ſufficient to withſtand the numberleſs multitudes of *Cimbri*, *Teutones*, and *Gauls*, who would fall upon him on their return from *Spain*, ſent for ſuccours to the moſt remote parts of the eaſt. *Nicomedes*, king of *Bithynia*, to whom, among others, his deputies applied, anſwered, *That his dominions were quite exhauſted of men by the vaſt numbers of his ſubjects, who had been carried away and kept in ſlavery by the* Roman *knights, who farmed the revenues of the republic in the* Levant. The ſenate had regard to this juſt complaint, and paſſed a decree, ordering all men of free condition, brought from the country of any ally, to be ſet at liberty. But this decree, however juſt, gave riſe to a new war, of which *Marius* was the innocent occaſion.

The occaſion of the war with the ſlaves

[t] Suet. in Nerone. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 5 Cic. in Verr act 3. in Bruto & in Balbo.

Upon

UPON the firſt news of this decree, the unhappy ſlaves, without waiting for further orders, broke their chains and ſet themſelves at liberty. The firſt commotion was raiſed at *Nuceria*, a city of *Campania* on the banks of the *Sarnus*; but the tumult was there ſoon ſuppreſſed. A more violent ſtorm was raiſed at *Capua* by a young *Roman* knight, named *Vettius*. After he had ſquandered away his fortune in debauchery, he fell violently in love with a beautiful ſlave, whom he bought upon credit for ſeven *Attic* talents. But when the time came, that he was either to pay the price agreed on, or return the ſlave to her former maſter, to avoid both, he made an inſurrection among the ſlaves, who cultivated the lands of the public in his diſtrict, making uſe of the decree of the ſenate to ſeduce thoſe unhappy wretches. He ſoon drew together four hundred of them, and his firſt exploit was to murder thoſe who had preſſed him to pay for his miſtreſs. He then led his ſmall company to the neighbouring villages and farms, which he put under contribution, being every-where joined by the ſlaves whom he ſet at liberty. When he had aſſembled about ſeven hundred of them, he poſted himſelf in an advantageous ſituation, got himſelf proclaimed king by his followers, who in a ſhort time amounted to three thouſand five hundred, and fortified himſelf in his poſt, which he made an aſylum for all fugitive ſlaves. The ſenate, upon the firſt news of this inſurrection, diſpatched *Lucius Lucullus* the prætor againſt him, who, taking four thouſand ſix hundred regular troops with him, attacked *Vettius*, but was repulſed with great loſs. The prætor, finding he could not prevail by force, had recourſe to artifice; gained over one *Apollonius*, who was general under *Vettius*, and by his means made himſelf maſter of the place, which the rebels had fortified. But *Vettius*, ſeeing himſelf betrayed, eſcaped the puniſhment due to his crime, by laying violent hands on himſelf. But this was only a prelude to a more important war in *Sicily*, which was at this time governed by a prætor, named *Licinius Nerva*, a weak and timorous man. He at firſt obeyed the decree of the ſenate, ſet at liberty four hundred of thoſe unfortunate men, and ordered all, who had any remonſtrances to make concerning their ſlavery, to repair to him at *Syracuſe*. The number of theſe poor wretches was much greater than he imagined. He found, that the publicans had, under various pretences, reduced many thouſand freemen to ſlavery, eſpecially in the eaſt, and ſent them into *Sicily* to cultivate the lands which they farmed of the public. The prætor, quite ſurpriſed at ſuch villainous proceedings, reſolved to ſet all thoſe at liberty who were of free condition, purſuant to the decree of the ſenate. This alarmed the publi-

The ſlaves riſe at Capua.

Vettius their leader betrayed.

cans; who thereupon had recourſe to the prætor; and by rich preſents prevailed upon him to ſuſpend the execution of the decree, and to turn his compaſſion into cruelty. Being corrupted by the *Roman* knights; he began to look upon this multitude of people, who had been carried away by force from their reſpective countries, only as a troubleſome mob, and ſent them back to their maſters. But they, inſtead of returning home, retired to a ſacred grove, and there took a reſolution of recovering by force the liberty which had been unjuſtly refuſed them. They then ſeized a caſtle in the neighbourhood, and laid the adjacent country under contribution. The prætor marched againſt them; but, being too weak to attack them, he prevailed on one of their leaders, named *Caius Titinius*, to deliver up the caſtle to him, which he entered in the night. The ſlaves, though thus ſurpriſed, made a vigorous reſiſtance, and periſhed all to a man, either by the ſwords of the *Romans*, or by throwing themſelves down from the top of the walls. *Licinius* having ſuppreſſed this firſt commotion, inſtead of keeping the field, diſbanded his troops, which gave the ſlaves an opportunity of riſing again. They aſſembled in a few days to the number of ſix thouſand, and, thinking it dangerous for ſo great a multitude to continue together without a head, they choſe one *Salvius*, a flute-player for their general, and gave him the title of king. *Salvius* immediately divided his people into three parties, which he ſent out under three leaders to pillage the country, and bring all the ſlaves they could find to his camp. Theſe expeditions ſucceeded beyond his expectation; for his parties brought him ſo many men and horſes, that he was ſoon in a condition to form a numerous army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. He then laid ſiege to *Morgantia*, a ſtrong city on the banks of the *Simæthus*. But while *Salvius's* troops were engaged before that place, the prætor *Licinius*, with an army of ten thouſand men, partly *Italians* and partly *Sicilians*, ſurpriſed their camp, which he found almoſt deſerted, and ſeized the booty which they had brought from the neighbouring farms and villages. From thence the prætor before day-break advanced to the beſieged city, and attacking the enemy in the dark, ſlew great numbers of them, and diſperſed the reſt. But before ſun-riſing, the new king, having rallied his troops, returned the ſurpriſe upon the *Romans*, who, thinking themſelves victorious, were no ways upon their guard, attacked them with great vigour, and having defeated the prætor in his turn, killed ſix hundred of his men, and took four thouſand of them priſoners [u].

An inſurrection among the ſlaves in Sicily;

Who choſe one Salvius *for their king;*

And defeat the Ro- man prætor;

[u] Flor. l. iii. c. 19. Diodor. Sicul. Eclog. l. xxxvi.

This

THIS victory encouraged *Salvius* to renew the ſiege of *Morgantia* with more vigour than ever. The ſlaves of the place, upon their maſters promiſing them their liberty, if they repulſed or tired out the aggreſſors, performed exploits which could hardly be expected from men of their condition; inſomuch, that *Salvius* was at length obliged to raiſe the ſiege. But the *Morgantines*, at the inſtigation of the baſe prætor, refuſed to grant the deliverers of their country the liberty they had promiſed them; which ſo incenſed theſe brave men, that they abandoned their maſters, whom they had defended with ſo much gallantry, and went over to the enemy. Thus the evil daily increaſed, and the contagion ſpread through all parts of *Sicily*. A ſlave, born in *Cilicia*, and named *Athenio*, made a freſh inſurrection among his fellows in the neighbourhood of *Egeſta* and *Lilybæum*, and having killed his maſter put himſelf at the head of the two hundred ſlaves he had in his ſervice; and, his party being ſoon increaſed to the number of ten thouſand, he had the confidence to lay ſiege to *Lilybæum*, at that time by far the ſtrongeſt place in the iſland. After he had ſpent much time in this fruitleſs attempt, he pretended to be adviſed by the gods to abandon the enterpriſe, crying out, as in a ſudden tranſport, *Let us my friends, be gone this inſtant from a place where a melancholy fate is preparing for us. If we perſiſt in this attempt, we ſhall be undone, Let us then make our advantage of the knowledge that is given me from heaven.* While his army was decamping, a fleet arrived from *Mauritania*, ſent by *Bocchus* to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, under the command of one *Gomon*, who entering the port of *Lilybæum*, landed his troops, and fell upon the rear of *Athenio*'s army. The head of the rebels had, without all doubt, been informed of the approach of this fleet; but his ſoldiers looked upon him ever after as a man highly favoured by the gods. On the other hand, *Salvius* finding his army to be thirty thouſand ſtrong, reſolved to make *Triocala* the capital of his new dominions, and accordingly built a citadel there on the ruins of an old decaſtichel caſtle, raiſed himſelf a fine palace, ſurrounded the place with a wide ditch, and even ſettled a kind of polity in his city, chuſing himſelf a council, conſiſting of his friends and the moſt prudent of his ſubjects. When he had ſettled all things in his new colony, he invited *Athenio* to come and partake of the pleaſures of the place, and to deliberate about the proper meaſures for promoting their common intereſt. *Athenio* accepted of the invitation, and came attended with only three thouſand of his men. But he no ſooner entered *Triocala*, than *Salpius* cau-

A freſh inſurrection raiſed by Athenio.

Salvius fixes his habitation at Triocala.

Seizes Athenio.

ed him to be ſeized, and clapped up in his new caſtle. Such were the beginnings of this war, which coſt the *Romans* a great deal of blood [x]. But to return to *Marius*.

WHILE he was waiting for the return of the *Cimbri* to *Narbonne Gaul*, he kept an exact diſcipline in his camp, and puniſhed vice with the utmoſt ſeverity. From the following inſtance we may judge of the abhorrence he had for the moſt infamous of all debaucheries, which licentiouſneſs too often introduced into the *Roman* armies. His nephew *Caius Lucius*, having made a ſcandalous attempt upon a young ſoldier, by name *Trebonius*, was killed by him. As he was a military tribune, his death made a great noiſe. But the conſul, though much affected with the death of his nephew, not only acquitted *Trebonius*, whom ſome vile flatterers warmly accuſed, but rewarded him for his courage, putting with his own hand one of thoſe crowns on his head, which generals only beſtowed on ſoldiers who had ſignalized themſelves by ſome valiant action. The applauſes the army gave *Marius* on this occaſion ſoon reached *Rome*, and greatly contributed towards continuing him in the conſulate, and in the command of the army in *Tranſalpine Gaul*. Though abſent, he was, without oppoſition, proclaimed conſul a third time. Even his moſt inveterate enemies, *Craſſus*, *Metellus* and *Marcus Scaurus*, approved of his election, ſacrificing their private reſentments to the public welfare. The collegue the republic gave *Marius* was *L. Aurelius Oreſtes*, who continued ſome time at *Rome*, where he was employed in trying *T. Albucius*, prætor of *Sardinia*, whom the people condemned to baniſhment, for vainly decreeing himſelf a triumph in his province, without the conſent either of the ſenate or people, though he had done nothing that deſerved it [y]. During theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, *Marcus Fulvius*, the prætor in *Spain*, gained great reputation by his conduct againſt the *Cimbri*. Though he had but one legion under his command, he found means to harraſs thoſe barbarians in ſuch a manner, as made them leave *Spain* and return to *Gaul*. But, before their arrival, a ſwarm of *Marſi* appeared there, with a deſign to join the *Teutones*, and enter *Italy* with them. The *Marſi* were natives of *Germany*, and inhabited the banks of the *Luppia*, or, as *Strabo* calls it, *Luppias*. This river riſes at *Lippſtrink*, a village of *Weſtphalia*, and falls into the *Rhine* after having watered the dutchy of *Cleves*. *Marius* detached *Sylla* to oppoſe this new inundation of barbarians; and he choſe rather to make uſe

The equity of Marius, *in his nephew's cauſe.*

The Marſi *paſſed o ver by* Sylla.

[x] Diodor Sicul. ibid. [y] Jul. Obsequ. c. 103. Cic. de provinc. conſular.

of

of perſuaſion than force; he deſired a conference with their leaders, in which he prevailed upon them to change their reſolution, and come over to the *Romans*. From this time we find no farther mention made of *Sylla* in the army of *Marius*, but in that of the collegue the republic gave him the next year. Perhaps *Marius* was glad to get rid of a ſubaltern, who began to eclipſe the glory of his general. Towards the end of the preſent year, the conſul *Aurelius Oreſtes* died in his camp, at the foot of the *Alps* on the ſide of *Italy*; ſo that the republic was obliged to recal *Marius* to preſide at the new elections. He left the command of his army to *Manius Aquilius*, and returned with joy to *Rome*, where he acted a part very ſuitable to his ambition. The point he had in view was, to get himſelf nominated conſul for the next year. But this was a tender point, and might give offence to the people, it being a thing unheard-of, that the ſame perſon ſhould ſo often be choſen conſul ſucceſſively. He therefore publicly declared, that he would not even ſuffer his name to be entered among thoſe of the candidates. But, at the ſame time, *Lucius Apuleius Saturninus*, one of the tribunes and his creature, being in the ſecret with him, acted a very different part. He in all his harangues exhorted the people to force *Marius* to accept of the conſulate. But the more preſſing the people were with him, the more determined he pretended to be not to comply with their requeſt. The tribune in one of his ſpeeches even called him knave and traytor, for reſiſting the will of the people, and refuſing to ſerve his country when threatened with great danger. In ſhort, the game was ſo artfully played, that the people nominated *Marius* conſul the fourth time, and forced him, much againſt his will, as they imagined, to accept of the dignity. The nobility indeed laughed at his ſham modeſty, and ſaw through the diſguiſe; but thought his aſſiſtance neceſſary, at a time when the ſtate was in the utmoſt danger; and therefore did not oppoſe his election. The collegue given him was *Q. Lutatius Catulus* (K), a man greatly eſteemed both by the ſenate and people [a]. Marius *again conſul.*

ALL

[a] PLUT. in Mario. CIC. in Bruto & pro Sextio.

(K) *Cicero*, in different places of his works, gives us the character of *Quintus Lutatius Catulus*. His good nature, ſweetneſs, and his polite behaviour prejudiced all men in his favour. His eloquence, his agreeable manner of ſpeaking, and the purity of his expreſſions, gained him the heart of his hearers. He was [illegible]

ALL *Gaul* was in motion, and the ſeaſon and approach of the enemy made the conſuls haſten to their poſts. The two conſuls ſet out from *Rome* at the ſame time, leaving the city in great conſternation, on account of the new troubles both abroad and at home. Abroad, the *Thracians* had raiſed great diſturbances in *Macedon* ever ſince the laſt year. The rebellious ſlaves laid waſte *Sicily*, and reduced *Rome* to great ſtraits for want of corn. The *Cilician* pirates infeſted the *Mediterranean*, and contributed as much to the famine which afflicted *Rome*, as the devaſtations in *Sicily*. Againſt the pirates was ſent a man, who ſeemed moſt nearly concerned to deſtroy them, *viz.* the famous orator *M. Antonius*, whoſe daughter they had carried into captivity. He ſoon cleared the ſeas of thoſe robbers, and on that account was honoured with a triumph [2]. At home, new diſturbances were raiſed by *Lucius Apuleius Saturninus*, who endeavoured to promote one *Lucius Equitius Firmanus* to the tribunate. He was a freed-man, and his parents, nay even his tribe were utterly unknown. But *Apuleius* knew him to be a bold, active, and intriguing man, an inveterate enemy to the nobility, and therefore a proper tool to be employed againſt the patricians. As the ſeditious tribune was well apriſed, that the birth of *Equitius* would be the greateſt obſtacle to his advancement he made him take the name of *Gracchus*, and preſented him to the people as the ſon of *C. Tiberius Gracchus*. But *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, ſurnamed *Numidicus*,

The Cilician *pirates deſtroyed by* M. Antonius.

Diſturbances raiſed by the tribune Apuleius.

[2] VELL. PATERCUL. l. iii. FLOR. l. iii. LIV. epit. l. lviii. TACIT. Annal. 12. CIC. de orat. l. i.

gian, and a poet. He wrote hiſtorical memoirs of his conſulate after the manner of *Xenophon*, whom he took for his model. He employed his leiſure hours in poetical performances; but, according to *Ovid* and *Pliny the younger*, the levity of his muſe did not become the gravity of his character. *Aulus Gellius* has preſerved one of his epigrams on a child named *Theotimus*, which he produces as a maſter-piece of elegance and politeneſs (5). *Cicero* quotes another wrote by *Catulus* on young *Roſcius* (6), whoſe beauty he greatly extols, though the youth ſquinted, as *Cicero* obſerves. Though *Catulus* was much beloved by the people, and highly eſteemed by all ranks of men, yet he had the mortification to be twice diſappointed of the conſulate, and to ſee men of no merit preferred to him (7).

(5) *Vid Aul Gell. Noct. Attic. l.* xix. (6) *Cic. de nat. deor. lib.* i. (7) *Cic. in Brut.*

being

being at this time one of the cenſors, diſcovered the cheat, and refuſed even to enrol *Equitius* among the *Roman* citizens. His refuſal had like to have coſt him dear; for he very narrowly eſcaped being ſtoned by the populace, at the inſtigation of *Apuleius*.

IN the mean time, *Marius* was waiting for the *Cimbri* in *Tranſalpine Gaul*. But they appeared there no more, having in a great council of war reſolved to enter *Italy* by two different ways, the *Cimbri* over the eaſtern, and the *Teutones*, *Ambrones*, and other *Gauliſh* and *Helvetian* nations over the weſtern, *Alps*. *Marius* therefore marched to oppoſe the latter, and poſted himſelf near the place where the preſent city of *Arles* ſtands. As the mouth of the *Rhone* was ſtopped up with heaps of ſand and mud, which the waves continually lodged there, *Marius*, to ſupply his army with proviſions brought up the river, undertook a great and laborious work, which from him was called *Foſſa Mariana*. He dug a large canal, into which he turned the waters of the *Rhone*, and thereby opened a new communication between his camp and the ſea. Through this canal the largeſt tranſports could paſs; by which means he ſupplied his army with plenty of proviſions; and, being incamped between the two arms of the river and the ſea, had no reaſon to fear the attacks of the enemy. Some writers pretend, that the name of *Camargue*, which the neighbouring diſtrict bears, is a corruption of *Caſtra Marii*, that is, *the camp of* Marius. Be that as it will, *Marius* had ſcarce finiſhed his works, when the barbarians appeared, covering with their innumerable multitudes a vaſt tract of land. They advanced to his trenches, but finding they could not force them, they made frightful ſhouts, and challenged the *Romans* to come out and fight them. But *Marius* was not in haſte to venture a battle, there being ſomething inexpreſſibly fierce in the looks of thoſe barbarians, which ſtruck the *Romans* with terror. The conſul therefore, that their countenances, out-cries, and the clatter of their arms might become the leſs terrible by being familiar to his men, ordered his troops to mount the ramparts, as often as the barbarians appeared. He likewiſe ſent out detachments, under the conduct of brave and experienced officers, to lay waſte the country, and by that means diſtreſs the numberleſs barbarians for want of proviſions. The more the ſcarcity increaſed, the more earneſt they were to come to a deciſive battle, inſulting the *Romans* in their camp. But their inſults only affected the common ſoldiers, whoſe ardor *Marius* reſtrained, telling them, that all raſhneſs was to be laid aſide, and no hazards to be run upon any account whatſoever. But

Foſſa Mariana.

this

this ſerved only to make the legionaries more impatient to come to a battle with the barbarians, whom they now began to deſpiſe, obſerving to one another, that ſhouts and outcries do no execution, that ghaſtly looks and a ſavage mien can only frighten cowards, and that well-diſcipl.ned troops will always have the advantage over a diſorderly and ill-conducted multitude. Theſe ſentiments gave the conſul great pleaſure; but being reſolved to hazard nothing, when all other means failed him, he had recourſe to ſuperſtition to keep his ſoldiers in a more ready obedience. His wife *Julia*, who was of the family of the *Cæſars*, had ſent him a woman from *Rome*, by name *Martha*, whoſe ſkill in predictions, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had experienced. The conſul received and treated her with the moſt profound reſpect, as if ſhe had been intruſted with the ſecrets of fate. But, in reality, ſhe was rather an interpreter of the will of *Marius*, than of the gods; he informed her of his deſigns, and the pretended propheteſs never failed to approve of the meaſures which the conſul had before reſolved on. Having conſulted her, whether he ſhould humour his ſoldiers and engage the enemy, *Martha* anſwered, that in the preſent circumſtances an engagement would prove fatal to the republic. This anſwer quieted the troops, and kept them in an intire ſubjection to their general. As the *Teutones* were continually hovering about the camp and inſulting the *Romans*, one of them, a man of a gigantic ſize, advancing one day to the foot of the rampart, challenged the conſul himſelf to a ſingle combat. But *Marius*, without regarding his bravadoes, anſwered, *If the* German *is in haſte to die, let him go and hang himſelf.* At length the *Teutones*, quite tired out with *Marius*'s delays, reſolved to attack the *Roman* camp, but not ſucceeding in the attempt, they decamped at length, with a deſign to force a paſſage over the *Alps* ſome other way. We are told, that they were ſix whole days, without intermiſſion, in paſſing by the *Roman* camp. In their march they cried out to the *Romans* upon the ramparts, *If you have any meſſages to your wives we will ſoon deliver them at* Rome. *Marius*, being forced to decamp likewiſe, followed the barbarians into the inner parts of the *Roman* province, and came up with them near *Aquæ Sextiæ*, now *Aix*. There the conſul thought it adviſeable to fortify a camp, that, at all events, he might be ſure of a retreat. But while his troops were employed in this work, the ſervants of the army, who were gone in crouds to fetch water from the *Cenus*, now the *Arqua*, were attacked by a body of *Teutones*, who guarded that river. As the ſervants made a great outcry, ſome of the

Marius *reſtrains the ardor of his ſoldiers.*

The Teutones *decamp.*

the legionaries ran to their aſſiſtance. Hereupon the whole army of the enemy took arms, which obliged *Marius* to draw up his troops in battalia. The legions halted at ſome diſtance from the river, while the *Ligurians* advanced to begin the action. The *Ambrones*, to the number of thirty thouſand, faced the *Ligurians* in good order, and briſkly marched up againſt them, beating time on their bucklers, and crying out *Ambrones! Ambrones!* probably to encourage each other, or to intimidate the *Romans*, by a name which the defeat of *Cæpio* and *Mallius* had made formidable; for to the *Ambrones* chiefly was owing the total overthrow of thoſe two generals. The *Ligurians* were put to the rout at the firſt onſet. But when the legions came to engage, the face of affairs was changed. The undiſciplin'd multitude of barbarians, not being able to ſtand the ſhock of regular troops, were repulſed in their turn, and driven to the banks of the river, where the *Romans* made a dreadful ſlaughter of them. The river was ſtained with their blood, and only a ſmall number of them gained the oppoſite bank, whence they fled, being cloſely purſued by the victorious legions, to a kind of fortification, which they had made with their carts. Their wives, who had ſtaid there during the engagement, ſeeing their huſbands flying and the *Romans* at their heels, armed themſelves with axes, and gnaſhing their teeth, fell with great ſhrieks on the purſued and purſuers without diſtinction. Without any regard to their own defence, they threw themſelves upon the combatants, ſeized their ſwords, and endeavoured to ſnatch away their bucklers. But when their firſt rage was ſpent, they deſired to capitulate upon this ſingle condition, that their honour ſhould be preſerved. When this condition was denied, thoſe unfortunate women, being reduced to deſpair, firſt killed their children, and then themſelves, not one remaining alive out of ſo great a multitude. So remarkable was the love of chaſtity, which remained among thoſe whom the *Romans* called barbarians, after it was extinguiſhed at *Rome* [b].

A battle between the Romans and Ambrones

The Ambrones defeated.

HOWEVER, this victory was far from being complete. The *Ambrones* indeed were defeated; but the *Teutones*, who were incamped at ſome diſtance from the river, ſtill remained. They did not ſtir all that night or the next day; ſo that the *Romans* had time to fortify themſelves on the eminence which their general had firſt choſen. The third day after the

[b] PLUT. in Mario. FRONT. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 7. & l. v. c. 11. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 1. OROS. l. v. c 15.

battle,

battle, *Teutobocchus*, or, as others call him, *Teutobodus*, general of the *Teutonic* army, drew up his troops in the plain. On the other hand, *Marius*, having formed his infantry on the declivity of the hill, ordered his cavalry to go down the hill, attack the barbarians briſkly, and by a feigned flight draw them towards the eminence. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. The *Teutones*, impatient to come to an engagement, advanced in good order to the foot of the hill, and, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the ground, attacked the *Romans* with great intrepidity. They ſtood the ſhowers of darts which the enemy diſcharged upon them, and, though forced to climb, cloſed with the legionaries in ſpite of all oppoſition, and fell upon them ſword in hand. The *Romans*, who were poſted on the declivity of the hill, by only puſhing the aggreſſors back with their bucklers, often tumbled them over one another. Beſides, the ſun ſhone with great ſtrength, and full in their faces. But, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, they kept the victory doubtful till noon. The night before the battle *Marius* had detached *Claudius Marcellus* with a body of infantry, and given him, inſtead of cavalry, the ſervants of the army, mounted, without ſaddles, on all the beaſts of burden he could find. They were ordered to lie in ambuſh in the hollow roads behind the enemy's camp, and to fall upon them in the heat of the action. Though the detachment was ſmall, yet the great number of ſervants, thus oddly mounted, gave it the appearance of a great army. The *Teutones*, who had hitherto behaved with great intrepidity, no ſooner ſaw this detachment advancing to attack them in the rear, than, their courage and ſtrength failing them at once, they betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. The *Romans*, who in a manner ſurrounded them, made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives, took their camp and plundered it. *Teutobocchus* was, according to ſome, made priſoner; according to others, killed in the battle (*L*). As to the numbers of the ſlain

The Teutones *attack the* Romans.

The Teutones *defeated with great ſlaughter.*

Year after the Flood, 2902. Before Chriſt, 102. Of Rome 651.

(L) *Honorius Bouche* in his hiſtory of *Provence* tells us, that near the village of *Trets* was found a ſtone which preſerved the name of *Teutobocchus*; whence that writer infers, that he was killed in the battle, and buried near the abovementioned village. *M. de Pireſc* ſpeaks of a brick ſepulchre diſcovered in 1613 near the conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Iſere*. It was thirty foot long, twelve broad, and eight high, with this inſcription on a large ſtone; *Teutobocchus Rex*. But *Florus* tells us in expreſs terms, that *Teutobocchus* was taken priſoner, and by *Marius* carried to *Rome*, where he graced the victor's triumph. That author adds, that his head reached

ſlain and the priſoners in the two battles, they amounted, according to ſome writers, to two hundred and ninety thouſand; according to the loweſt calculations a hundred thouſand were killed upon the ſpot. The dead were ſo numerous, as ſome writers tell us, that the inhabitants made fences for their vineyards with their bones; they add, that the field of battle was ſo inriched by the bodies buried there, that the *Marſeilleſe*, to whom it belonged, had the next year a much more plentiful crop from it than uſual c.

WITH the joyful news of this victory, *Marius* diſpatched a meſſenger to *Rome*; where the people were ſo tranſported with it, that, in gratitude, they advanced him to the conſulate the fifth time. While the people at *Rome* were heaping honours on their deliverer, the ſoldiers in the camp offered him all the booty. But he generouſly reſerved only what might grace his triumph, and dedicated the reſt to the gods. All the combuſtible things were gathered together in one pile, to which the conſul himſelf, with great ſolemnity, ſet fire. In the mean time, meſſengers arrived from *Rome*, with the congratulations of the people and the news of his fifth election, preſenting him at the ſame time with a decree of the ſenate, which gave him leave to triumph. *Marius* accepted theſe new honours with gratitude, and without betraying any extraordinary joy, *I accept the conſulate*, ſaid he, *as a new obligation upon me to conquer the* Cimbri, *as I have the* Teutones. *As for a triumph, I deſire it may not be mentioned till I have made my victory complete. The pomp of a triumph will be very unſeaſonable, ſo long as there ſhall remain any barbarians in the neighbourhood of* Italy. The collegue given *Marius* was *Manius Aquilius*, of whom hereafter. As for *Catulus*, he was continued in the command of the army with the title of proconſul. This new year was begun with acts of religion, which the people thought the more neceſſary, becauſe two enormous crimes were now committed, which had never been heard of ſince the foundation of the city. An unnatural ſon, by name *Publicius Malleolus*, killed his mother; a crime for which the *Roman* legiſlators had appointed no puniſhment, not preſuming it poſſible for a

Marius choſen conſul the fifth time.

c VELL. PATERCUL. OROS EUTROP. LIV. ibid. FLOR. l. iii. Auth. de vir. illuſtr. PLUT. in MARIO.

reached above the trophies, which were carried before the triumphal chariot (8).

(8) *Flor. l. iii.*

Parricide and mutilation punished at Rome.

man to be guilty of so enormous a villainy. A new punishment was therefore allotted for this new crime. The parricide was sewn up in a leathern sack, and with a thousand execrations thrown into the *Tiber*. The other crime was that of mutilation. A slave mutilated himself in imitation of the priests of *Cybele*. But the senate, apprehensive of the consequences of so dangerous a delusion, banished the eunuch for ever from *Rome* [d].

The Cimbri *enter* Italy.

In the mean time, *Catulus*, not being able to withstand the numberless multitudes of the *Cimbri*, by the advice of *Sylla*, who served under him in quality of his lieutenant-general, retired before the barbarians, and pitched two camps on the opposite banks of the *Athesis*, now the *Adige*, intending there to make a stand against them. The *Cimbri* entered *Italy*, and advancing to the *Athesis*, with a design to attack the *Romans*, attempted first to ford that river; but finding it not fordable, they pulled up great trees by the roots, and threw huge stones into it, hoping by that means so to fill it up as to make it passable. The terrible appearance of the numberless multitudes of barbarians struck the *Romans* with such a panic, that it was not in the power of *Catulus* to hinder those in his larger camp from flying shamefully before the enemy. Some of the *Roman* knights rid full speed to *Rome*, leaving their general and fellow-soldiers to the mercy of the enemy. Among these was the son of *Scaurus*, prince of the senate; but, as soon as his father was informed of his cowardly desertion, he sent him orders never to appear again in his presence. Hereupon the young *Roman*, who had been afraid of dying honourably in the field of battle, fell ingloriously by his own hand. In the mean time, those in the little camp made a vigorous resistance. One of the *Cimbri* having challenged to a single combat the bravest man among them, was shamefully overcome by *L. Opimius*. But the example of this brave man was not sufficient to encourage all the officers. There was in the camp but one legion, commanded by six tribunes, of whom five were for attempting to break through the enemy; but the sixth, not so resolute as the rest, opposed so dangerous an attempt. Whereupon a centurion, named *Petraeus* stabbed the cowardly officer, and being chosen commander by the legion, obtained an honourable capitulation, led his small body to a place of safety, and from thence marched to join the main body of the army incamped on the banks of the *Po*. Had the *Cimbri* known how to improve their victory, they might have made themselves masters of *Rome*,

And strike the Romans *with a panic.*

[d] Jul. Obsequ. c. 100. Diodor. Sicul. ecl. l. xxxvi.

which

which was then quite defenceleſs, all orders of men being in the utmoſt conſternation. But they delayed in expectation of the coming up of the *Teutones*, and thereby gave the *Romans* time to recall *Marius* and his troops from *Gaul*. By order of the ſenate he joined his troops to the proconſul's army on the *Po*, and upon their union was declared commander in chief, his conſulate and reputation giving him a ſuperiority over *Catulus*. However, he received here a ſenſible mortification from his old lieutenant *Sylla*. That brave officer had, by a ſuperior conduct, found means to ſupply the camp of *Catulus* with great plenty of proviſions, while *Marius*'s men wanted even neceſſaries. *Sylla* therefore went to the conſul's camp, and maliciouſly offered to relieve his troops in their diſtreſs, with the overplus of the proviſions which he had amaſſed in the proconſul's camp. Neceſſity obliged *Marius* to accept the offer; but never was preſent received with more reluctance[c]. From this time *Sylla* entered into an open competition with *Marius*, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority which five conſulates gave him, over a man who had not yet been raiſed to any of the great employments of the republic.

Marius ſent againſt the Cimbri.

IN the mean time, the *Cimbri*, finding the *Teutones* did not appear, reſolved to come to action without them. But that they might act with ſome appearance of juſtice, they firſt ſent a deputation to the *Roman* general, deſiring him to aſſign them and their allies the *Teutones*, lands in the country where they were, and threatening, in caſe of a refuſal, to make the *Romans* feel the weight of their arms. *Marius* anſwered ſternly, *You aſk lands for your allies the* Teutones; *I have given them ſome already. Their carcaſes are now rotting in the fields by the* Cenus, *and their bones made uſe of for fences to the vineyards.* The deputies, exaſperated at this ſevere jeſt, threatened to make him repent of his inſults, as ſoon as the *Teutones* ſhould paſs the *Alps*. *You need not then delay a moment*, anſwered Marius; *they have already paſſed the* Alps, *and you ſhall immediately ſee them.* Then ſhewing them the chiefs of the *Teutonic* army in chains; *Pray ſalute your allies*, ſaid he to the deputies with a ſneer, *and make yourſelves ready to come and join them.* Theſe inſults provoked the *Cimbri* to ſuch a degree, that *Bojorix*, one of their kings, came in perſon to *Marius*'s camp, and challenged him to fix the day and place of battle. This the *Romans* had ſcarce ever done; but *Marius* pitched upon the plain of *Vercellæ*, which was not large enough to contain half the enemy's forces. As for the day, he named the eve of the calends of *Auguſt*, the third day from

The Cimbri provoked by Marius.

[c] PLUT. in Sylla.

that time. Both generals kept their agreement. The army of *Catulus* amounted to twenty thouſand three hundred, and that of *Marius* to thirty two thouſand. The enemy's cavalry were no more than fifteen thouſand; but their infantry ſeemed innumerable; for we are told, that they covered, when drawn up in a ſquare, thirty furlongs. *Marius*, as commander in chief, drew up the whole army; and, in order to deprive the proconſul of any ſhare of the glory of the day, he poſted his troops in the centre, and his own in the two wings, which projected before the main body, and muſt conſequently ſuſtain the efforts of the enemy's army. But his meaſures were diſconcerted by an unforeſeen accident. For, before the action began, the cavalry of the *Cimbri* made a motion, as if they intended to wheel about and flank the *Roman* army. Hereupon *Marius*, at the head of the two wings, advanced againſt them. The *Cimbrian* horſe at his approach retired, and drew the conſul after them. When he was at ſome diſtance from the main body, the enemy's infantry charged the legions commanded by *Catulus* and *Sylla* with incredible fury. The *Romans*, animated by the example of their leaders, ſtood the ſhock without giving ground, keeping themſelves upon the defenſive till the enemy's firſt fury was ſpent. When they found their ſtrength began to fail them, the legionaries charged them in their turn. As the ſun ſhone with great violence, thoſe northern people, not accuſtomed to the heats of *Italy*, were ſoon covered with ſweat, and ſcarce able to lift up their arms to ſtrike a blow; ſo that they made but a faint reſiſtance. They were ſoon overcome; but they had put it out of their own power to ſave themſelves from the victorious enemy by flight. That they might keep their ranks the better, they had like true barbarians, tied themſelves to one another with cords faſtened to their belts; ſo that the *Romans* made what havock they pleaſed of thoſe helpleſs barbarians. To complete their misfortune, *Marius*, returning with his troops from the purſuit of their cavalry, fell upon them, when quite exhauſted with fatigue and the heat of the day. All that followed was a dreadful butchery, the whole plain being covered with dead bodies. From the field of battle the *Romans* marched to the enemy's camp, where they had a new battle to fight with their wives, who were even more fierce than their huſbands. From their carts and waggons, which formed a kind of fortification, they diſcharged ſhowers of darts on their friends and enemies without diſtinction. Then they firſt ſuffocated their children in their arms, and afterwards killed themſelves. The greateſt part hanged themſelves on trees. One was found hanging from a cart with two of her children

An engagement between the Romans *and the* Cimbri.

The Cimbri *entirely defeated by* Marius *and* Catulus.

children at her heels. Many of the men, for want of trees and ſtakes, tied ſtrings in running knots about their necks, and faſtened them to the tails of their horſes, and the horns and feet of their oxen, to ſtrangle themſelves that way. Thus thoſe unhappy creatures put an end to their lives by all the methods they could contrive. Two of their kings or leaders ſtabbed each other. *Bojorix* and *Luig*, their chief commanders, died in the action ſword in hand. *Clodic* and *Seſorix*, two of their generals, were made priſoners with ſixty thouſand of their men, who were all put in chains, and ſold to the beſt bidder: A hundred and twenty thouſand of the barbarians were left dead upon the ſpot; whereas the *Romans* had ſcarce three hundred men miſſing in both armies. Thus was this whole nation almoſt extirpated, whoſe incurſions and robberies were looked upon as a public ſcourge. After the battle, all the ſpoils and enſigns were brought to the camp of *Catulus*, which was a plain declaration, that the victory was chiefly owing to his men. But hereupon a diſpute, ariſing between the ſoldiers of the two camps, the generals agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of the embaſſadors of *Parma*, who happened at that time to be in the army. Theſe being led to the field of battle, found almoſt all the darts, with which the barbarians had been killed, marked with the name of *Catulus*, who had taken care to imprint it on the arms of his ſoldiers before the battle. Beſides, *Marius*'s men had taken from the enemy only two ſtandards; whereas *Sylla* brought to the proconſul's camp thirty one, with the brazen bull, which the *Cimbri* worſhipped. Upon the whole, the arbitrators gave ſentence in favour of *Catulus*; ſo that *Sylla* ſaw with pleaſure the greateſt part of the glory of the action taken from *Marius*, who had endeavoured to engroſs it all to himſelf. However, when the news of this ſignal victory was brought to *Rome*, the people gave all the honour of it to *Marius*, calling him *the third founder of* Rome, *the deliverer of his country*; nay, they even invoked him as a god; and neither time, nor the moſt circumſtantial accounts could undeceive them, ſo as to bring them to allow any ſhare of the ſucceſs to *Catulus*. But *Marius* himſelf had not the confidence to deprive *Catulus* of the glory which was due to him. Beſides, he was afraid that the army of *Catulus* would oppoſe his triumph, if he pretended to exclude their general. They were therefore both honoured with a triumph. The ſpoils taken from the enemy were carried before the triumphant victors; but, if we give credit to *Florus* [f], no part of the ſhow ſtruck the people ſo much as the ſight of king

The victory chiefly owing to Catulus's men.

The victory aſcribed at Rome to Marius alone.

[f] Lib. III. c. 3.

Teutobocchus,

Teutobocchus, who was, according to that writer of such a gigantic stature, that his head appeared above the trophies which were carried in procession. After the triumph both generals, pursuant to a vow each of them had made, built a temple in memory of their victory: *Marius*, who had no taste for arts, in a very plain manner, to *virtue and honour*; and *Catulus*, with great elegance and beauty, to *the fortune of this day*. *Marius*, on the day his temple was dedicated, entertained the people with games after the *Greek* manner; but, as war was his element, he was immediately tired with them, and withdrew[g].

Both build temples in memory of their victory.

Thus was *Italy* delivered from her fears by the defeat of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*. The only enemy the *Romans* had now to contend with were the rebellious slaves in *Sicily*. The republic had sent against them, two years before the defeat of the *Cimbri*, the prætor *Lucius Licinius Lucullus* with an army of fourteen thousand men, legionaries and auxiliaries, exclusive of the succours that were sent him from *Greece* and *Lucania*. As soon as the *Roman* army landed, *Salvius*, who had shut up *Athenio* in the citadel of *Triocala*, as we have related above, delivered him from his confinement, and advised with him, as he was a man of some experience, about the means of resisting the new general. In a council of war, which they held, it was agreed, that *Salvius* should continue in the city of *Triocala* to defend it, if attacked, and that *Athenio* should, at the head of forty thousand men, march against *Lucullus*, and give him battle. Accordingly *Athenio* advanced with his army into the neighbourhood of *Scirtæum*, and there came to an engagement with the prætor, in which the victory was warmly disputed. The slaves, who for the most part had served in war before they were reduced to slavery, fought with a regularity and courage which the *Romans* did not expect. Insomuch that the success would have been doubtful, if *Athenio*, advancing into the middle of the enemy's battalions at the head of three hundred horse, had not been wounded in both his knees. He fell from his horse through faintness, and was covered with a heap of dead bodies. Hereupon his troops, having no commander of reputation to head them, dispersed, and fled in the utmost confusion. The *Romans* pursued the fugitives, and killed above twenty thousand of them. The news of this defeat no sooner reached *Triocala*, than the cowardly *Salvius* abandoned the place. But, in the mean time, *Athenio*, having got from under the dead

War with the slaves.

Licinius *defeats the slaves in Sicily.*

[g] Plut. in Mario & Sylla. Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

bodies

bodies that covered him, gained *Triocala* with the remains of his army before the prætor, who ſpent nine days in uſeleſs precautions, inveſted the place. *Athenio* ſuſtained the ſiege with an intrepidity ſeldom found in men of his rank, and forced *Lucullus* to raiſe the ſiege, and retire from before the place amidſt the hiſſes of the ſlaves, who inſulted him and his army from their walls, as they filed off. He withdrew to *Syracuſe*, and there ſpent the remainder of the year, wholly intent on enriching himſelf at the expence of his province. His year therefore was no ſooner expired, than he was recalled, and, being accuſed before the people of oppreſſion, he was condemned to baniſhment [h]. The prætor *C. Servilius* was ſent to ſucceed him; but that weak general was even more unfortunate than his predeceſſor. *Athenio*, who now carried on the rebellion alone, *Salvius* being dead, attacked the *Roman* army, gave them a total overthrow, and made himſelf maſter of their camp. After this victory *Athenio* advanced to *Meſſana*, and, having made a fruitleſs attempt upon that city, beſieged *Macella*, and took it. The progreſs of the rebellion opened at length the eyes of the ſenate; who ſent *Manius Aquilius*, the collegue of *Marius* for the preſent year, to ſuppreſs it. *Aquilius* croſſed over into *Sicily* with a conſular army, and, having made it his whole buſineſs in his conſulſhip to reduce the rebels to great ſtraights for want of proviſions, in the year of his proconſulate he entirely deſtroyed them. He took the field, and brought the enemy to a battle, which both parties maintained with equal vigour, till the two generals met, and determined the victory by a ſingle combat. *Aquilius* not diſdaining to enter the liſts with *Athenio*, a ſtop was put to the battle, the *Romans* on one ſide, and the ſlaves on the other, making way for the two champions. The proconſul, who was a man of great ſtrength and reſolution, laid his adverſary dead on the ground at one blow; and the *Romans*, taking advantage of his victory, and the enemy's fears, fell upon them with freſh vigour, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of the diſheartened rebels, that of their vaſt army, ſcarce ten thouſand eſcaped to their camp, where they choſe rather to kill one another than ſurrender. When they were reduced to a thouſand, one *Satyrius* capitulated with the proconſul, who promiſed him and his companions their lives, but afterwards ſent them to *Rome* to fight the wild beaſts in the ſhows of the circus. But they choſe rather to fall by each other's hands. And thus ended a rebellion which had laſted four years, and coſt the republic, according to ſome writers, near a million of ſlaves. *Aquilius*,

But is forced to raiſe the ſiege of Triocala.

C. Servilius *defeated by the ſlaves.*

The conſul Aquilius *defeats the ſlaves, and puts an end to the war.*

[h] DIODOR. SICUL. eclog. 1. l. xxxvi.

on

Is honoured with an ovation.

on his return, was honoured with an ovation, the republic having more regard to her ancient cuſtom of not granting a triumph to the conquerors of rebels, eſpecially if they were ſlaves, than to the merit and ſervices of *Aquilius*[1].

The mean practices of Marius.

His ſixth conſulſhip.

THE republic, after the defeat of the *Cimbri*, and the reduction of the ſlaves, had ſcarce any enemies left abroad, but nouriſhed ſuch in her own boſom as proved more miſchievous to her; than either the barbarians of *Germany*, or the ſlaves of *Sicily*. *Marius*, whoſe ambition knew no bounds, ſtood now for the ſixth conſulſhip, with as much eagerneſs as he had done for the firſt. Though naturally fierce and rough, he became mild and affable, careſſed the meaneſt of the people, and ingratiated himſelf with them by the moſt ſervile condeſcenſions. His competitor was the great *Metellus*, ſurnamed *Numidicus*, whoſe virtues and experience, joined to the wiſhes of all honeſt men, loudly called him to the government of the republic. But *Marius*, by diſtributing under-hand large ſums among the people, got *Metellus* excluded, himſelf choſen, and one *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, a very weak man, appointed for his collegue. The firſt ſtep *Marius* took after his election was, to contract an intimate friendſhip with *L. Apuleius Saturninus*, and *Servilius Glaucia*, two daring and factious men, who had all the ſcum of the indigent and ſeditious people conſtantly at their beck. *Apuleius* had been long devoted to the conſul, and had procured him, as we have obſerved above, his fourth conſulate. *Glaucia* was the prætor, to whom the cognizance of civil cauſes belonged, and was naturally factious and violent. Theſe three entered into an aſſociation, with a deſign to ingroſs all the power to themſelves. *Apuleius* had been once before tribune of the people, and now ſtood for that poſt a ſecond time. But he had the misfortune to come in competition with *A. Nonnius*, a man of an unblemiſhed character, and highly eſteemed by the people. *Marius* uſed all his intereſt in behalf of his friend *Apuleius*; but both his intrigues and ſolicitations were ineffectual: all the voices were for *Nonnius*, who was accordingly declared tribune.

Apuleius murders his competitor, and aſſumes the tribunate.

Hereupon *Apuleius*, giving himſelf wholly up to the dictates of his fury, cauſed *Nonnius* to be ſtabbed at the breaking up of the aſſembly, and then got himſelf tumultuouſly proclaimed tribune by thoſe of his own party, before any conſiderable part of the people were aſſembled to give their ſuffrages. The conſul confirmed the election; and the murder of *Nonnius*

[1] Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxviii. eclog 1. Flor. l. iii. c. 20. Cic. de orat. Liv. in epit.

was

yet no more mentioned. And now *Marius*, *Apuleius*, and *Glaucia*, formed a kind of triumvirate, whoſe whole aim was to humble the ſenate, and aſſume all power to themſelves. About this time embaſſadors arrived at *Rome* from *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*, ſent by their maſter to adjuſt ſome ſmall differences between him and the republic. Theſe *Apuleius*, at the inſtigation of *Marius*, uſed in a moſt brutiſh manner. The conſul, in all likelihood, weary of an inactive life, hoped by that means to provoke *Mithridates* to begin a war. However that be, the embaſſadors laid their complaints before the ſenate, and the conſcript fathers, glad of an opportunity of humbling the inſolent tribune, cited him before their tribunal. But, on the day when ſentence was to be pronounced, the populace ſurrounded the hall where the ſenate met, in ſuch crouds, that they intimidated the judges; ſo that the factious tribune was acquitted by a majority of votes [k].

Marius's *aſſociation with him and* Glaucia.

AFTER this victory over the ſenate, *Apuleius*, a tribune of the people, renewed the antient quarrel about the diviſion of the lands. *Marius* and *Catulus* had, by the defeat of the *Cimbri*, recovered ſome lands in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, of which thoſe barbarians had taken poſſeſſion; and *Apuleius* was for unjuſtly taking theſe lands from the true owners, and giving them to *Marius*'s ſoldiers, who were for the moſt part people without houſe or home, and intirely devoted to their general. In the law which he had prepared together with *Marius*, whoſe tool he was, for the diſtribution of the lands, there was a clauſe expreſsly providing, *That the ſenate ſhould come and ſwear in full aſſembly to confirm whatever ſhould be enacted by the people, and not to oppoſe them in any thing; and that whoever refuſed to take that oath ſhould be degraded, and condemned to a fine of twenty talents.* Nothing could be more unreaſonable than ſuch a law, ſince it ſubjected the ſenate to the people. On the day therefore of the comitia, when it was to be admitted or rejected, many men of great weight and authority mounted the roſtra to diſſuade the people from paſſing it. But they were pulled down by the mob of the country tribes, whom *Marius* and *Apuleius* had brought in great crouds into the city. Theſe violent proceedings provoked the city tribes, who, finding themſelves the weakeſt, that the aſſembly might be diſſolved, cried out, *That they heard it thunder*; which, according to the laws, obliged them to ſuſpend for that day all deliberations. But the country tribes, having among them many veterans, moſt of them men of mettle, diſregarding that

Apuleius *revives the antient quarrel about the diſtribution of lands.*

[k] Diodor. Sicul. apud Fut. Urſin.

superſtitious cuſtom, fell upon the city tribes, and, having driven them with ſtones and clubs out of the forum, got the law paſſed. The next day *Marius*, who was at the bottom of all this and the chief manager of the plot, as conſul, made a report to the ſenate of the law in queſtion, exclaimed againſt the late violences, and declared, for his part, that he was determined never to take ſo unreaſonable an oath, and that he did not doubt, but every honeſt man would be of his opinion; for if the law was good in itſelf, there was no neceſſity for ſwearing; and if it was a bad one, they were all obliged in honour not to ſwear. This he ſaid to enſnare *Metellus*, whom he hated ever ſince their quarrel in *Numidia*. He hoped that his declaring againſt the oath would draw a like declaration from that great man, and did not doubt, but when he had once made ſuch a public declaration, he would ſtand firm to his reſolution, which would infallibly expoſe him to the hatred of the people. The event anſwered his expectation; *Metellus* proteſted, that he would not take the oath, and the whole ſenate did the ſame. A few days after, *Apuleius* ſummoned the ſenate to appear in the comitia in order to take the oath; and then *Marius* made his appearance among the reſt; and while the eyes of all the ſenators were fixed upon him, he, to their great ſurprize, declared, that he had changed his ſentiments: *I am not ſo ſtiff and obſtinate*, ſaid he, *as to be tied down by any declaration I may have made upon an affair of ſo much weight, before I had thoroughly conſidered it; but am ready to ſwear, and having ſwore, will punctually obſerve the law, when it once becomes a law.* Theſe laſt words he added, to put a plauſible colour upon his ſhameful breach of faith. If it was a law, it ought without all doubt, to be obeyed. But this was a mean ſubterfuge and knaviſh pretence. It was no law, being without any of the requiſite conditions; and therefore, inſtead of obeying, he ought to have oppoſed it. The ſenators upon this declaration of *Marius*, which was applauded by all the country tribes, were afraid to open their mouths. *Marius* took their ſilence for a tacit conſent, and immediately went to the temple of *Saturn*, according to the ancient cuſtom, and there took the oath, even without the reſtriction he himſelf had propoſed. The ſenators, over-awed by the people, followed his example. But *Metellus* reſolutely perſiſted in his former opinion, notwithſtanding the repreſentations of his friends, who earneſtly intreated him to yield to the times. He told thoſe, who preſſed him to take the oath, that to do a baſe and unworthy action was under all circumſtances ſhameful; that to do well,

Marius's treachery and double dealing.

when

when no danger attended it, was common; but to do well, in the midſt of dangers, was the property of a truly good and honeſt man. Upon his refuſal, the aſſembly, at the inſtigation of *Marius* and *Apuleius*, condemned him to baniſhment. The nobility, the whole body of the patricians, and the city tribes, offered to oppoſe this moſt unjuſt decree of the populace. Many, out of affection for ſo good and virtuous a citizen, had brought arms under their robes, being determined to defend him to the laſt extremity. But that wiſe ſenator, who truly loved his country, after having, in a tender manner, returned them thanks for their kindneſs, declared, that he would not ſuffer a ſingle drop of blood to be ſpilt on his account. He then went into baniſhment, which in ſo glorious a cauſe, did him more honour than all his victories or triumphs. He left the city with this wiſe reflection; *Either the face of affairs will change, and the people repent what they have done; in which caſe I ſhall be recalled and reſtored with honour: or they will remain in the preſent poſture; and then it will be beſt for me to be at a diſtance from* Rome. The illuſtrious exile went to reſide, ſome ſay at *Rhodes*, others at *Smyrna*, where, in a ſweet tranquillity, he gave himſelf intirely up to the ſtudy of philoſophy, enjoying in his retreat thoſe pleaſures which flow from a good conſcience [1].

Metellus *condemned to baniſhment.*

Marius, *Apuleius*, and *Glaucia* congratulated each other on their having at laſt ruined their common enemy. The point *Apuleius* had in view was, to get himſelf continued in the tribuneſhip, *Glaucia* aſpired at the conſulate, and *Marius* was for maintaining himſelf in his poſt another year. To compaſs their ends, they ſcrupled nothing. *Apuleius*, like a monſter let looſe, committed the moſt flagrant acts of violence and injuſtice with impunity. *Marius*, who was the ſoul of the plot, left to the other two the execution of the wicked ſchemes which he adviſed. He pretended to keep the ballance even between the people and the ſenate. On one ſide, he raiſed diſturbances underhand, by means of his two confederates, in order to make himſelf neceſſary, and pave the way for his ſeventh conſulſhip. On the other hand, he pretended a great deſire to compoſe them, hoping thereby to ingratiate himſelf with the ſenate. By this artful conduct he would have gained his point, had not his deceit been diſcovered by an accident. One evening ſome ſenators came to wait on the conſul, and to implore his aſſiſtance againſt the

Diſturbances raiſed by Apuleius.

[1] Plut. in Mario Cic. pro Sextio & Balbo Appian de bell. civil. Auth. de vir. illuſtr.

C c c 2 attempts

attempts of the ſeditious tribune. *Marius*, who was willing to keep fair with the nobility, received them very graciouſly, and promiſed to exert his power againſt *Apuleius*. While he was conferring with the ſenators about the proper meaſures for preſerving the republic, *Apuleius* came to receive his directions about raiſing new diſturbances, and being let in at a back door unknown to the ſenators, was carried into another apartment. Then *Marius*, pretending a looſeneſs, under that colour, was continually running from one apartment to the other, exaſperating the ſenators againſt the tribune, and the tribune againſt the ſenators. But this being ſoon after known, he became ſuſpected by both parties. *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* began to take umbrage at his complaiſance for the patricians; and the patricians grew jealous of his great intimacy with thoſe two incendiaries. In the mean time, *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* canvaſſed, independently on the conſul, the former for a third tribuneſhip, and the latter for the conſulate; and both reſolved to ſtick at nothing. Nay, *Apuleius* ſet up the contemptible *Equitius*, of whom we have ſpoke above, for tribune of the people, and, without any regard to common decency, carried matters ſo far, that *Marius* himſelf thought it adviſeable to ſend *Equitius* to priſon, ordering him to be kept there till the election of the tribunes was over. But *Apuleius*, having ſpirited up the people to break open the priſon, ſet *Equitius* at liberty, and prevailed upon the turbulent populace to proclaim him tribune of the people. But the pretended tribune died before he entered upon his office. At the ſame time *Glaucia*, who ſtood for the conſulate, carried his furious attempts to ſuch exceſs, that he was become quite inſupportable. When the comitia for the election of conſuls came on, *Marius* was excluded, and the orator *Marcus Antonius* choſen in the firſt place; *Glaucia* expected to be nominated in the ſecond; but finding he had a formidable competitor in *Memmius*, who was infinitely ſuperior to him in all reſpects, and highly eſteemed on account of his probity, he made no ſcruple to ſend one of his attendants to murder him in the open forum. After a murder ſo public and daring, *Glaucia* and *Apuleius* his accomplice, to avoid the puniſhment they deſerved, openly attempted to deſtroy the republic itſelf. They carried a multitude of deſperate men to the houſe of *Apuleius*, who there exhorted them to an open rebellion. We are told, that they appointed him to be their general, and offered him the title of king, which he is ſaid to have accepted. But be that as it will, it was now an open conſpiracy; the ſenate declared them enemies to their country, and paſſed

The violent proceedings of Apuleius *and* Glaucia.

Memmius *murdered*

Apuleius *and* Glaucia *openly rebel;*

passed one of those decrees, which were never made, but in times of the utmost difficulty and danger: The two consuls *Marius* and *Flaccus* were ordered to provide for the public welfare in what manner they judged proper; which was impowering them to revenge with the sword the disturbances those seditious men were raising in the republic. Hereupon *Marius* found himself obliged to arm, in order to suppress a sedition which he secretly favoured, but could protect no longer. No time was to be lost: *Glaucia* and *Apuleius* had already seized the capitol. Arms therefore were given to all those who declared for the senate; the knights, the senators, and all who had the welfare of their country at heart, armed themselves against the two rebels. But *Marius* affected delays, and plainly shewed, it was much against his inclination that he obeyed the orders of the senate. In the mean time, the whole rabble of the country tribes entered the city with a design to join their friends in the capitol, but were obliged to fight a battle in the forum before they could reach the citadel. When they were hard pressed, *Apuleius* made a sally, and covered their retreat to the capitol. During the action, the seditious tribune hoisted up a cap on the top of a lance to invite the slaves to take arms in his favour in hopes of their liberty. In the mean time, the senators and knights, tired with the delays of *Marius*, who was ever pleading some excuse or other, caused the pipes to be cut, which conveyed water into the capitol, which soon reduced the rioters to a desperate condition. In this extremity *Saffeius*, one of their leaders, was for setting fire to the temple of *Jupiter*, in hopes they should make their escape, during the confusion and tumult which commonly attend such accidents. But *Apuleius* and *Glaucia*, depending upon their friendship with *Marius*, surrendered to him, after he had promised, upon the public faith, to save their lives. This promise was in itself void and unlawful, since the senate had already declared them rebels, and ordered the consul to treat them as such. But *Marius* was resolved to save a body of desperate men, whose fury might be of use to him on some other occasion. He therefore gave them leave to march out of the capitol unmolested. *Glaucia* retired to the house of one *Claudius* for refuge; but the people soon dragged him from thence, and cut off his head. His brother *Dolabella* and one *L. Geganius*, who retired to the herb-market, were murdered there. Hereupon *Marius* shut up the rest, with *Apuleius* their chief, in the old palace of *Tullus Hostilius*, giving out, that he confined them there in order to bring them to condign punishment. But the

And seize the capitol.

A battle in the forum.

The rebels in the capitol forced to surrender to Marius.

Who endeavours to ſave them;

the palace was in reality a place of ſafety for them, rather than a priſon; and the guards, placed at the gates, were not ſo much to prevent their making their eſcape, as to ſecure them againſt the inſults of the people. Of this the ſenators and knights were well appriſed; and therefore, having aſſembled the people, they diſperſed the guards, broke open the gates of the palace, and with clubs and ſtones diſpatched *Suffeius*, *Labienus*, *Equitius*, *Apuleius* himſelf, and all the leading men of his party. The people not ſatisfied with the death of *Apuleius*, tore his body into a thouſand pieces. And now, the ſtorm being blown over, the comitia aſſembled in tranquillity, and all the acts of the preceding tribunate were declared abſolutely null, for want of liberty in the ſuffrages. After this the tribes met again to chuſe a collegue for *Marcus Antonius*, who had been elected on the day that *Memmius* was murdered. The perſon raiſed to that dignity was *A. Poſthumius Albinus*, a man of excellent parts and a ſincere friend to his country [m].

But in vain.

The birth of Julius Cæſar.

THE new conſular year was begun with purifying the city, which had been polluted with ſo much blood in the late troubles. To the ceremonies uſed on this occaſion others ſucceeded for averting evils, foreboded by ſome imaginary prognoſtics. It was not then known, that in the year, when theſe prodigies were ſaid to have happened, a child was born in *Rome* who would one day overturn the republic. This was *Julius Cæſar*, who came into the world on the twelfth day of the month *Quintilis*, in the ſixth conſulate of *Marius*, whence the fifth month of the old *Roman* year was called *Julius*. The new conſuls had the pleaſure to ſee the games, which *P. Claudius Pulcher* the ædile gave, celebrated without trouble or confuſion. They were the moſt ſplendid that had yet been ſeen in *Rome*. We are told, that *Claudius* was the firſt who cauſed the ſcenes to be painted; which was ſo artfully done, ſays *Pliny* [n], that the birds attempted to alight on the tops of the houſes, and to perch on the trees, which were painted on the cloth. Thus were the firſt months of this year ſpent in tranquillity. But it was not long, ere the leaven of ſedition, which *Marius* had ſown among the tribunes, began to ſhew itſelf in *Sextius Titius*, who attempted to ingratiate himſelf with the people, and raiſe new troubles, by reviving the *Gracchian* law about the diviſion of lands. But the conſul *M. Antonius* prevented the miſchief he intended,

Sextius Titius, *tribune of the people, baniſhed.*

[m] Plut. in Mario Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Flor. l. iii. c. 16 Cic. pro Sextio, Rabirio, &c. Val Max. l. iii. c. 2. [n] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 7

and

and brought him into ſuch contempt, that, as ſoon as he was out of his office, he was accuſed of the moſt infamous and unnatural practices, and condemned to baniſhment. And now, after *Marius* and his adherents were thus fully diſappointed, it was thought a proper ſeaſon to recall the great *Metellus*. All the *Cæcilian* family, of which the *Metelli* were a branch, intereſted themſelves in the cauſe of their relation. The exile's ſon appeared in deep mourning, fell proſtrate before the tribes, and did all for the recalling of his father, which perſons accuſed of capital crimes uſed to do to ſave their own lives. This affectionate conduct towards his father procured him the ſurname of *Pius*, which he bore the reſt of his life. The whole body of the patricians joined with the ſon, and intreated the people in a public aſſembly to recall ſo worthy a citizen. *Marius* did all that lay in his power to prevent the return of a patrician, who was the ſupport of the ſenate, a true pattern of the old *Roman* probity, and the dread of the ſeditious. But, in ſpite of *Marius*'s utmoſt efforts, equity prevailed, and the return of *Metellus* was carried by a majority of ſuffrages. The meſſenger ſent to acquaint him with the decree of the people, finding him at a public ſhow in the city of *Trallis* in *Lydia*, delivered to him the letter, and at the ſame time whiſpered him, that it contained joyful news. But the illuſtrious philoſopher, without the leaſt change of countenance, continued his attention to the ſhow, and did not open the packet till the games were ended. The ſame greatneſs of ſoul, which had kept him from dejection in his diſgrace, guarded him againſt immoderate joy in his proſperity. All the perſons of diſtinction in *Rome* went to receive him at the gate of the city. He was accompanied from the gate to his own houſe by vaſt crouds of people, who teſtified the ſincerity of their joy by loud acclamations. His houſe was crouded from morning to night with perſons of all ranks, who came to ſee and congratulate him. In ſhort his return was a real triumph. *Marius*, to avoid the mortification of ſeeing a triumphant enemy, left *Rome* and went into *Aſia*, giving out, that he was going to perform ſome ſacrifices, which he had vowed to *Cybele* the mother of the gods. But the true motive of his voyage into *Aſia* was, to kindle a war, and cut out new work for his republic there. He owed his grandeur wholly to arms, and could not maintain it in peaceable times, being deſtitute of thoſe talents which were neceſſary to gain applauſe in a commonwealth, where eloquence bore a great ſway in all public deliberations. In order therefore to have an opportunity of diſplaying anew his talent for war, he went to the court of *Mithridates* king of

Metellus *recalled.*

Marius *retires from* Rome.

of *Pontus*, who ſeemed the moſt diſpoſed to quarrel. The king received him with all the honours due to his reputation, careſſed him in the moſt affectionate manner, and did all that lay in his power to oblige a man of ſo much weight in his republic. But all to no purpoſe; he could draw nothing from the proud *Roman*, but inſolent treatment. *Marius* did not doubt, but, if he could provoke that young, powerful, and brave king to take arms againſt *Rome*, he ſhould have the command of the forces employed in that war; and therefore he treated him with great haughtineſs and contempt. One day he addreſſed himſelf to him very bluntly in theſe terms; *You muſt either, O king, endeavour to be more powerful than the* Romans, *or quietly ſubmit to their will.* The king of *Pontus*, the proudeſt prince of his time, was quite aſtoniſhed at the diſcourſe of the bold commonwealth's man. However, as he was a great politician, he did not think this a proper time to declare his reſentments; and therefore, concealing his diſpleaſure, he diſmiſſed *Marius* loaded with preſents [o].

His inſolent behaviour at the court of Mithridates.

But to return to *Metellus*, the people ſoon gave him a ſenſible proof of the regard they had for him. Upon his preſenting to the tribes his relation *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, the people very readily choſe him conſul, and gave him for his collegue *T. Didius*, who had been honoured with a triumph fourteen years before, for having defeated the *Scordiſci*. The two conſuls drew lots for their provinces, when *Italy* fell to *Metellus*, and *Spain* to *Didius*, whither he carried a conſular army to make head againſt the *Spaniſh* rebels, who had taken arms in great numbers, and committed dreadful devaſtations in the *Roman* province. Under *Didius* ſerved *Sertorius* in quality of legionary tribune. He was a native of *Nurſia* in *Sabinia*, and had already given many proofs of his valour; but in the preſent war with the revolted *Spaniards*, he gained more reputation than his general. He reduced the cities of *Caſtulo* and *Gyriſænium*, two places of great importance; and it was chiefly owing to his maſterly conduct, that *Didius* overthrew in a pitched battle the *Vaccæi*, of whom he cut twenty thouſand in pieces. After the conſul had, by the help of his brave tribune, reduced the rebels, he ſtained his victory by an unheard-of piece of treachery and cruelty. One of the *Roman* generals had ſettled five years before a colony of *Spaniards* near the city of *Colenda*. Theſe, before they were brought to this new ſettlement, had committed robberies in ſeveral parts of *Spain*. *Didius* ſuſpecting, without any grounds

Sertorius *gains a great reputation in* Spain.

[o] Plut. ibid.

that

that they deſigned to return to their ancient way of living, obliged them to quit the lands they were poſſeſſed of, and promiſed them thoſe of *Colenda*, which city he had juſt reduced after a nine months ſiege. The *Spaniards*, depending on the general's promiſe, came with their wives and children to the *Roman* camp, where, under pretence of accommodating them better, they were admitted within the intrenchments. When the cruel conſul had them thus in his power, he cauſed the whole multitude to be divided into three companies, placing the men in one, the women in another, and the children in the third. The poor people ſuſpected no treachery, till they heard the conſul order his legionaries to fall upon them, and put them all, without diſtinction, to the ſword. His orders were put in execution with the utmoſt barbarity, not one of thoſe unhappy wretches eſcaping. A moſt deteſtable piece of cruelty! but applauded at *Rome*. To ſuch a degree were the *Romans* degenerated from their antient probity! This maſſacre exaſperated the *Celtiberians*, who taking arms faced the conſular army in the open field, and came to a pitched battle with them, in which they fought like men in deſpair, till night parted the two armies. The loſs of the *Romans* was equal to theirs; but *Didius* by a ſtratagem made them believe they had been worſted. He ordered moſt of the bodies of the *Romans*, who had been ſlain, to be carried out of the field of battle in the night. The *Celtiberians*, when they came early next morning, according to their cuſtom, to bury their dead, were ſo terrified at ſeeing ſuch a number of their own men ſlain, and ſo few *Romans*, that they ſubmitted to *Didius* upon his own terms. Thus, partly by force and partly by artifice, the *Roman* general ſettled *Hither Spain* in peace, and returned five years after his conſulſhip to *Rome*, where his ſervices were rewarded with a triumph [p]. This ſame year the prætor *Cornelius Dolabella* gained conſiderable advantages over the revolted *Luſitanians* in *Further Spain*. Hiſtorians indeed have not given us any account of his exploits, but in the triumphal tables he is ſaid to have triumphed over the *Luſitanians* this preſent year.

The cruelty of Didius *in* Spain.

The Celtiberians *ſubmit to* Didius.

IN the mean time, the conſul *Metellus* maintained peace at home, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity all ſpeeches that tended to ſedition. *C. Plautius Decianus*, one of the prætors, was baniſhed for dropping, in a public ſpeech, ſome expreſſions in favour of the furious tribune *Apuleius*. The tribunes themſelves durſt no longer propoſe ſeditious laws, or attempt

[p] PLUT. in Sertorio. APPIAN. in Iberic. FRONT. ſtrat. l. v. c. 11.

to raiſe diſturbances among the populace. The preſence of *Metellus* and the abſence of *Marius* equally contributed to the public tranquillity. In *Aſia*, that is, in the ancient kingdom of *Pergamus*, the excellent proconſul *Q. Mucius Scævola* puniſhed the iniquity of the *Roman* knights or publicans in a very exemplary manner. He found them guilty of moſt enormous extortions, in raiſing and managing the revenues of the republic; and therefore, without any regard to the dignity or power of ſo formidable a body, he cauſed many of them to be publicly carried to priſon, and condemned a ſlave to be crucified, who had been the agent of an oppreſſive publican, and an accomplice in his maſter's knavery. He appointed men of integrity, and well verſed in money affairs, to examine the books of the publicans, and by this means reformed his province in leſs than nine months. On his departure the *Aſiatics* inſtituted a feſtival to perpetuate among them the memory of his virtues. This feſtival, which from him was called *Mucia*, did him more honour than a triumph. Many of the governors of the provinces followed the example of *Mucius*, and the ſenate charged the conſuls and prætors to do the ſame in their reſpective provinces; ſo that a ſtop was put for ſome time to the oppreſſions of the publicans, which had rendered the yoke of the republic inſupportable [q].

Mucius Scævola *puniſhes the publicans in* Aſia.

In the ſucceeding conſulate of *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Licinius Craſſus*, *Marius* returned from *Aſia*; and, ſoon after his arrival in *Rome*, he built himſelf a houſe cloſe by the forum, either to eaſe his clients, as he himſelf gave out, of the trouble of going far, or in hopes of having more numerous levees there, than in a diſtant part of the town. But he found, that his rough behaviour kept people from him wherever he lived. His haughty manners were not becoming in a free ſtate, where every one thinks himſelf to be upon a level with the beſt, and where the great can gain and maintain friends only by an obliging behaviour and good offices. He met with the fate of moſt warriors, who live to a great age in peace. Their victories are forgot, and they, as *Plutarch* obſerves, if not recommended by civil virtues, are, like old ruſty weapons, laid aſide as quite uſeleſs. But nothing gave *Marius* ſo great uneaſineſs as to ſee his old rival *Sylla* aggrandiſe himſelf, as he thought, at his expence. *Bocchus*, king of *Mauritania*, after he had been declared an ally of the *Roman* people, dedicated in the capitol ſeveral trophies of *Sylla*'s victories, and placed near them ſome golden ſtatues, re-

Marius *diſregarded at* Rome.

[q] Diodor Sicul. Vales. Cic. ad Attic. l. vi. & in Verr. act. 7.

preſenting

preſenting in what manner he had delivered *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*. *Marius*, diſtracted with rage, attempted to pull down a monument, which aſcribed to his rival all the glory of ſo memorable an event. *Sylla*, on the other hand, oppoſed him with all his credit. Every one took party according to his intereſt and inclination; ſo that the whole city was divided into two factions; but by the vigilance of the conſuls a ſtop was put to the ſedition, when it was juſt upon the point of breaking out. *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *C. Caſſius Longinus*, the two ſucceeding conſuls, took more care to maintain peace and tranquillity at home, than to ſignalize themſelves by feats of arms abroad. During their adminiſtration, *Rome* enjoyed all the advantages of peace and plenty, and was ſo ſenſible of her happineſs, that ſhe preferred to the many warriors, who deſired to ſucceed them, men brought up in peaceable employments, viz. *Licinius Craſſus*, the famous orator, and *Q. Mucius Scævola*, a learned civilian. But theſe pacific conſuls ſowed, without deſign, the ſeeds of one of the moſt bloody wars that had ever broke out in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. They got a law paſſed, which obliged the allies, who lived in *Rome* and falſely pretended to the right of *Roman* citizenſhip, to return to their own homes. By the help of theſe intruders ſome ſeditious tribunes had ſown diſcord among the real citizens; whence it ſeemed but juſt, that thoſe ſtrangers ſhould be ſent home to their reſpective countries. Nevertheleſs this law, how juſt ſoever and equitable in itſelf, was ſo reſented by the people of the *Italian* provinces, that it afterwards gave birth to the *war of the allies*. The conſuls, after having paſſed this law and drawn lots for their provinces, ſet out, the one for *Tranſalpine*, the other for *Ciſalpine Gaul*. *Scævola*, to whom *Tranſalpine Gaul* had fallen, finding little to do in his province, returned to *Rome*, and generouſly diſbanded his army before his year expired, thinking it an unneceſſary burden to the republic. *Craſſus*, though he ſought for enemies, and ſearched into all the corners of the *Alps* for people to fight with, could find none, but a company of ſtrolling robbers, whom he defeated. Nevertheleſs, he demanded a triumph on his return; but his collegue, out of a pure regard to equity, oppoſed it, declaring, that he would not ſuffer ſo great an honour to be depreciated and thrown away on ſuch ſlight advantages. The following conſulſhip of *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Caſſius Caldus* was as peaceable as the former. *Caſſius* was a new

Is jealous of Sylla's glory.

Origin of the ſocial war.

man (M), of no birth or merit, and ſurnamed *Caldus* from his warm temper; but he had no opportunity of raiſing any diſturbances, ſome of the chief nobility being at this time admitted into the college of tribunes. The conſulate of *C. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Herennius* was remarkable for nothing, but the pompous ſhow of lions, with which *Sylla* entertained the people in the circus, and the unjuſt condemnation of *P. Rutilius Rufus* a conſular. *Bocchus* ſent *Sylla* a hundred lions, and with them ſome *Mauritanian* hunters, who were uſed to fight them. This was a pleaſing entertainment to the people, and the remembrance of it contributed afterwards as much towards *Sylla*'s promotion to the conſulate, as either his reputation or exploits. *P. Rutilius Rufus* had attended *Mucius Scævola* into *Aſia*, and was thought the author of his ſevere reformation of the publicans. He was unjuſtly, and purely out of revenge, accuſed by that powerful body, and condemned to baniſhment. He retired to *Smyrna*, where he was ſo well pleaſed with the converſation of the *Greek* philoſophers, that he refuſed to return to *Rome*, when the people ſome years after annulled the decree of the baniſhment[r].

A pompous ſhow given by Sylla.

Rutilius Rufus *unjuſtly baniſhed.*

The following year, when *C. Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Perpenna* were conſuls, the ſenate ordered *Sylla* to carry back *Ariobarzanes*, king of *Cappadocia*, to his dominions,

[r] Val. Max. l. vi. c. 4 Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Plut. in Sylla. Cic. in Brut. & pro Muræna.

(M) The diviſion of the *Roman* people into *Nobiles*, *Novi*, and *Ignobiles*, often occurs in hiſtory, and was taken from the right of expoſing publicly the images or ſtatues of their anceſtors; an honour only allowed to thoſe whoſe anceſtors or themſelves had born ſome curule office, that is, had been curule ædile, cenſor, prætor, or conſul. He who could expoſe the pictures or ſtatues of his anceſtors was ſtyled *Nobilis*; he, who could only produce his own, was called *Homo Novus*; and he, who could neither expoſe his own, nor the pictures of any of his anceſtors, was termed *Ignobilis*. So that *jus imaginis* was much the ſame thing among the ancient *Romans*, as the right of bearing a coat of arms among us. For a great while none but the patricians were *Nobiles*, they alone being raiſed to the curule offices. Hence in many places of *Livy*, *Salluſt*, and other ancient writers, we find the word *Nobilitas* uſed for the patrician order. But in after-ages, when the plebeians were admitted to the curule offices, both they and their poſterity were honoured with the title of *Nobiles* (q).

(q) *Vide Sigon. de jur. civ. Rom. l. ii. c. 2.*

whence he had been driven by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*. This *Sylla* affected, after having defeated *Gordius*, whom the *Armenians* had placed on the throne, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Armenia*. On this occaſion *Sylla* received an embaſſy from *Arſaces* king of *Parthia*, deſiring the friendſhip of the *Roman* people. The *Roman* general thought this one of the moſt fortunate occurrences of his life, and eſteemed it a happy omen, that he ſhould be the firſt *Roman*, who was known to ſo warlike and powerful a people[f].

Embaſſadors from the king of Parthia *to* Sylla.

AT *Rome*, *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, one of the cenſors, accuſed his collegue *L. Craſſus* of exceſſive fondneſs for one of his *muræna*. The favourite *muræna* was ſo tame that it would come to *Craſſus* at his call, and feed out of his hand. The grave cenſor was ſo fond of this fiſh, that he took pleaſure in adorning it with the richeſt jewels he had. When it died, he put himſelf in mourning, and erected a tomb for it. When *Craſſus*, who was for his eloquence, as *Cicero* tells us, the wonder of his age, came to ſpeak in his own defence, he was very ſatyrical on his auſtere accuſer, and uttered his ironical jeſts with ſuch geſtures, as drew upon his collegue the laughter of the whole aſſembly. *I have been guilty*, ſaid he, *of this enormous crime; I have, it is true, wept at the loſs of a favourite fiſh: but you, good* Domitius, *have bore the loſs of three wives without ſhedding a tear.* However, the cenſors, notwithſtanding their quarrels, joined in many uſeful regulations. They drove out of *Rome* ſeveral maſters, who had opened ſchools, though no ways qualified for that important employment.

A Roman cenſor puts himſelf in mourning upon the death of a fiſh.

THE enſuing year, *Sext. Julius Caſar* (N) and *L. Marcius Philippus* were raiſed to the conſulate. During their adminiſtration, *M. Livius Druſus*, tribune of the people, occaſioned, though undeſignedly, the breaking out of that unfortunate war, at the very gates of *Rome*, which hiſtorians ſometimes call the *ſocial war*, or the *war of the allies*, and ſometimes the *Marſian war*, becauſe it began in the country of the *Marſi*. *Druſus* was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and had improved the great talents nature had given him, by the ſtudy of eloquence. He was a ſincere friend to his coun-

The ſocial war breaks out. Year after the flood 2213. Before Chriſt 86 Of *Rome* 662. Druſus, *tribune of the people, author of this war.*

[f] PLUT. in Sylla.

(N) This *Sextius Julius Caſar* was uncle to the famous *Julius Caſar*. His ſiſter *Julia* was wife to *Marius*, according to *Plutarch*; and *Suetonius* tells us, that ſhe was aunt to *Julius Caſar*, the firſt Roman emperor.

try-

try, and therefore, with a view to the public welfare, he attempted to remedy thoſe diſorders which had been introduced into the adminiſtration. But his very remedies increaſed them, and rendered the diſtempers of the republic incurable. Though there had been of late no open ſedition, he obſerved, that a general diſſatisfaction reigned in the three orders of men, who made up the whole body of the commonwealth. The cognizance of civil cauſes had been, by one of *C. Gracchus*'s laws, taken from the ſenate and given to the knights; and this the conſcript fathers could not bear, but inſiſted on their being reinſtated in their antient privileges. On the other hand, the knights would by no means part with a prerogative, which had been given them by a law paſſed in the comitia. The people murmured, becauſe the execution of the *Gracchian* laws was neglected, and no care was taken to aſſign them lands; but the nobility refuſed to part with any of the lands they poſſeſſed. The *Italian* allies were no leſs diſſatisfied than the ſenate and people. They aſpired at the right of ſuffrage, and at the offices in the republic, which they had ſo much aſſiſted in her conqueſts. They remonſtrated, that they paid conſiderable taxes; that in time of war their countries raiſed double the number of forces that were raiſed in *Rome*; that the commonwealth owed partly to their valour that prodigious power which ſhe had acquired; and laſtly, that it was but juſt they ſhould ſhare the honours of a ſtate which they had helped to aggrandize, both with their arms and treaſures. Now *Druſus* formed a ſcheme to reconcile all orders of men, and put an end to all diſcontents, which, he foreſaw, would in proceſs of time, if not removed, produce a general inſurrection. A glorious deſign! but now impracticable. He began with endeavouring to reconcile the ſenators and knights, thinking he had found out an effectual expedient for gaining ſo important a point. He propoſed to reſtore to the ſenate the cognizance of civil cauſes, which had been conferred on the knights, and to make that ſecond order amends, by admitting three hundred of them into the ſenate. But this ſcheme was no ſooner propoſed, than both the bodies, which he deſigned to reconcile, declaimed againſt it with great vehemence. The ſenators ſcorned to admit into their body ſuch a number of men far inferior to them in birth, which, they ſaid, would depreciate the ſenatorial dignity. On the other hand, ſuch of the knights, as were not to fear they ſhould not be in the number of the three hundred deſigned for ſenators, declared, that they would not by any means, or for any equivalent whatſoever, buy their

His ſcheme to reconcile all orders of men.

It oppoſed with great warmth.

their order to be deprived of a jurisdiction, which made them very considerable in *Rome*. *Q. Servilius Cæpio* put himself at the head of the knights, and the consul *Marcius Philippus* appeared for the senate, to oppose the designed accommodation. *Philippus*, who was a man of a warm and fiery temper, had the boldness to interrupt the tribune *Drusus*, while he was one day haranguing the people from the rostra, and to command him silence. Hereupon one of the tribune's officers collaring the consul, handled him so roughly, that the blood gushed out of his nose. After this *Drusus*, who had the people on his side, ordered the consul to be carried to prison, for attempting to interrupt a tribune in the exercise of his authority. The tribune finding his well-meant scheme opposed, with great warmth, both by the knights and senators, to ingratiate himself with the people, proposed a law for distributing gratis among the poor what bread they wanted. He represented, that there was no danger of the treasury's being exhausted by this bounty, since immense sums were annually brought into it from the provinces; that there were at that time lodged in the temple of *Saturn*, where the public treasures were kept 1620829 pounds weight of gold; that the public treasury ought not to be like the sea, which swallows up every thing and returns nothing, *&c.* The law met with great opposition, but at length passed to the universal satisfaction of the indigent citizens. In the next place, *Drusus* made it his business to gain the affections of the *Italian* allies, especially of the *Latins*. In order to this he proposed a law for investing them with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. But this law was opposed with great violence, not only by the senators and knights, but even by the people, who could not bear the thoughts of making those their fellow-citizens, whom they looked upon as their subjects. In the mean time, the *Italian* allies flocked to *Rome* from all parts to support their protector. But, finding they could not by his means gain their point, they entered into a plot, without his knowledge, to extort by force what they despaired of getting by interest. Some of the leading men among them formed a design of assassinating the consuls, during the ceremony of the *Feriæ Latinæ*, which was annually performed on the hill of *Alba* after the election of the great magistrates. But *Drusus* being informed of the plot, notwithstanding all the care the conspirators took to conceal it, he immediately acquainted the consuls with the wicked designs of the allies, and by that means saved their lives. But those, whom the well-meaning tribune had saved from a conspiracy, conspired

Drusus *commands the consul* Marcius Philippus *to be carried to prison.*

The probity of Drusus.

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His character.

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The allies arm.

THE death of *Druſus*, thus baſely aſſaſſinated for attempting to procure the right of citizenſhip to the *Italian* allies, provoked them to ſuch a degree, that they began to arm with a deſign to do themſelves juſtice. *Pompædius Silo*, the moſt famous general among the *Marſi*, put himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men, and marched towards *Rome*, which he deſigned to ſurprize and plunder. But *Cn. Domitius*, his old friend, meeting him on the road as he was going to his country-houſe, prevailed upon him to lay aſide his deſign, and return to his own country [u]. As the republic was threatened with a war, two men of diſtinguiſhed merit were promoted to the conſulate, viz. *L. Julius Cæſar* and *P. Rutilius Lupus*. In the very beginning of their adminiſtration, the *Marſi*, *Peligni*, *Samnites*, *Campanians*, and *Lucanians*, and in ſhort all the provinces from the *Liris* to the *Adriatic*, revolted at

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His character.

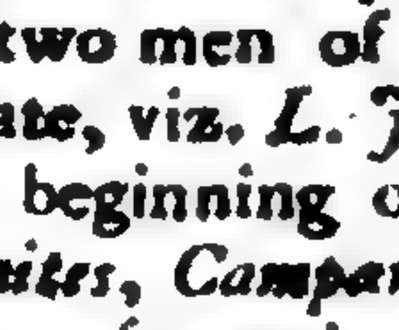
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and the eaſtern kings ſent large ſupplies to ſupport *Rome* in ſo dangerous a war. The faithful *Minatius Magius*, whom *Velleius Paterculus* reckons among his anceſtors, though a native of *Aſculum*, raiſed as many men for the *Romans* as amounted to the number of a legion. *Sertorius*, at this time quæſtor in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, brought a reinforcement of *Gauls* to the relief of his country, fought the allies with his uſual bravery, and having loſt one of his eyes in this war, he ever after gloried in that honourable deformity [w].

THE country of the *Marſi*, which had fallen to *Rutilius*, was defended by two able generals, *Preſenteius* and *Vettius Cato*. The former was oppoſed by *C. Perpenna*, who commanded a great body of troops under the conſul. The *Roman* immediately offered the enemy battle, which *Preſenteius* did not decline. Both armies fought with unparallelled bravery; but the *Romans* were at laſt put to the rout, after having loſt about four thouſand men. A few days after this defeat, *Vettius Cato*, who oppoſed *Rutilius*, being informed that the conſul deſigned to paſs the river *Telonius* in the night, lay in ambuſh for the conſular army, attacked them unexpectedly, and drove them back into the river. In this action eight thouſand *Romans* were either cut in pieces, or drowned in the river. The conſul himſelf was killed with a great many officers of diſtinction. The attack was ſo ſudden, that *Marius*, who was encamped on the banks of the river at a ſmall diſtance from the conſul, had no notice of it, till the *Telonius* brought a great number of dead bodies to his camp. The news of this overthrow, and the ſight of the conſul's body, which was brought to *Rome*, filled the city with terror. For fear of a ſurpriſe, guards were placed at all the gates, the number of the centinels on the ramparts was increaſed, and all the avenues to the city well guarded. Theſe were neceſſary precautions during a war, wherein the ſoldiers of the two oppoſite parties were dreſſed and armed after the ſame manner, ſpoke the ſame language, and were well acquainted with the cuſtoms of each other. The legions, which *Rutilius* had commanded, were divided between *Marius* and *Cæpio*. The latter ſuffered himſelf to be ſhamefully over-reached by *Pompædius Silo*, commander in chief of the allies. He came as a ſuppliant to the proconſul, accompanied by two young ſlaves richly dreſſed, whom he pretended to be his ſons, each of them carrying in his hand a lump of lead, the one covered with a thin plate of gold, and the other of ſilver, which,

Perpenna defeated by the allies.

The conſul Rutilius *defeated and killed.*

[w] VELL. PATERCUL. l. i. PLUT. in Sertorio. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i.

he

he ſaid, were the preſents his children came to lay at his feet. The proconſul received *Pompædius* with great politeneſs, and admitted him into his confidence; when the crafty *Italian*, pretending to lead him to a place where he might ſurpriſe the enemy, conducted him into narrow defiles, where the proconſul was ſlain, and the beſt part of his army cut in pieces [x]. Thus fell *Q. Cæpio*, who, by his warm oppoſition to *Druſus*'s ſcheme, had been the chief author of the preſent war.

Q. Cæpio defeated and killed.

THESE ſucceſſes raiſed the courage of the allies, who under their various leaders gained conſiderable advantages over the *Romans*. *Judacilius*, *Afranius*, and *Ventidius*, three officers of diſtinction among the confederates, having united their forces, obliged *Cn. Pompeius* to ſhelter himſelf behind the walls of *Firmum* in *Picenum*. *Marius Egnatius* ſurpriſed the city of *Venafrum* in *Campania*, and cut in pieces the *Roman* gariſon, conſiſting of two cohorts. The city of *Nola* ſurrendered to *Aponius*, one of the conſuls of the allies, and delivered up to him the *Roman* gariſon, to the number of two thouſand men, with the prætor *L. Poſthumius*, who commanded them. The ſame *Aponius* ſeized the cities of *Stabiæ*, *Liternum*, and *Salernum*, and over-ran all *Campania*. In *Lucania*, *Lamponius* drove *M. Licinius* out of the field, killed eight hundred of his men, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of *Grumentum*. *Judacilius* reduced almoſt all *Apulia*, and brought the cities of *Canuſium* and *Venuſia* over to the confederates [y].

The allies gain conſiderable advantages,

IN *Samnium*, the conſul *Julius Cæſar* was defeated by *Vettius Cato* the *Samnite*, and forced to take ſhelter in a neighbouring city, after having loſt two thouſand men. However, he ſoon left the place of his retreat to relieve *Acerræ*, which was cloſely beſieged by *Aponius*. That general, having releaſed *Oxyntas* the ſon of *Jugurtha* from his confinement in the city of *Venuſia*, brought him to his army, and there treated him as king. The *Numidians*, who ſerved in the conſul's army, no ſooner heard that the ſon of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to deſert by companies; inſomuch, that the conſul was obliged to part with all his *Numidian* cavalry, and ſend them back into *Africa*. This diminution of the conſular troops raiſed the courage of *Aponius*, who came to inſult the *Romans* at the very gates of their camp. But *Cæſar* ſallying out unexpectedly, fell ſo briſkly on the enemy, that they were forced to retire, after having loſt ſix thouſand men. As this was the firſt victory *The conſul* Julius Cæſar *defeats ed.*

The allies repulſed

[x] APPIAN. ibid. OROS. l v. c. 18. [y] APPIAN & LIV. ibid. FLOR. l. iii. c. 18. OROS. l v. c. 18.

the *Romans* had gained over the allies, it occaſioned great joy both at *Rome* and in the army. The ſenate rewarded the brave conſul by confirming the title of *Imperator* (O), which the ſoldiers had given him on the field of battle. In the mean time, *Marius*, being attacked in his camp by *Harrius Acinius*, the chief of the *Marucini*, put the enemy to flight, and forced them to take ſhelter in a place which they deemed inacceſſible. But *Sylla*, whom they did not expect, paſſing accidentally that way with his flying camp, attacked them, made a terrible ſlaughter of their troops, and compleated the victory with the death of their general; which was no ſmall mortification to *Marius*. At the ſame time *Servius Sulpitius*, having defeated in a pitched battle the *Peligni*, and reduced their whole country, marched to the relief of *Cn. Pompeius*, who was beſieged in *Firmum* by *Afranius*, attacked his camp, killed him in the action, and cut moſt of his troops in pieces. After this victory, *Pompeius* laid ſiege to *Aſculum*, whither the remains of the enemy's army had fled for refuge. In the country of the *Marſi*, *Marius*, after having continued ſeveral months in a ſtate of inaction, to inure his troops to diſcipline, at length took the field, and gave battle. But he was ſenſible in the action, that he was not now the ſame man. As he was in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and ſubject to various diſtempers, his ſtrength and former vivacity had failed him. His troops, not being animated by his example, as they expected, ſuſtained the firſt ſhock but faintly, and then fled in diſorder to their camp. The bad ſucceſs of this battle was ſuch a mortification to *Marius*, that, under pretence of his infirmities, he reſigned the command, and returned to *Rome* [a].

The Marucini *defeated by* Marius *and* Sylla.

Sulpitius *overcomes and kills* Afranius.

Marius *defeated.*

THE fame of this victory gained by the *Marſi* induced the *Umbrians* and *Hetrurians* to declare for the confederates. It was therefore neceſſary for *Rome* to increaſe the number of her forces, in proportion as the number of her enemies increaſed; but as the capital alone was not able to furniſh as many as were requiſite to complete the many legions that were to be raiſed, the ſenate, by a ſtep which was never ta-

[a] PLUT. in Mario & Sylla. APPIAN. ibid.

(O) In the times of the republic the title of *Imperator* was an occaſional mark of honour, which the armies ſometimes beſtowed on their generals in their acclamations, and which the ſenate confirmed in favour of thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves by important victories. But under the *Cæſars* it became a title of ſovereignty.

ken

ken but in the utmoſt danger, ordered the freed-men to be inliſted, and formed twelve cohorts of them, which were employed as garriſons in the maritime cities; ſo that *Rome* could ſend all her legions, under the command of *Lucius Porcius* and *Aulus Plautius*, againſt the united forces of the *Umbrians* and *Hetrurians*, whom they defeated in a pitched battle, but not without the loſs of many brave legionaries [a].

Freed men inliſted at Rome.

As the conſular year was near expiring, the conſul *Julius Cæſar*, deſirous to put an end to the war before he went out of his office, drew up a law, which was confirmed by the ſenate, and enacted, *That all the nations in* Italy, *whoſe alliance with* Rome *was indiſputable, ſhould enjoy the rights of* Roman *citizens*. This law, which was ever after called the *Julian* law, much abated the ardor of the enemy, and drew off ſeveral nations from the confederacy; however, the war was ſtill carried on by the *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, *Marſi*, *Picentes*, &c. The new conſuls therefore, *Cn. Pompeius Strabo* and *L. Porcius Cato*, no ſooner entered upon their office, than they took the field. The former, who was the father of *Pompey the Great*, and called *Strabo* becauſe he *ſquinted*, went to carry on the ſiege of *Aſculum*, and deſtroyed a whole army of *Marſi*, who came to relieve it. Five thouſand of them were killed upon the ſpot, with their general *Franius*, a man of great bravery and experience in war, and the reſt periſhed with hunger and cold among the *Apennines*, where they had taken ſhelter. However, *Aſculum* ſtill held out againſt the conſular army, depending on relief from the brave, *Judacilius*, a native of that place. That intrepid commander ordered his countrymen to make a ſally at a time appointed, promiſing to force his way into the city through the *Roman* army. Accordingly he made the attempt at the head of eight cohorts, and, tho' not ſeconded by the *Aſculans*, bravely performed his promiſe, and entered the place; a glorious action, not inferior to the illuſtrious exploits of the braveſt *Romans*! Having thus forced his way ſword in hand into the city, he firſt put to death thoſe who had prevented the ſally, and then, finding he could not force the *Romans* to raiſe the ſiege, he put an end to his life by poiſon, that he might not ſurvive the ruin of his country [b].

The Julian *law.*

An army of Marſi *deſtroyed.*

The gallant behaviour of Judacilius.

In the mean time, *Aulus Sempronius Aſellio*, the *prætor urbanus*, having exaſperated the rich by many judgments he gave againſt uſury, was murdered by them, as he was of-

The prætor Aſellio *aſſaſſinated.*

[a] Appian. ibid. [b] Idem ibid.

ſering

fering a ſacrifice to *Caſtor* and *Pollux* in the forum. The ſenate ordered inquiries to be made after the authors of ſo black an attempt; but the money of the uſurers ſtopped the mouths both of the accuſers and witneſſes; ſo that this notorious and ſcandalous iniquity eſcaped unpuniſhed. However, the tribune *M. Plautius Sylvanus*, to put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs of the people, made a law, whereby it was declared a capital crime for any citizen *to come into the comitium with arms of any kind, or to diſturb the judges in their courts.* The ſame tribune, by another law, deprived the *Roman* knights of their juriſdiction, which they abuſed in a moſt flagrant manner. The *Plautian* law enacted, that each tribe ſhould chuſe fifteen men out of their own body, to whom the cognizance of civil cauſes ſhould be committed. By this means men only of known probity, of what rank ſoever they were, had the charge of adminiſtring juſtice, which was done with great impartiality. This zealous tribune, in conjunction with *Caius Papirius Carbo*, one of his collegues, put the laſt hand to the *Julian* law, which we have mentioned above, in favour of the allies, and got it confirmed by the people, and publiſhed in the following words: *All the citizens of the allied cities, who ſhall be in* Italy *at the time of the promulgation of this law, ſhall be deemed citizens of* Rome, *provided they regiſter their names with one of the three prætors within ſixty days.* This brought the *Italians* to *Rome* in ſuch numbers, that the new citizens ſoon became more numerous than the old; but, leſt this ſhould make ſtrangers maſters of the elections, and conſequently of the republic, the new cenſors, *Lucius Cæſar* and *P. Licinius Craſſus*, did not incorporate them in the thirty-five *Roman* tribes, but formed them into new tribes, who were to vote laſt. By this means all matters were determined by a majority of voices, before the new tribes gave their ſuffrages. The allies were ſenſible of this artifice, but diſſembled their diſſatisfaction, being reſolved, when an opportunity offered, to put themſelves upon a level with the old inhabitants of *Rome* [c].

The Roman knights deprived of their juriſdiction.

The new citizens formed into tribes.

During theſe regulations at *Rome*, the war was purſued with vigour in the provinces which continued in the revolt. The conſul *Pompeius*, having turned the ſiege of *Aſculum* into a blockade, led his beſt troops againſt *Vettius Cato*, who covered the country of the *Veſtini* with a great army, defeated him in a pitched battle, and reduced ſeveral cities. He af-

The Veſtini under Vettius Cato defeated.

[c] Appian ibid. Aul. Gell. l. xiii. c. 4. Liv. epit. l. lxxiv. c. 53. Cic pro Archia. Pædian. in Cic. pro Cornelio.

terwards granted *Vettius* a friendly conference, at which *Cicero*, who was making his firſt campaign under the conſul, was preſent. How this conference ended, we are not told; but all hiſtorians agree, that the conſul *Pompeius* put an end to the war with the *Veſtini* [d]. In the country of the *Marſi*, the conſul *Porcius Cato*, after having gained conſiderable advantages over that warlike people, reſolved to force their camp on the banks of the lake *Fucinus*; but he was killed in the attempt by a dart diſcharged at him, as was ſuſpected, not by the enemy, but by young *Marius*, who had quarrelled with him ſome days before, for ſpeaking contemptuouſly of his father. The *Marſi* took advantage of this accident, put the *Romans* to the rout, and purſued them with great ſlaughter. On the other hand, the proconſul *Coſconius* defeated and killed the famous *Marius Egnatius* in a pitched battle. Upon his death, *Trebatius* the *Samnite* took upon him the command of the army; but he was likewiſe overcome in a ſecond battle, and forced to take refuge in *Canuſium*, after having loſt in the action and the purſuit above fifteen thouſand men. Then *Coſconius* over-ran the countries of the *Larinates*, *Venuſians*, and *Pediculi*, and reduced them to obedience. The confederates began now to be in pain for *Corfinium*, the capital of their new republic, and therefore removed their ſenate and magazines to *Eſernia* in the country of the *Samnites*. They alſo ſent an embaſſy to *Mithridates* in *Aſia*, who had now declared againſt *Rome*, hoping to obtain from him ſuch ſupplies, as would enable them to recover their affairs; but *Sylla*, the hero of this campaign, fruſtrated their expectations. He beſieged the city of *Stabiæ* in *Campania*, took it by aſſault, and gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. He then marched againſt the *Roman* army, who had juſt murdered their general *Poſthumius*; but, inſtead of puniſhing them, he, to their great ſurpriſe, treated them with uncommon civility, and added them to his own legions. When his army was thus reinforced, he undertook the ſiege of *Pompeii*, a ſtrong city in the neighbourhood of *Stabiæ*. *Cluentius*, one of the generals of the allies, haſtened to the relief of the beſieged; but was repulſed with great loſs. *Cluentius*, having not long after received a reinforcement of *Gauls*, appeared again in the field, and inſulted *Sylla* within reach of his intrenchments; but a *Gauliſh* champion, who challenged the braveſt *Roman* to a ſingle combat at the head of the two armies, being killed by a

The conſul Porcius Cato *killed.*

Great advantages gained over the allies by Sylla.

[d] Florus in Verranis. Cic Phil II. Liv epit. l lxxv c. 19.

young

young *Mauritanian*, the reſt, ſtruck with a panic, fled, and the troops of *Cluentius* with them. *Sylla* purſued them, cut thirty thouſand of the fugitives in pieces, and then returning to the ſiege of *Pompeii*, reduced that important place. From *Pompeii* he marched to *Nola*, whither *Cluentius* had fled with the remains of his ſhattered army. He attacked him anew under the walls of that city, killed him in the battle, and with him twenty thouſand *Samnites*, who had flocked from all parts to join him after his firſt defeat. The victorious general having taken and plundered the enemy's camp, brought his legions into *Hirpinia*, which he reduced, after having made himſelf maſter of *Aſculana*, the metropolis of the country. He then fell upon *Samnium*, where he was ſurrounded in narrow paſſes by the famous *Aponius*, and reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. However, he found means to recover this falſe ſtep, and eſcape, when all his men looked upon themſelves as loſt. He agreed to a truce with *Aponius*, then ſtole out of his camp in the dark, and taking a compaſs, fell on the enemy's rear, while they were buſy in plundering the deſerted camp, ſo vigorouſly, and ſo unexpectedly, that the *Samnites*, ſeized with terror, fled, without making any reſiſtance. Having now no enemy to contend with in the field, he marched to *Bovianum*, and took it by ſtorm [c].

The city of Aſculum *reduced.*

In the mean time, the conſul *Pompeius*, after a long ſiege, reduced the city of *Aſculum*, and puniſhed the inhabitants, who had murdered a *Roman* prætor, with the utmoſt ſeverity. He ſaved a ſmall number of their chiefs to grace his triumph, and cauſed all the other perſons of diſtinction in the place to be put to death. To the reſt of the inhabitants he granted life and liberty; but confiſcated their lands, and gave their houſes up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. When winter approached, the generals returned to *Rome*, where *Sylla*, who had eclipſed all the other commanders during this campaign was rewarded with the conſulate. He had alſo intereſt enough to get *Q. Rufus Pompeius*, whoſe ſon had lately married his daughter *Cornelia*, choſen for his collegue. The conſul *Pompeius*, on his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, which many illuſtrious captives graced, and among the reſt *P. Ventidius* and his wife, who carried in her arms her young ſon, whom we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory conſul in *Rome*, and riding himſelf in triumph to the capitol, after having conquered the moſt warlike and formidable enemy *Rome* ever engaged.

Sylla *choſen conſul.*

[c] Plut. in Sylla. Appian. ibid.

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The tribune Sulpitius.

Propoſes a law in favour of the allies.

BEFORE the comitia met for the accepting or rejecting of this law, *Rome* had the ſatisfaction to hear, that her generals againſt the allies were attended with uncommon ſucceſs. *Ser. Sulpitius* brought the whole country of the *Hirpini* under ſubjection. The *Veſtini* and *Peligni* ſubmitted of their own accord to the old conſul *Cn. Pompeius*, who was returned, after his triumph, to his camp at *Aſculum*; nay, they even promiſed to deliver up their leader *Vettius*; but, as they were dragging him along in chains, a faithful ſlave, thinking it his duty to deliver his maſter from the inſults of his haughty enemies, firſt ſtabbed him, and then himſelf. *L. Licinius Murena* and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* obliged the *Hirpini*, among whom the war had begun, to ſue for peace; but the brave *Pompædius* ſtill ſupported the ſinking cauſe at the head of twenty thouſand ſlaves, whom he had juſt armed. Againſt

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Marius jealous of Sylla's glory.

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The Marucini, Veſtini, &c *reduced.*

[e] PLUT. APPIAN. ibid.

him marched *Cæcilius Pius* and *Ser. Sulpitius*, and gave him battle, in which his army was routed and he himſelf killed. the only place that now held out for the allies was *Nola*; and *Sylla* ſet out from *Rome* to reduce it: but he was ſoon recalled, to reſtrain the inſolence of the tribune *Sulpitius*, who carried all before him at *Rome*, not by perſuaſion, but by violence and force. He had already appointed a day for the comitia to meet, in order to accept the law for incorporating the allies into the thirty five tribes. *Sylla*, upon his arrival, joined his collegue *Pompeius Rufus*, and both agreed to order ſeveral *feriæ* or holidays to be kept, during which it was not lawful for the people to meet or tranſact any buſineſs. This they did to gain time; but *Sulpitius* no ſooner heard, that the conſuls had proclaimed *feriæ* than he left his houſe, and attended by his guards, whom he ordered to conceal daggers under their robes, marched ſtrait to the temple of *Caſtor*, where the conſuls had aſſembled the ſenate. The conſcript fathers were ſurpriſed when they ſaw *Sulpitius* appear, and more ſo, when they heard him inſolently command them to diſannul the conſular decree, which ordered *feriæ* to be kept. The conſuls oppoſed the repealing of the decree, and ſeveral of the ſenators did the ſame. Hereupon the furious tribune let looſe his antiſenatorial band upon them, who, drawing their daggers, fell upon the defenceleſs ſenators. The conſul *Pompeius* eſaped in the croud; but his ſon, a young ſenator, who had lately married *Sylla*'s daughter, was killed by the aſſaſſins. *Sylla*, being cloſely purſued by *Sulpitius*'s ruffians, took refuge in *Marius*'s houſe; which they not ſuſpecting, hurried by, ſo that *Sylla* eſcaped falling into their hands. *Marius*, tho' naturally cruel and revengeful, did not care to ſtain his hands with the blood of a conſul, who had taken refuge in his houſe. He only forced him to ſwear, that he would aboliſh the *feriæ*, which he had appointed. After exacting this oath, *Marius* himſelf let *Sylla* eſcape by a back door: and *Sylla* kept his word; for he went directly to the comitium, and, in the preſence of the people repealed the *feriæ*. By this compliance he ſo far pleaſed *Sulpitius*, that the tribune did not deprive him of his office; whereas he prevailed upon the people, whoſe ſuffrages he had at his command, to depoſe *Pompeius* [t].

Diſturbances raiſed in Rome *by the tribune* Sulpitius.

The ſon of the conſul Pompeius *killed.*

Sylla *returns from* Rome.

And now *Sylla*, not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe in *Rome*, where the oppoſite party prevailed, left the city, and repaired in all haſte to his camp near *Nola*. The *feriæ* being repealed, and both conſuls fled, *Sulpitius* now abſolute maſter at *Rome*, got the law paſſed, incorporating the

[t] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

allies

allies into the thirty five tribes, and at the ſame time extorted from the people another in favour of *Marius*. The ſenate had already inveſted *Sylla* with the command of the army, which was to be employed againſt *Mithridates*; but *Sulpitius* got a law paſſed, enacting, That the conſul ſhould continue in *Italy*, and that *Marius*, tho' now only a private man, ſhould command the *Roman* legions in *Aſia*. *Marius* no ſooner received his commiſſion, than he diſpatched two military tribunes, one of whom was *Gratedius*, a relation of his own, to acquaint the troops under the command of *Sylla*, that their general was changed, and that they were no longer to obey *Sylla*, but *Marius*, whom the *Roman* people had appointed to carry on the war againſt the king of *Pontus*; but the ſoldiers, who were greatly attached to *Sylla*, inſtead of obeying the orders that were brought from *Marius*, buried the two meſſengers under a heap of ſtones, and cried out with one voice, *Let us march to* Rome; *let us revenge there the injuries done to the conſular dignity, and the oppreſſion of our fellow citizens*. On the other hand, *Marius*, by way of reprisal for the death of the two tribunes, put *Sylla*'s friends in the city to the ſword, and plundered their houſes; which *Sylla* no ſooner heard, than he determined to march ſtrait to *Rome*. His army conſiſted of ſix legions, who, being all warmed with his ſpirit, breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder; but ſeveral officers, unwilling to turn their arms againſt their own country, quitted the ſervice. On the other hand, many who diſliked the violences of *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, left *Rome*, and took refuge in *Sylla*'s camp; ſo that the road from *Nola* to *Rome* was crouded with people hurrying to and fro, ſome from the camp to the city, others from the city to the camp. Many retired into the country, to avoid taking either ſide in this civil war. *Q. Pompeius* the other conſul, whom *Sulpitius* had depoſed, haſtened to join his colleague with all the troops he could get together.

The people appoint Marius *to command in* Aſia.

Sylla *marches to* Rome.

Marius and *Sulpitius* being informed, that the two conſuls were advancing, at the head of a numerous army towards the city, and having themſelves no troops to oppoſe them, prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to ſend two prætors, *Brutus* and *Servilius*, to meeet *Sylla* upon the road, and ſtop him on his march. The prætors delivered their meſſage to *Sylla* in terms a little too haughty; which ſo incenſed the ſoldiery, that they broke their faſces, tore off their purple robes, and would have cut them in pieces, with their attendants had not *Sylla* reſtrained their fury. When the *Romans* ſaw the two magiſtrates return without the enſigns and marks of their dig-

nity, and in great diſor der, they concluded, that all reſpect for the laws was laid aſide, and that violence and ſuperior power was thenceforth to determine all things. *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, who had only a handful of factious men to oppoſe a powerful and inraged enemy, diſpatched, in the name of the ſenate, meſſenger after meſſenger, to amuſe the conſul with rambling propoſals and retard his march. The conſul, who was well appriſed of their deſign, to elude one artifice with another, pretended to acquieſce in their propoſals, and, in the preſence of the meſſengers, ordered the ground to be marked out for a camp; but, as ſoon as the deputies were gone, he detached a ſtrong party, under the command of *L. Baſilius* and *C. Mummius*, with orders to ſecure one of the gates, and marched himſelf at the head of his legions after them with ſuch expedition, that he was in ſight of *Rome* in a few hours. The party he had ſent before ſeized the *Eſquiline* gate, and *Sylla* reinforced that detachment with a whole legion. The conſul *Pompeius*, at the head of another legion, made himſelf maſter of the gate *Collina*. A third legion was poſted at the head of the bridge *Sublicius*, to ſhut up the entrance into the city on the ſide of the river. A fourth legion was ordered to patrol round the walls, near the gate *Cœlimontana*, and guard the approaches to it. The two other legions were ordered to march into the city ſword in hand. When they came into the ſtreet that faced the *Eſquiline* gate, *Marius* and *Sulpitius* appeared at the head of a company tumultuouſly aſſembled. Hereupon the trumpets of the conſular army ſounded the charge, which rouſed the martial ardor of the citizens, who were all formed to war; but as they had no arms, they got up to the tops of their houſes, and fearing the town ſhould be plundered by *Sylla*'s armed legions, diſcharged from thence ſuch ſhowers of tiles and ſtones upon them, as made the legionaries firſt halt, and then retire to the very gate. Upon this *Sylla* flew to the head of his legions, ordered them to advance, and taking a torch in his hand, threatened to ſet fire to the houſes, if the citizens did not immediately deſiſt from all hoſtilities. This terrified the people, who remained now only ſpectators of the battle between the two parties. In vain did *Marius* and *Sulpitius* call them to their aſſiſtance; no body offered to take up arms, not even the ſlaves, tho' they proclaimed liberty by ſound of trumpet to all thoſe who ſhould join them. *Marius*, not being able, with a handful of ſeditious men, to withſtand the conſul's regular troops, was driven back, from ſtreet to ſtreet, to the temple of the goddeſs *Tellus*, where he made a ſtand, and charged

Sylla *enters* Rome *by force.*

charged the legions with great vigour; which obliged *Sylla* to ſend for ſome legionaries he had left at one of the gates. At the ſight of this reinforcement, *Marius*, fearing he ſhould be ſurrounded, retired, firſt to the capitol, and from thence to one of the gates of the city, which he was glad to leave, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemies. And now *Sylla*, ſeeing himſelf maſter of the city, poſted guards in all the open places, to prevent diſorders. He and his collegue were in motion all night, to reſtrain the ſoldiers, and to prevent their pillaging the houſes of their fellow citizens. He even cauſed ſome of his legionaries to be ſeverely puniſhed for entering a private houſe, and plundering it. As ſoon as it was day, the two conſuls aſſembled the people in the comitium, and harangued them with as much tranquillity, as if there had been no blood ſhed in *Rome*. *Sylla*, who was an excellent orator, after having deplored the calamities of the commonwealth, in terms no leſs moving than lively, propoſed the following laws, which, he ſaid, would reform the many abuſes that had crept into the government; 1*ſt*, That no law ſhould be brought before the people, till it had been ſeen and approved of by the ſenate. 2*dly*, That the comitia ſhould not for the future be held by tribes, but by centuries. 3*dly*, That no citizen, who had been tribune of the people, ſhould be capable of any other magiſtracy. 4*thly*, That all the laws of the tribune *Sulpitius* ſhould be declared void and null. Theſe propoſals coming from a man, who was at the head of ſix legions and maſter of *Rome*, were readily accepted by the people [g].

Marius *eſcapes out of* Rome.

Several laws made by Sylla.

IN the next place, articles of impeachment were drawn up againſt *Caius Marius*, his ſon, the tribune *Sulpitius*, ſeveral other tribunes of the people, two ſenators, and a great many of their adherents. They were all proſcribed, declared enemies to *Rome*, and a reward ſet upon their heads. The decree of the ſenate proſcribing them was proclaimed by ſound of trumpet in *Rome*, and in all the provinces ſubject to the republic. Every ſubject, friend, or ally of the republic was ordered to ſeize and put them to death, where-ever they ſhould be found. At the ſame time *Sylla* detached troops to all parts. *Sulpitius*, being betrayed by one of his ſlaves, was immediately ſeized, and his head ſtruck off by one of *Sylla*'s horſemen. His head was brought to *Rome*, and fixed upon a ſtake over-againſt the roſtra, where he had made ſo many ſeditious ſpeeches. The treacherous ſlave received at once the reward and puniſhment due to his treachery. *Sylla* ſet him at liberty,

Marius *and* Sulpitius *proſcribed.*

Sulpitius *ſeized, and killed.*

[g] APPIAN. & PLUT. ibid.

ordered

ordered the money to be paid him for the diſcovery of *Sulpitius*; but at the ſame time commanded him to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock for betraying his maſter.

The ſenate and people diſpleaſed with Sylla's *conduct.*

The people could not behold the head of one of their magiſtrates expoſed to public view, without a ſecret indignation. The ſenate likewiſe murmured at the proſcription of *Marius*, from a natural compaſſion, always ſhewn to heroes, when fallen into diſtreſs. Tho' the fathers were well pleaſed to ſee the people humbled, yet, jealous of the honour and dignity of their body, they could not bear, that their collegues ſhould be proſcribed like villains and thieves. The people in general reproached *Sylla* with ingratitude, for condemning to death a man, who, not long before, had ſaved his life, when he was at his mercy. If *Marius* had given way to *Sulpitius*, who was for diſpatching *Sylla*, he had, by his death, been maſter of all; but he choſe rather to ſpare his life, for which *Sylla*, when it came to his turn to be uppermoſt, made him a very ungrateful and ungenerous acknowledgment. Theſe reflections alienated the minds of all from *Sylla*, as he experienced at the next elections; for *Nonnius*, his ſiſter's ſon, and *Servius Sulpitius*, who had long ſerved under him, were excluded from the conſulate, tho' earneſtly recommended by him; but he, inſtead of reſenting ſuch treatment, affected to be well pleaſed with it, ſaying, That he ſaw with joy the people by his means reſtored to their full liberty of chuſing whom they pleaſed; nay, to reconcile the minds of the people to him, he ſuffered them to raiſe to the conſulate *L. Cornelius Cinna*, who was of the contrary faction, after having prevailed upon him in private to renounce, in a moſt ſolemn manner, his former principles and engagements with *Marius*, and to ſwear an inviolable attachment to the party of the ſenate. This oath *Cinna* took in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, adding to it the following imprecation; *If I do not punctually obſerve the oath in its full extent, may I be thrown out of the city, in the ſame manner, as I throw this ſtone out of my hand*; at which words he threw on the ground a ſtone which he held in his hand. *Cinna* was a man of no principles, of moſt depraved manners, furious and inconſiderate in all his undertakings, wholly addicted to the popular faction, a declared enemy to the nobility, and capable of ſupporting the intereſt of his faction, with a courage and conſtancy worthy of a better citizen. The collegue given him by the tribes was *Cn. Octavius*, a man of an unblemiſhed character, and whoſe love for his country was the governing principle of his

Cinna *choſen conſul.*

His character.

his life. And now *Sylla* was wholly intent on making the beſt uſe of the little time he and his collegue *Pompeius* were to enjoy the conſulate. Their chief aim was, to rid the republic of the two *Marii*, father and ſon, for whom, tho' proſcribed, intereſt was ſecretly made in *Rome*. A great price was ſet upon their heads, and ſquadrons of horſe, ſent out in queſt of them, had been long ſcouring the neighbouring country, with orders to bring them to *Rome* dead or alive [h].

The flight and adventures of Marius.

THE ſufferings and dangers of *Marius* in his flight and exile were very extraordinary, and would be as affecting, if we could forget his crimes, and remember only his victories. As ſoon as he was got out of *Rome*, all thoſe who attended him in his flight, ſeparated and diſperſed; and night coming on, he retired, with young *Marius* and *Granius*, his wife's ſon by a former huſband, to a ſmall houſe he had near *Rome*. From thence he ſent his ſon for proviſions to a neighbouring farm of his father-in-law *Mutius* (P); but, in the mean time, being informed, that a party of horſe was ſearching for him in that neighbourhood, he left his houſe, without waiting for his ſon's return, and, attended by *Granius* alone, haſtened to *Oſtia*, where a friend of his, called *Numerius*, had provided a ſhip for him againſt all events. He immediately went on board, and weighing anchor, coaſted along the *Italian* ſhore. He was in no ſmall apprehenſion of one *Geminius*, a leading man in *Terracina* and his ſworn enemy. He therefore directed the ſeamen to keep clear of that place, and avoid a ſhore,

[h] PLUT. ibid.

(P) This *Mutius* was the famous *Quintus Mutius Scævola*, one of the moſt virtuous and learned citizens of *Rome*. When *Sylla* appeared in *Rome* after the defeat of *Marius*, and all things gave way to the will of the conqueror, *Scævola* alone had courage enough to oppoſe, in *Sylla*'s preſence, the ſentence of condemnation, which the ſenators were going to paſs againſt *Marius*. When the conqueror threatened him with the ſevereſt vengeance, if he refuſed to ſubſcribe the decree of proſcription. *You attempt in vain*, ſaid he, *to intimidate me with your threatnings. You may let out, if you pleaſe, the little blood that is left in my veins in my old age. Neither the ſight of the armed ſoldiers, who ſurround you, nor the fear of any puniſhment you can inflict upon me, ſhall ever force me to declare that hero an enemy to his country, to whom* Rome *is indebted for her ſafety, and her moſt glorious conqueſts* (10).

(10) *Val Max. l.* iii.

which

which might prove fatal to him: which they were willing to do; but the wind ſhifting on a ſudden and blowing hard, the mariners, fearing the ſhip would not be able to weather the ſtorm, and ſeeing *Marius* indiſpoſed and ſea-ſick, tacked about, and with great difficulty made *Circæum*. There they landed *Marius*, who, oppreſſed with hunger, exhauſted with the fatigues of the ſea, and ſurrounded with dangers on all ſides, rambled about the fields in the utmoſt diſtreſs, it being dangerous for him to meet people, and no leſs ſo to meet none, by reaſon of the extreme want to which he was reduced.

On the other hand, *Marius* the ſon ran no leſs dangers at the houſe of *Mutius*, where he made all the haſte he could to provide himſelf with ſuch things as he wanted, and to pack them up; but, day-light overtaking him, he had like to have been diſcovered by a party of *Sylla*'s horſe, who appeared at ſome diſtance riding full ſpeed towards the farm; but the faithful ſlave, who took care of it, found out an expedient to ſave the life of the young *Roman*. He hid him in a cart loaded with beans, and then putting to his horſes, drove towards the horſemen, as if he were going with his cart to *Rome*. The ſoldiers paſſed by him, and breaking into the houſe, ſearched every corner of it; but in the mean time the ſlave conveyed young *Marius* to his wife, who immediately ſupplied him with money and proviſions. As ſoon as it grew dark, he took leave of his wife, and made to the ſea-ſide, where he went on board a ſhip, which was bound for *Africa*, and ready to ſet ſail. He had a good paſſage, and arrived ſafe in a country, where the great *Marius* was known and revered [1].

In the mean time, the father, wandering about the fields in the neighbourhood of *Circæum*, towards the evening met with ſome cowherds, of whom he begged a morſel of bread; but they had not wherewithal to relieve him. Some of them knowing *Marius*, adviſed him to be gone as ſoon as poſſible; for they had ſeen a little beyond the place a party of horſe in ſearch of him. He therefore turned out of the high-road, and, though ready to faint for hunger and weakneſs, got with much-ado to a neighbouring wood, where he paſſed the night very uncomfortably. The next day, pinched with hunger, and willing to make uſe of the little ſtrength he had left, before it was quite exhauſted, he travelled by the ſea-ſide, amuſing *Granius*, and the few domeſtics he had with

[1] Plut. ibid.

him,

him, with ſeveral ſtories, to leſſen their fatigues and encourage them not to deſert him. He told them, that, when he was a child, an eagle's airy, with ſeven young ones in it, fell into his lap; and that his parents, being much ſurpriſed at the accident, conſulted the augurs about it, who anſwered, that the child would be ſeven times poſſeſſed of the ſupreme power and authority in his country. This was, no doubt, invented by *Marius*, to keep up the courage of thoſe who were with him. *Plutarch* tells us, that an eagle never hatches more than two young ones at a time; but, be that as it will, it is certain, that *Marius*, in his exile and greateſt extremities, uſed often to ſay, that he ſtill entertained hopes of a ſeventh conſulſhip [k].

WHEN *Marius* and his company were within twenty furlongs of *Minturnæ*, they diſcovered a troop of horſe making up to them with all ſpeed, and at the ſame time two ſmall veſſels under ſail near the ſhore. Hereupon they immediately threw themſelves into the ſea, and ſwam towards the ſhips. *Granius* ſoon reached one of them; but *Marius*, whoſe body was heavy and unwieldy, was with great difficulty borne above the water by two ſlaves, and put into the other veſſel. He was ſcarce got on board, when the ſoldiers, who were in queſt of him, came to the ſtrand, and from thence commanded the mariners to ſend the proſcribed aſhore, or to throw them overboard. Hereupon the ſailors long deliberated, whether they ſhould deliver up *Marius* to his enemies, or ſecure his eſcape; and at laſt compaſſion prevailed. The veſſels continued their courſe, and one of them landed *Granius* in the iſland of *Ænaria*; but the ſailors who had *Marius* on board, changing on a ſudden their reſolution, came to an anchor in the mouth of the *Liris*. There they adviſed him to land and take ſome reſt, till the wind became more favourable. *Marius* followed their advice; and, lying down in an adjacent field, ſlept very ſoundly. In the mean time, the maſter of the veſſel weighed anchor, and put to ſea with a fair gale, thinking it neither honourable to deliver *Marius* into the hands of his enemies, nor ſafe to favour his eſcape. When *Marius* awaked, he found himſelf to his great ſurprize, intirely deſerted; no ſhip at anchor; no domeſtics about him; all had diſappeared. This melancholy ſolitude increaſed his fears; he began to ſuſpect his own domeſtics, and every thing ſeemed to threaten him with death. After he had lain ſome time penſive, he recovered his ſpirits, and ſummoning all his courage, he ſtarted

[k] Idem ibid.

up, and, walking croſs the marſhes formed by the overflowing of the *Liris*, wandered about, often wading through the mire and water up to the waiſt. At length he got to the hut of an old man, who lookd after the fens, whom he earneſtly beſought to aſſiſt and preſerve a man, who, if he eſcaped the preſent danger, would make him returns beyond his expectation. The poor man, ſtruck with the venerable aſpect of *Marius*, whom perhaps he likewiſe knew, told him, that if he wanted only reſt, his cottage was very quiet; but, if he wanted to be concealed, he would lead him to a more private place. *Marius* deſired him to do ſo; and the old man carried him into the fens, made him lie down in a cave by the river ſide, and covered him with reeds. He was ſcarce laid down, when he heard a great noiſe round the cottage. *Geminius* had ſent ſeveral troops of horſe from *Terracina*, upon a ſuſpicion that *Marius* had fled to the marches of *Minturnæ*. Theſe threatened the poor old man with the diſpleaſure of the conſuls and ſenate, and the ſevereſt puniſhments, for harbouring and concealing an enemy to the republic. *Marius*, who heard all this, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe in the place where he lay concealed, to deceive both the old man and the ſoldiers, left the cave, and pulling off his garments, plunged into the lake of *Marcia* up to the chin in water, and covered his head with reeds; but the ſoldiers who were in purſuit of him, obſerving the water troubled and muddy about the place where he had thrown himſelf into the lake, after a diligent ſearch, diſcovered him, and tying a cord about his neck, dragged him out of his new hiding-place, and led him naked to *Minturnæ*, to be executed there, purſuant to the decree of the ſenate, which had been publiſhed in all the cities of *Italy*.

Marius is diſcovered, and ſeized.

The magiſtrates of *Minturnæ*, into whoſe hands he was delivered by the ſoldiers, conſidering that his faction was ſtill formidable, and that *Sylla*'s conſulſhip was near expiring, thought it dangerous to prefer either party to the other, and therefore were not in haſte to put the ſentence of the ſenate in execution. They did not even ſhut him up in their priſon; but ſent him, under a ſtrong guard, to the houſe of one *Fannia*, a rich woman, who was ſuſpected not to be well affected to him on an old account. She had been formerly married to one *Tinnius*, from whom being afterwards divorced, ſhe demanded her portion, which was very conſiderable. Hereupon her huſband, who had no mind to return it, accuſed her of adultery; and the cauſe was brought before *Marius* in his ſixth conſulſhip. Upon a full inquiry, it appeared, that *Fannia*

nia had been guilty of incontinence before matrimony, and that it was not unknown to *Tinnius*; notwithſtanding which he married her, and had cohabited with her a conſiderable time. *Marius* therefore, after having heard both parties, ordered *Tinnius* to return the fortune, and laid a ſmall fine upon *Fannia*. The *Minturnenſes* took it for granted, that *Fannia* would reſent the diſgrace with which *Marius* had branded her; but ſhe, thinking ſhe had more reaſon to thank *Marius* for the return of her fortune, than to be offended at him for the eaſy fine he had laid upon her, took great care of him, and did all that lay in her power to comfort and encourage him (Q).

IN the mean time, the magiſtrates of *Minturnæ*, after having conſulted together, determined at laſt to obey the decree of the ſenate, and put *Marius* to death immediately; but none of their citizens caring to imbrue his hands in the blood of ſo glorious a conqueror, an executioner was choſen out of the troops of the gariſon; ſome ſay he was a *Cimber*, others that he was a *Gaul*. However that be, when he went into the room where *Marius* was lodged with his ſword drawn, the eyes of that great warrior, as the place where he lay was dark, ſeemed to dart out flames; and at the ſame time the ruffian heard, or imagined to hear, a loud voice, ſaying, *Stop wretch! dareſt thou kill* Caius Marius! This filled him with terror; he dropped his ſword, and ruſhing out into the ſtreet, he uttered theſe words only, *I cannot kill* Caius Marius! This raiſed the compaſſion of the *Minturnenſes*, who immediately reverſed their ſentence, and were even angry with themſelves for making ſuch an unjuſt and ungrateful return, to one who

(Q) When *Marius* was brought to *Fannia*'s houſe, as ſoon as the door was open, an aſs came running out to drink at a ſpring hard by; and looking very briſk and lively upon *Marius*, firſt ſtood before him, then brayed aloud, and pranced by him. This was enough to raiſe the ſpirits of the proſcribed general, who was ſuperſtitious even to childiſhneſs. What was purely accidental often paſſed with him for ſome myſterious event. He now fancied, that the ſea would be more favourable to him than the land, ſince the aſs neglected his dry paſture, and turned from it to the water; and therefore, when the *Minturnenſes* reſolved to favour his eſcape, he conjured them to conduct him to the ſea-ſide. A man muſt be made up of ſuperſtitious follies to put ſuch an interpretation, as *Marius* did, on that action; and nevertheleſs, what is pleaſant enough, the event ſeemed to juſtify his conjectures; for, at the ſea-ſide he found a veſſel ready equipped, which conveyed him ſafe to *Ænaria*.

But is ſet at liberty.

had preſerved *Italy.* They therefore cried out with one voice, *Let him go where he pleaſes; let him find his fate ſomewhere elſe; we beg pardon of the gods for thruſting* Marius *diſtreſſed and naked out of our city.* After this, they crouded into his room, removed him from thence, and conducted him towards the ſea-ſide, every one lending a helping hand to forward his flight, and ſtriving to outdo each other in relieving and comforting the diſtreſſed hero. In order to get to the ſea-ſide, they were obliged either to paſs through a grove conſecrated to the nymph *Marica*, or to go a vaſt way about, which would have taken up too much of their time. The *Minturnenſes* had a ſingular veneration for this grove, and never ſuffered any thing to be removed out of it, that was once within it. They therefore ſcrupled to paſs through it, and were in great perplexity, fearing they might be overtaken by one of *Sylla*'s parties, who were ſcouring the country, before they reached the ſea-ſide the other way. While they were deliberating among themſelves which way they ſhould take, an old man among them cried out, *There is no place ſo ſacred, but we may paſs through it for the preſervation of* Marius. Hereupon *Marius* firſt entered the grove, and the whole company marched after him, and arrived ſafe at the ſea-ſide, where *Marius* went on board a ſmall veſſel, which had been provided for him by one *Belæus*. *Marius*, when he returned to *Rome* at the head of an army, cauſed this whole adventure to be repreſented in a large piece of painting, and hung it up in the temple of *Marica*, whom ſome take to be the ſame with *Circe* [1].

However, the illuſtrious exile was not yet come to an end of his labours. He ordered his pilot to ſteer for the iſland of *Ænaria*, where he arrived ſafe, and rejoined *Granius*, whom he took on board with his other friends, and then ſailed for *Africa*; but, their water failing them in their paſſage, they were forced to touch at *Eryx* in *Sicily*. There the *Roman* quæſtor, who was appointed to guard the coaſt, and put to death ſuch of the proſcribed as ſhould land there, had like to have ſeized *Marius*, and actually killed ſixteen of his retinue, who were gone aſhore to fetch water. Hereupon *Marius*, putting to ſea again with all expedition, made the iſland of *Meninx* near the *Leſſer Syrtis*, where, he was informed, that his ſon had made his eſcape with *Cethegus*; and that they were both gone to the *Numidian* court, to implore the

[1] Plut. in Mario Val. Max l. viii. c. 2. Vell. Paterc. l. ii

aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance of king *Hiempſal*. Being ſomewhat comforted with this news, he ventured to paſs over to the continent of *Africa*, and landed at the old port of *Carthage*. He was ſcarce got aſhore, when *Sextilius*, who then governed the *African* province in quality of proprætor, was informed of his arrival. As *Sextilius* was a politic man, and neither cared to diſobey the orders of the ſenate, nor incur the hatred of the *Marian* faction, by putting this great man to death, he immediately ſent one of his officers to him, adviſing him to ſeek a retreat elſewhere, and threatening to put the decree of the ſenate in execution, if he ſet foot in *Africa*. At this meſſage the great *Marius* was ready to ſink under the weight of his calamity. He continued ſome time ſilent, looking ſternly upon the meſſenger; and at length, when the officer aſked what anſwer he ſhould return to the prætor, *Go, tell your maſter*, ſaid he, *that you have ſeen the exiled* Marius *ſitting on the ruins of* Carthage. By this noble anſwer he placed in a proper light the misfortunes of that once celebrated city and his own, as affecting inſtances of the viciſſitude of human affairs. Whether the prætor was moved with this meſſage, is uncertain; but *Marius* ſeems to have continued ſome time in that neighbourhood [m].

In the mean time, young *Marius*, who, as we have related above, had ſet ſail for *Africa*, landing on the coaſt of *Numidia*, was received in a very gracious manner by king *Hiempſal*, or, as others will have it, by his ſon *Mandreſtal*, who had ſucceeded to the crown; but that prince, being irreſolute and undetermined what part to act, whenever his noble gueſt talked of departing, found out ſome pretence or other to detain him. Hereupon *Marius* and *Cethegus*, who attended him in his misfortunes, began to ſuſpect, that ſome treachery lay concealed under the extraordinary civilities ſhewn them by the *Numidian* king; and would have made their eſcape, had they not found themſelves carefully watched, and, in ſhort, kept in a kind of honourable captivity. However, they found means at laſt to elude the king's evil deſigns. Their ſafety was owing to a very ſeaſonable adventure. As young *Marius* was very handſome and well made, one of the king's concubines fell in love with him, and even diſcovered her paſſion to him. The young *Roman* declined at firſt entering into any correſpondence with her, from an awful regard to the ſacred laws of hoſpitality; but finding at laſt, that by her means alone he could avoid the ſnares that

[m] PLUT. in Mario. APPIAN. l. i. de bell. civil.

were

were laid for him, and that there appeared more generosity than wantonness, in the tenders she made him of her affection, he gratified the fair *Namidian*, who thereupon found means, as her love was not merely the effect of an irregular appetite, to convey him and his companions safe out of the king's dominions. The young *Roman*, being thus delivered, we may say, from his captivity, hastened to the *Roman* province, where he found his father just landed. After they had tenderly saluted and embraced each other, they began to consult together about the present situation of their affairs. As they were walking by the sea-side, the old hero observed two scorpions fighting with great fury; and, as his head was always filled with signs and prognostics, he drew sinister interpretations from that combat. *Let us fly*, said he to his son, *let us fly; some great danger threatens us here.* This said, he and his company went immediately into a fisher's boat, and made towards *Cercina*, an island not far from the continent. They had scarce put off from the shore, when they saw the coast covered with horsemen, whom the king had sent to bring back young *Marius*. In the island of *Cercina*, which lay near the *Little Syrtis*, and is now known by the name of *Cercara*, they found *Albinovanus*, who was likewise proscribed; and there they all spent the winter together [n].

During these occurrences, *Sylla* and his collegue *Q. Pompeius Rufus* acted in concert at *Rome*, and made it their whole business to quiet the minds of the people there. As no body offered to oppose their measures, and a seeming calm reigned among all orders of men, the consul *Pompeius*, who had not yet appeared at the head of his legions, resolved to take the field, and march against those few allies, who still continued in arms. The *Roman* army was still in the hands of *Pompeius Strabo*, who, after his triumph, had returned to his old camp, with the title of proconsul. When he heard that the consul was coming to succeed him, and snatch out of his hands the glory of finishing a war, in which he had acquired so much honour, he artfully applied himself to his troops, and worked them up to a resolution of not parting with a general, under whose conduct they had gained so many victories. However, the consul was quietly received in the camp, and took possession of the army, the proconsul himself investing him in his office, and with the ornaments of his new dignity, without betraying the least reluctance; but the next day, when the legions were assembled again to assist, according to

[n] Plut. ibid.

custom,

cuſtom, at the ſacrifice, which new generals uſed to offer, ſome legionaries all on a ſudden fell upon the conſul, and killed him at the foot of the altar. In this tumult *Pompeius Strabo* acted his part with great dexterity; he ſhed tears over the body of the dead conſul, broke out into bitter invectives againſt the aſſaſſins, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of the ſupreme magiſtrate of the republic, and threatened to ſacrifice to his manes all thoſe who had any hand in ſo flagitious an attempt, of which there had been yet no inſtance in the republic; but notwithſtanding theſe declarations, he made no inquiry after the criminals, but, though continued in the command of the army, buried the whole in oblivion [o].

The conſul Pompeius Rufus *aſſaſſinated by his ſoldiers.*

Sylla, who had but a few days to continue in his office, being alarmed at the aſſaſſination of his collegue, reſolved to ſet out immediately for *Aſia*. However, he was forced to continue ſome days at *Rome* after his conſulſhip was expired, and had the mortification to ſee the firſt furious ſteps of *Cinna*, whom he believed intirely come off from his mad zeal for the popular faction; for he no ſooner entered upon the conſulſhip, than joining with *M. Virginius*, tribune of the people, he cited *Sylla*, to whom he had ſworn an inviolable attachment, to appear on a charge of male-adminiſtration. Hereupon that general, not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe in *Italy*, embarqued his troops, and ſet ſail for the eaſt, leaving *Rome* at the mercy of *Cinna* and his faction. Their firſt attempt was, to get a law paſſed in favour of the allies, whom *Cinna* was for incorporating into the thirty five tribes, and putting upon a level with the antient citizens. The conſul *Octavius*, who was attached to the ſenate, foreſeeing, that, by this important piece of ſervice, *Cinna* would ſecure the votes of the new citizens, and carry all before him in the aſſemblies of the people, oppoſed the law with all his intereſt. *Cinna* therefore ordered the new citizens to come to the comitium with daggers under their robes, being reſolved to get the law paſſed by force. *Octavius*, being inform d of theſe unwarrantable proceedings, reſolved to oppoſe force with force; and accordingly went to the forum, attended by a numerous body of old citizens, with arms concealed under their garments. He no ſooner appeared in the forum, than the new citizens, at the inſtigation of *Cinna*, fell upon him with great fury. *Octavius* ſtood his ground; whereupon a battle

Sylla, *cited to give an account of his conduct, ſo's ſail for* Aſia.

Cinna *raiſes new diſturbances.*

A battle in the forum

[o] APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. VAL. MAX. l. ix.

ended,

ensued, in which, as the two parties were shut up in a narrow compass, much blood was shed. At length the new citizens were overpowered, and driven from street to street, till they abandoned the city, together with the consul *Cinna*, and fix tribunes of his faction. We are told, that ten thousand of the new citizens were killed in this battle. *Cinna*, being thus driven from the capital, had recourse to the neighbouring cities, soliciting troops and money to maintain what he called the cause of the allies. As soon as he was gone, the senate deposed him, and chose *L. Cornelius Merula* consul in his room. This new insult quickened him in his application to the allies, who all concurred with uncommon chearfulness to supply him with troops, or money to hire them. The great sums he received enabled him to corrupt a considerable body of *Roman* troops, that lay incamped in the neighbourhood of *Capua*. They all joined him to a man, and took the military oath, which he administred to them in his consular habit, as if he had not been deposed. When the allies heard that he was at the head of a *Roman* army, they flocked to him from all parts of *Italy*, in such crowds, that in a short time he had no fewer than thirty legions under his banners; a prodigious army! able to make all *Italy* tremble. And now *Cinna* resolved to recall the proscribed; and accordingly dispatched an express to *Marius*, who was still in the little island of *Cercina*, acquainting him, that he might return to *Italy*, without fear of the senate and their decrees. This step alarmed the conscript fathers, who immediately ordered the two consuls, *Octavius* and *Merula*, to fortify both the city and citadel, by placing all the *baliſtæ* and *catapultæ* in the magazines on the walls. They were also commissioned to raise what forces they judged necessary, and to take into the service such of the confederates as had not declared for *Cinna*. At the same time the fathers recalled *Pompeius Strabo*, who was yet making war with some small remains of the revolted *Italians* on the coasts of the *Adriatic* sea, and was at the head of a very numerous army, the command of which he had kept after the murder of the consul *Pompeius Rufus*; but that general, not being yet determined what party to take, affected delays, and carried himself so artfully, that nobody knew what side he favoured. Some writers are of opinion, that his true design was to let the two factions waste each other, and then raise himself upon the ruins of both [p]. In the mean time, *Marius*, putting to sea with all expedition, landed at *Telamon*, a port in *Hetruria*, with a body of *Mau-*

Cinna *solicits succours from the allies.*

Marius *recalled.*

Marius *lands in* Italy.

[p] Oros. l. v. c. 19.

rusian

ruſian horſe raiſed in *Africa*. Upon the news of his arrival, great numbers of ſhepherds, ſlaves, and men of deſperate fortunes, flocked to him from all parts; ſo that he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army. He then ſent a meſſenger to *Cinna*, ſignifying to him, that he was ready to acknowledge him for conſul, and aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power againſt their common enemies. *Cinna* immediately acquainted *Sertorius* with the arrival of *Marius*, and the tenders he made him of his ſervice. *Sertorius*, having been diſobliged by *Sylla*, who had employed all his intereſt againſt him when he ſtood for the tribuneſhip, had joined the contrary faction, and at this time, as he was a brave and experienced officer, ſhared the command of the army with *Cinna*. He was a man of great prudence and moderation; and therefore dreading the rough and revengeful temper of *Marius*, he adviſed *Cinna* not to admit him into his army, remonſtrating, that *Cinna* was powerful enough, without the addition of *Marius*'s undiſciplined troops, to triumph over his enemies; that he could not make *Marius* his aſſociate, without making him his maſter; that he was inſatiably covetous of glory, and ever ready to envy it in his competitors; that he would aſſume to himſelf all the ſucceſs of the war; and laſtly, that he was a man in whom it was not always ſafe to confide. All this *Cinna* owned to be true; *But how*, ſaid he, *can I ſend back a man, who, upon my word, has left* Africa, *and whom I myſelf have invited to join his reſentments with ours againſt our common enemies? Since you yourſelf had invited him to your aſſiſtance*, replied *Sertorius*, *there was no need of this conſultation. The only thing we can do now is, to watch his conduct as narrowly as we do the deſigns of our moſt inveterate enemies.* After this ſecret conference, *Cinna* ſent back the meſſenger to *Marius*, ſtyling him proconſul in his letter, and empowering him to chuſe lictors for his guard; but *Marius*, putting on the appearance of great humility on this occaſion, refuſed the title, the lictors, and all other marks of the proconſular dignity, as not agreeing with his preſent circumſtances. He affected, on the contrary, to wear nothing but an old gown; his hair and beard rough; he walked with a ſlow pace, like a man quite oppreſſed with his misfortunes: but, through the diſguiſe of that mournful countenance, ſomething ſo fierce appeared in his looks, that he rather created terror, than moved compaſſion [q].

Cinna *gives* Marius *the title of proconſul.*

AND now *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Sertorius* took each their province in this new war. In a council of war they reſolved

[q] PLUT. in Mario & Sertorio. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i.

Rome *blocked up by* Cinna, Marius, *and* Sertorius.

to march directly to the capital. *Cinna* was to block it up on the ſide of the *Tiber*; *Sertorius* to inveſt it on the oppoſite ſide; and *Marius* to ſcour the country, and prevent any proviſions from being conveyed into the city either by land or water. *Pompeius Strabo* was incamped with his army before the gate *Collina*, to cover the city on that ſide. This politic general had offered *Cinna* his ſervice and his army, thinking that his party was moſt likely to prevail; but *Cinna*, looking upon him as a time-ſerver, in whom it was not ſafe to confide, had rejected his offer with ſcorn; which obliged him to take part with the conſuls *Octavius* and *Merula*. As he was incamped near *Sertorius*, the firſt act of hoſtility began between theſe two generals; but it was rather a ſkirmiſh than a battle, there being killed only ſix hundred men on both ſides. This rencounter, however, was remarkable for an accident, which ought to have given the *Romans* a diſtaſte for civil wars: Two brothers, who had choſen oppoſite parties, meeting in the heat of the action, the one gave the other a mortal wound without knowing him; but when he heard the voice of his dying brother, he ran to embrace him, and finding him at the laſt gaſp, *Dear Brother*, he cried out, *tho' different intereſts have divided us, one common pile ſhall unite us*. This ſaid, he plunged into his own body the ſword, which was yet ſtained with the blood of his brother, and died by his ſide. This moving accident made ſome impreſſion on the ſoldiery; but paſſion and party-zeal, or rather fury, ſoon hardened all hearts; ſo that all regard to friends and relations was laid aſide by both parties[r].

The firſt hoſtilities.

Rome *in the utmoſt confuſion.*

As *Cinna*'s forces increaſed daily, he formed a fourth army, which he put under the command of *Papirius Carbo*. This filled the city with dread and confuſion. The two conſuls who defended it, *Octavius* and *Merula*, were men of great probity, and much better qualified to maintain the laws and religion in their purity, than to ſuſtain the attacks of an enemy. *Octavius* was ſo ſcrupulous an obſerver of the moſt venerable cuſtoms in *Rome*, that they in vain preſſed him, even in this criſis, to arm the ſlaves in defence of the city. They could only get this anſwer, *That he would not make ſlaves free of that city, from which, in maintenance of the laws, he was driving away* Marius. He was indeed a man of good ſenſe and underſtanding, and ſupported the dignity of his office with a becoming majeſty; but placed too great a confidence in auguries, and was more intent on conſulting diviners, than men ſkilled in military affairs. As for *Merula*, he placed more

[r] Oros. l. v. c. 19. Liv. epit. ibid.

confidence

confidence in the protection of *Jupiter*, whose flamen he was, than in the valour of the many brave men he had under his command. The senate therefore had recourse to *Cæcilius Metellus*, the son of *Metellus Numidicus*, who was making war upon the revolted *Samnites* with a considerable body of *Roman* troops. The senate, well acquainted with the ability and courage of that general, sent him orders to put an end to that war upon as honourable conditions as he could, to march his army immediately to the relief of his country, and, if he could not conclude a peace, to leave his troops under the command of his lieutenants, and return himself to *Rome*. *Metellus*, pursuant to his orders, immediately entered into a treaty with the *Samnite* generals; but, while the negotiation was carrying on, *Marius*, by offering the *Samnites* more advantageous terms than *Metellus* had done, gained them over to his party; so that *Metellus*, leaving his forces to his lieutenants, returned to the capital, where he no sooner appeared, than the soldiers, dissatisfied with the indolence of the consuls, loudly demanded him for their general, declaring, that, under the conduct of so brave a commander, they did not fear repulsing the enemy, and saving *Rome*; but *Metellus*, as modest as brave, rejected these seditious applauses with indignation, upbraided the soldiers with want of discipline, and openly declared, as he was too strictly observant of the old customs and laws, that he would not assume an office, which properly belonged to the consuls. This made many of the citizens despair of being able to defend the city; and they deserted in companies to *Cinna*, whose generals were not so scrupulously virtuous. *Sertorius* was the only man among them who had any noble sentiments; the others had neither honour nor virtue. In the mean time *Marius* made himself master of all the maritime places in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, took *Ostia* itself by treachery, pillaged it, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and building a bridge over the *Tiber*, cut off all communication between the city and the sea. He then marched with his army towards the city, and, posting himself on the *Janiculum*, blocked it up on that side[f]. Marius takes Ostia.

THOUGH the capital was greatly weakened by daily desertions, yet *Octavius* found means to raise a considerable army in it, with which he incamped under the walls, as did likewise *Q. Metellus* and *Pompeius Strabo* each of them commanding a separate body. *Cinna*, who attempted no attempt, how villainous soever, which could serve his cause, undertook

[f] PLUT. APPIAN. LIV. ibid.

Pompey *ſaves his father's life.*

to get *Pompeius Strabo* aſſaſſinated in his tent; but his ſon ſaved his life; which was the firſt remarkable action of *Pompey the Great.* Young *Pompey* who was making his firſt campaign under the proconſul his father, had choſen for his companion one *Terentius*, a patrician of his own age. The treacherous *Cinna*, by many alluring promiſes, gained over *Terentius* to his intereſt, and prevailed upon him to undertake the aſſaſſinating of the general and his ſon, and at the ſame time the debauching of his army, and carrying the legions to *Sylla*'s camp; but young *Pompey* receiving notice of this wicked deſign a few hours before it was to be put in execution, placed a faithful guard round the prætorium; ſo that none of the conſpirators, who had deſigned to ſet fire to the general's tent, could come near it. He then watched all the motions of the camp, and endeavoured to appeaſe the fury of the legionaries, who hated their general, by ſuch acts of prudence as were worthy the oldeſt commanders. Some of the mutineers had forced open one of the gates of the camp, in order to deſert to *Cinna*. Hereupon the general's ſon laying himſelf flat on his back in their way, cried out, That they ſhould not break their oath and deſert their commander, without paſſing over his body. By this means he put a ſtop to their deſertion, and afterwards wrought ſo effectually upon them by his affecting ſpeeches and engaging carriage, that he reconciled them to his father [t].

Marius *makes a fruitleſs attempt on the* Janiculum.

In the mean time, *Marius*, who was incamped on the *Janiculum*, uſed his utmoſt efforts to make himſelf maſter of the ſtrong fort built on that hill, and was very near ſucceeding in his attempt by the treachery of one *Appius Claudius*, a military tribune in the place, who, having formerly received ſome favours of *Marius*, opened one of the gates to him; but the garriſon, tho' ſurpriſed, made a brave reſiſtance, and in the mean time, *Octavius* and *Pompeius Strabo* haſtening to their relief, a ſharp engagement enſued, which ended wholly to the advantage of the conſular troops [u].

Pompeius Strabo *killed by lightning.*

Notwithstanding this advantage, the city was ſoon reduced to a moſt deplorable condition: a plague broke out among the troops of *Pompeius* with ſuch violence, that in a few days it carried off eleven thouſand men. Soon after the general himſelf was killed with lightning, which did a great deal of miſchief in his army. As *Pompeius* was a very wicked man, capable of the greateſt crimes, and had aſſaſſinated a conſul before the altar, the people, looking upon his death

[t] Plut. in Pomp. [u] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

as a puniſhment upon him from heaven, dragged his body with an iron hook through all the ſtreets of the city, and then threw it into the *Tiber* w. The command of his army was given to *L. Craſſus*, who, together with *Octavius* and *Metellus*, went and incamped near the hill *Alba* along the *Appian* way, with a deſign to open a communication with the country on that ſide; but *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Sertorius*, and *Carbo*, joining their forces, poſted themſelves above the conſular troops on the ſame *Appian* way; ſo that no proviſions could be conveyed from the country to the city. And now a famine beginning to be felt in the capital, the people complained loudly of the ſenate, as if they kept up a war for their own private intereſt, which expoſed them, their wives, and children to the danger of being ſtarved. To make the diſorder in *Rome* ſtill greater, *Cinna* treated under-hand with the citizens, and, by his emiſſaries, prevailed upon moſt of the ſlaves to ſhake off their maſters yoke, and take refuge in his camp, where they were declared free. The example of the ſlaves was followed by citizens of all ranks, who, abandoning the defence of the city, deſerted openly in large companies. The ſame ſpirit of mutiny and deſertion reigned in the conſular army, which viſibly decreaſed; inſomuch, that *Metellus*, deſpairing of being able to ſave *Rome*, left the camp, and retired into *Liguria*, whence he ſoon after paſſed over into *Africa*. The ſenate, ſeeing their party and authority daily declining, and fearing a general inſurrection, thought it time to come to a treaty with *Cinna*; and accordingly ſent deputies to his camp, with ſome overtures of peace. *Cinna*, before he would hear them, asked, whether they were come to treat with him as conſul, or only as a private man? This queſtion, which they did not expect, ſurpriſed them; and, as they had no inſtructions touching ſo nice a point, they deſired leave to return to *Rome* to conſult the ſenate. The conſcript fathers were greatly perplexed, not knowing what anſwer to give, nor what courſe to take. They thought it inconſiſtent both with honour and juſtice to depoſe *Merula*, a wiſe magiſtrate, whom they had in a manner compelled to quit the office of high-prieſt of *Jupiter*, and accept of the conſulſhip. On the other hand, as the city was cloſely blocked up on all ſides, and the famine increaſed daily, without any hopes of relief, it was to be feared, that the populace would riſe, and let the enemy into the city. In this dilemma, *Merula* himſelf, preferring, like a good citizen, the welfare of his country to his own honour, freely abdicated,

Rome *reduced to great ſtraits.*

w VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 21. JUL. OBSEQ. c. 116.

and

and by his abdication left the ſenate at liberty to acknowledge *Cinna* for lawful conſul. Accordingly, the conſcript fathers ſent back their deputies to him, with inſtructions to treat with him as conſul, and to invite him to *Rome*, to exerciſe there the functions of his dignity; however, they were ordered to require of him an oath, that he would ſpare the blood of the citizens, and put no *Roman* to death but by due form of law. *Cinna* refuſed to take that oath; but proteſted, that he would never give his conſent to the death of any citizen. He even ſent word to the conſul *Octavius*, that he would not do amiſs to retire from the city till the ſtorm was blown over. During this conference, *Marius*, who ſtood by, ſaid nothing; but the ſourneſs of his countenance and the ſternneſs of his looks threatened the city with blood and ſlaughter.

Cinna *acknowledged conſul.*

As ſoon as the meſſengers were diſmiſſed, *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Sertorius*, and *Carbo* began their march at the head of their troops, and advanced towards the city, the ſenate having ordered the gates to be opened to them. *Cinna* entered the city with a ſtrong guard; but *Marius* halted at the gate, and when he was preſſed to advance, he replied with a ſarcaſtical tone, That he was a baniſhed man, and conſequently debarred by the laws from entering; that therefore, if they had any occaſion for his ſervice, they muſt get that law repealed, which drove him into exile. Hereupon *Cinna* marched directly to the forum; and having aſſembled the people, propoſed to them the diſannulling of the decree which proſcribed *Marius* and his adherents; but *Marius*, impatient to ſhed the blood of his enemies, when only two or three tribes had voted, pulled off the maſk, and, without waiting for a lawful repeal, entered the city, ſurrounded by his guards, choſen from among the ſlaves, who had flocked to him, and whom he called his *Bardiæans* (R). The firſt order he gave theſe cruel and inhuman aſſaſſins was, immediately to murder all

Cinna *and* Marius *enter* Rome

Marius's *cruelty.*

(R) We are at a loſs to know how *Marius* came to give his guards this name. *Thuanus*, as appears from a note in the margin of his *Plutarch*, thought there was a fault in the text, and that, inſtead of *Bardiæans*, we ought to read *Bardyetes* or *Bardyaei*; for the *Bardyetes* were a moſt barbarous and ſavage nation in *Spain*, and this might very naturally induce *Marius* to call his guards by that name, on purpoſe to frighten the people, and make them tremble at the fierceneſs of their nature. There is a good deal of reaſon for this conjecture. However M. *Dacier*, in her notes on *Plutarch*, offers another: *Plutarch* tells us, ſays ſhe, that the greateſt grievance of the people was the abominable licentiouſneſs and infamous debaucheries of thoſe guards. It may therefore not abſurdly

all thoſe, who, coming to him and meeting him in the ſtreets, ſaluted him, and were not anſwered with the like civility. This ſignal was a general dead warrant, and great numbers of the flatterers, who came to make their court to the new tyrant, were cruelly maſſacred before his eyes. *Q. Ancharius*, a ſenator of great diſtinction, who had been honoured with the prætorſhip, choſe to pay his compliments to *Marius* when he was offering a ſacrifice in the capitol; but the tyrant caſting a fierce look upon him, he was inſtantly cut in pieces in the very temple of *Jupiter*. *Cinna*, for the preſent, exerciſed his cruelty only on his collegue *Octavius*, who ſtill took upon him to perform the functions of his office, and was therefore, at the inſtigation of *Cinna*, ſlain in his curule chair by *Cenſorinus*. But *Marius*'s *Bardiæans*, or *Bardiates*, ſet no bounds to their luſt, cruelty, and avarice: they firſt murdered their former maſters, abuſed their children, and inſulted their wives in the groſſeſt manner; then they extended their cruelty and licentiouſneſs to all ranks of perſons, not ſparing the moſt venerable matrons in the republic; and carried their iniquities to ſuch an exceſs, that *Cinna* and *Sertorius*, having conſulted together how to rid *Rome* of this barbarous crew, reſolved to put them all to death; and accordingly ſent a detachment to ſurpriſe them one night, while they were aſleep in the camp, and cut them all off to a man. *Marius* was much grieved at the loſs of his favourite guard; and being afraid, as he breathed nothing but blood, that *Cinna* had already ſatisfied his revenge, he deſired the heads of the faction to meet, in order to deliberate what kind of government they ſhould ſettle, ſince all the power was devolved upon *Cinna* after the death of his collegue. At his requeſt, *Cinna*, *Carbo* and *Sertorius* came to confer with him; and in this conference *Marius* is ſaid to have ſpoke like a madman. *Sertorius*, the only man among them who had any good principles or ſenſe of morality, endeavoured to moderate his fury; but in vain: *Cinna* and *Carbo* concurred in his ſentiments, and the reſolution they took, was to murder, without mercy, all the ſenators who had oppoſed the popular faction. Purſuant to this reſolution, *C. Attilius Serranus*, *P. Lentulus*, *Caius* and *Lucius Cæſar*, *C. Numitorius*, and *M. Bæbius*, all ſenators of great note, *Proſcriptions, murders, &c.*

[a] hardly be conceived, that *Marius* on that account, called them not his *Bardiæans*, but *Bardæans*, from the *Greek* word Βαρδὸν, which, in the *Cimbrician* dialect, ſignifies *to raviſh women*. But, after all, this may be refining too much on the matter, as the ſame writer obſerves. Perhaps *Plutarch* wrote not Βαρδιαίους, but Μαριανούς, that is, *the Marians, or the life guard of* Marius.

were

[a] Plutarch in Mario.

were murdered in the ſtreets. *P. Craſſus*, a young ſenator, endeavoured to make his eſcape; but being cloſely purſued by *Caius Fulvius Fimbria*, one of the moſt furious zealots of *Marius*'s party, his father meeting him, killed him, for fear he ſhould fall into the hands of his enemies, and then preſented himſelf before the bloody *Fimbria*, by whom he was inhumanly maſſacred. This ſlaughter laſted five days, during which time the beſt part of the ſenators were cut off, their heads were ſtuck upon poles over-againſt the roſtra, and their mangled bodies dragged with hooks into the forum, where they were left to be devoured by the dogs. However, *Metella*, the wife of *Sylla* and daughter of *Metellus Numidicus*, and her children, eſcaped this general ſlaughter. *Marius* indeed cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made after them; but they eluded the vigilance and fury of the tyrant, being privately conveyed out of town by ſome of *Sylla*'s friends. *Marius*, highly exaſperated at their eſcape, cauſed their houſe to be razed, their goods confiſcated, and *Sylla* himſelf to be declared an enemy to his country. While *Marius* was thus venting his brutal rage on *Sylla*'s friends in the city, his ſoldiers, the miniſters of his cruelty, were, like ſo many blood-hounds, diſperſed about the country, in ſearch of thoſe who had fled. The neighbouring towns, villages, and all the high-ways, ſwarmed with aſſaſſins. On this occaſion *Plutarch* obſerves with great concern, that the moſt ſacred ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality are not proof againſt treachery in the days of adverſity; for there were but very few who did not diſcover their friends, who had fled to them for ſhelter. He therefore, with a great deal of reaſon, commends and admires the fidelity of the ſlaves of *Cornutus* in that general defection. *Cornutus* had retired to a houſe in the country; and his faithful ſlaves, obſerving a company of ſoldiers hovering about the neighbourhood, concealed their maſter in the moſt private part of the houſe; and then taking up the body of one, whom the tyrant's officers had juſt murdered, carried it to the houſe, hung it up by the neck, put a gold ring on the finger, and ſhewed it in that condition to the ſoldiers, pretending it was the body of their maſter. They then buried it with great pomp and ſolemnity; and by this innocent artifice, which was perceived by no-body, they ſaved *Cornutus*, and conveyed him into *Gaul*. *Marcus Antonius*, grandfather to the triumvir, and the greateſt orator that had appeared in *Rome* till his time, was not ſo fortunate. He fled to the houſe of a faithful friend in the country, who endeavoured to ſave his life with great tenderneſs and affection. His friend was in low circumſtances; but, being proud of having

The fidelity of Cornutus's *ſlaves.*

having under his roof one of the greateſt men in *Rome*, reſolved to entertain him in the beſt manner he could. Accordingly he ſent his ſervant to a tavern in the neighbourhood for ſome of the beſt wine he could get. The vintner perceiving the ſervant nicer than uſual, taſting of ſeveral ſorts, and not ſatisfied but with the very beſt, aſked him, What made him ſo hard to pleaſe? The ſervant told him in confidence, as his truſty friend and acquaintance, That the wine was for the illuſtrious *Marcus Antonius*, who made ſo great a figure in the ſenate. My maſter, ſaid he, keeps that great man concealed in his houſe, and is reſolved on this occaſion to ſtretch his purſe, and make as much of him as he can. The ſervant was no ſooner gone, than the villain of a vintner went to *Marius*, who was then at ſupper, and told him, he could deliver *Antonius* into his hands. At this news *Marius* gave a great ſhout, clapped his hands for joy, and was for riſing from table and going to the place himſelf; but, being prevented by his friends, he ſent *Anius*, one of his wicked agents, attended by a body of ſoldiers, commanding him to bring *Antonius*'s head with all ſpeed. *Anius* himſelf waited at the door, and ſent in his ſoldiers to diſpatch the orator and bring him his head; but the aſſaſſins, notwithſtanding their natural barbarity, were ſo ſtruck at the ſight of this great man, and moved with the graces and charms of his eloquence, when he began to ſpeak and beg for his life, that tears dropped from their eyes, and none of them would touch him. *Anius*, impatient at their delays, went into the room, and ſeeing his ſoldiers all weeping, and quite ſoftened by the eloquence of that great orator, checked them ſeverely, and with his own hand cut off his head, and carried it to *Marius*, who, after he had made it matter of ſport to his gueſts, ordered it to be ſtuck up on a pole with the beſt before the roſtra. Such was the end of the greateſt orator *Rome* had ever bred. *Cicero*, who had often heard him, being at this time about twenty years old, calls him the wonder of his age, and adds, that to him it was owing, that *Italy* equalled *Greece* itſelf in the art of ſpeaking[w].

Marcus Antonius *betrayed and murdered.*

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[w] PLUT. in Mario APPIAN. bell civil. l. 1 CIC in Bruto, & alibi paſſim

tatius Catulus, who had been his collegue in the conſulate, and partner in the triumph over the *Cimbri*; and the virtuous *Cornelius Merula*, who had generouſly reſigned the conſular dignity to make room for *Cinna*. Great intereſt was made for *Catulus*; but to all thoſe, who interceded for him, *Marius* returned this cold anſwer, *He muſt die*. Hereupon *Catulus*, ſhutting himſelf up in a room, ſmothered or poiſoned himſelf. *Merula* likewiſe robbed his enemy of the cruel pleaſure of putting him to death. As he was high-prieſt of *Jupiter*, he went to the temple of that god, laid down his mitre, in which it was not lawful to die, and, then ſeating himſelf in his pontifical chair, ordered his veins to be opened. After he had bled ſome time, he advanced to the altar, ſprinkled it with blood, and uttering many imprecations againſt the tyrants, devoted them to *Pluto* and the infernal gods.

Catulus *and* Merula *kill themſelves.*

Cinna *names himſelf and* Marius *conſuls.*

THE conſulate of *Cinna* being near expiring, the citizens, who had ſeen the ſtreets for ſome time flowing with blood, and covered with heaps of dead bodies, hoped for ſome reſpite. But *Cinna*, unwilling to truſt them with chuſing him a ſucceſſor, of his own authority nominated himſelf and *Marius* conſuls for the next year. Accordingly, on the calends of *January*, they took poſſeſſion, one of his ſecond, the other of his ſeventh conſulſhip. *Marius* was now ſeventy years of age; but neither his ambition nor his cruelty were yet ſatiated. As he was coming out of his houſe to be inveſted, according to cuſtom, in his office, *Sextus Licinius* unhappily fell in his way, and was by his orders immediately thrown down from the *Tarpeian* rock. The ſame day he proſcribed two prætors; and his ſon, no leſs cruel than himſelf, killed the ſame day a tribune of the people with his own hand *.

Sylla *writes to the ſenate.*

IN the mean time, news came from all parts, that *Sylla*, having put an end to the war with *Mithridates*, was returning into *Italy* at the head of a great army. Soon after the ſenate received a long letter from the victorious general, wherein, with a lively ſtyle, he gave them an account of his victories, and complained of the injuries done him. After enumerating the many ſervices he had done the republic in her wars with the king of *Numidia*, with the *Cimbri*, the allies, and laſtly with *Mithridates*, the moſt powerful king in the eaſt, he concluded thus: For theſe important ſervices you have rewarded me, by ſetting a price upon my head;

* PLUT. APPIAN. ibid.

my

my friends are murdered without mercy, my wife and children are forced to abandon their native country; my houſe is razed; my goods confiſcated; and all the laws made in my conſulſhip abſolutely diſannulled. You may expect, conſcript fathers, to ſee me in a little time at the gates of *Rome* with a victorious army. And then I ſhall find means to revenge the perſonal injuries I have received; and to inflict ſignal puniſhments both on the tyrants themſelves, and the miniſters of their tyranny. This letter gave the two *conſuls* a great deal of uneaſineſs. *Marius*, now worn out with hardſhips and years, could no longer bear up his ſpirits flagging at the apprehenſion of a new war, which his own experience repreſented to him as very dangerous. He conſidered, that he had not now to do with an *Octavius* or *Mærula*, at the head of an undiſciplined rabble, but with *Sylla*, who was approaching with a victorious army, and who had once before driven him out of *Rome*. At the ſame time he called to mind all his paſt misfortunes, his flight, his baniſhment, the many dangers he had undergone, his tedious wanderings, *&c.* and, dreading to be expoſed anew to the ſame hazards in ſo advanced an age, he fell into great troubles, nocturnal frights, and broken ſlumbers, fancying every moment that he heard a voice, telling him, that *the den, even of an abſent lion, ought to be dreaded.* To divert theſe tormenting thoughts, he had recourſe to a remedy ſcarce known in thoſe days, but too common in ours. He gave himſelf up to exceſſive drinking, chuſing rather to loſe his reaſon, than to be continually haunted with melancholy thoughts. This new way of living ſoon bred a diſtemper which led him to his grave. *Poſidonius* the philoſopher, as quoted by *Plutarch*, tells us, that, having over-heated his blood by too much drinking, he fell into a pleuriſy. The ſame philoſopher adds, that he went to his houſe, when he was confined to his bed, and diſcourſed with him about ſome affairs relating to his embaſſy at *Rome*. But *Caius Piſo* ſeems to inſinuate, that he himſelf haſtened his end, though he does not tell us in what manner. He only relates that *Marius*, walking one night after ſupper with ſome of his friends, entertained them with a recital of all his adventures, which he concluded with ſaying, that it did not become a man of his years to truſt any longer ſo inconſtant a goddeſs as fortune. Having ended his diſcourſe, he embraced all about him with a tenderneſs very uncommon to him, went home, and took to his bed. He was ſeized with a delirium, during which, fancying himſelf general in the war againſt *Mithridates*, he uſed ſuch motions and geſtures as if he had been engaged in battle at the head of an army. At length

Marius *dreads the arrival of* Sylla.

He gives himſelf up to exceſſive drinking.

His death. after ſeven days illneſs he died, ſome ſay on the ſeventeenth, others on the thirteenth day, of his ſeventh conſulſhip.

And now the diſtreſſed city fondly imagined, that the inteſtine calamities, which had reduced her to the laſt extremity, were buried with *Marius*. But ſhe ſoon perceived, that ſhe had only changed her tyrant. *Cinna*, the ſurviving conſul, aſſociated with himſelf in the government, though not in the office of conſul, young *Marius*, who, as he had inherited the cruelty of his father, put all the ſenators he could find in *Rome* or its neighbourhood to the ſword. As all the power was lodged in the hands of *Cinna* and young *Marius*, they got *Valerius Flaccus*, a creature of old *Marius*, named to ſucceed him in the conſular dignity. He no ſooner entered upon his office, than he paſſed a moſt unjuſt law in favour of the people, declaring all debtors free from their debts, upon paying to their creditors one fourth of what they owed. Having by this law gained the affections of the indigent multitude, the new conſul conſulted with *Cinna* and *Marius*, how they ſhould prevent the return of *Sylla*, who had under his command a victorious and well-diſciplined army. The expedient they agreed on to put it out of the power of that general to give them any uneaſineſs, or to obſtruct their wicked meaſures, was, to nominate a perſon to ſucceed him in the command of the army in the eaſt, under pretence, that his authority was illegal, ſince he had been proſcribed by a decree of the ſenate. Purſuant to this ſcheme, the new conſul *Valerius Flaccus* was appointed to command the *Roman* forces in the *Levant*, and make war with *Mithridates*. But, as *Valerius* was no ſoldier, *Cinna* and *Marius* gave him for his counſellor and lieutenant *C. Fulvius Fimbria*, a ſenator, greatly eſteemed by the troops for his valour. *Fimbria*, though intirely addicted to the *Marian* faction, both deſpiſed and hated *Valerius*. However, he prepared to attend him, in compliance with the orders of *Cinna* and *Marius*, who were abſolute maſters in *Rome*. A ſquadron of ſhips was ſent with a conſiderable number of troops on board, with orders to land in one of the ports of *Theſſaly*, and there wait for *Valerius*, who was to follow with the reſt of the army. *Sylla* was at that time buſy in reſettling *Greece*, after having defeated *Archelaus* and *Taxiles*, two of *Mithridates*'s generals. The troops therefore that were to ſerve under *Valerius*, hearing of *Sylla*'s victories, inſtead of waiting for their unexperienced commander, deſerted all to a man, and joined the victorious proconſul, under whoſe conduct they promiſed themſelves great booty and glory. When the news of this deſertion was brought to *Rome*, it was reſolved there, that *Valerius* ſhould imbarque with two legions, and fal

Young Marius ſucceeds his father.

The conſul Valerius Flaccus appointed to command the forces of the republic, in the room of Sylla.

ſail directly for *Aſia* to carry on the war there with *Mithridates*. However, he did not leave *Rome* before *December*, towards the end of his conſulſhip, which was no ſooner expired, than *Cinna*, without ſo much as aſſembling the comitia, declared himſelf conſul the third time, and choſe for his collegue *Papirius Carbo*, one of the moſt furious zealots in *Rome* for the *Marian* faction. The other chief dignities in the republic were all filled with men wholly devoted to the intereſt of the reigning tyrant. In ſhort, the face of the republic was intirely changed, and the ancient laws and inſtitutions quite aboliſhed. All the friends of *Sylla*, whom the tyrants could get into their power, were inhumanly murdered, and their eſtates confiſcated. Men of any honour or probity were aſhamed to live in a city, which was now become a neſt of robbers and aſſaſſins. They therefore fled in crouds, and retired to *Sylla* in *Greece*, imploring his protection againſt their domeſtic tyrants. Upon their arrival *Sylla* haſtened to put an end to the war with *Mithridates*, which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of *Pontus*. But, before the articles of peace were agreed on, *Valerius Flaccus* arrived with his two legions at *Byzantium*, being ſent by *Cinna* to take upon him the command of the *Roman* forces in the *Levant*, and to purſue the war with *Mithridates*. He was ſcarce landed, when great differences aroſe between him and his lieutenant *Fimbria* about their quarters. The lieutenant, ſenſible of the want of abilities in his general, deſpiſed him, and ſtirred up the ſoldiery to mutiny. Hereupon *Valerius* depoſed him, and appointed one *Thermus* in his room. *Fimbria*, provoked at this affront, kept no bounds with his general, who, as he was hated by the ſoldiery for his harſh temper, thought it adviſeable to retire for ſome time from the army; and accordingly croſſed the *Boſporus*, and took up his quarters in *Chalcedon*. The audacious *Fimbria* followed him thither with the greateſt part of the army; which *Valerius* no ſooner heard, than, ſuſpecting his deſign, he fled to *Nicomedia*, ſhut the gates, and put himſelf in a condition to ſuſtain a ſiege againſt his ſubaltern. *Fimbria* purſued him, made himſelf maſter of *Nicomedia*, and finding him concealed in a well, dragged him out, and killed him with his own hand. *Cinna* and his ſenate, inſtead of puniſhing, rewarded the villany, by declaring the baſe aſſaſſin general of all the *Roman* troops in the *Levant*[y].

Cinna *declares himſelf conſul the third time with* Papirius Carbo.

Valerius Flaccus *arrives at* Byzantium.

Is murdered by his lieutenant Fimbria.

AND now *Fimbria*, ſeeing himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army, without any regard to the treaty, which was near

[y] APPIAN. bell. civil. & in Mithridatic. LIV. epit. l. lx xii. et. PLUT. in Sylla & Lucullo.

concluded

concluded between the king of *Pontus* and *Sylla*, renewed the war with great vigour. He defeated young *Mithridates* in a pitched battle, and obliged the king himself to take shelter behind the walls of *Pitane*, a strong city on the confines of *Æolis* and *Troas*. Thither *Fimbria* pursued him, and, having invested the place by land, sent messengers to *Lucullus*, *Sylla*'s quæstor and faithful friend, intreating him to prevent with the fleet, which he commanded, the king's retreat by sea.

Fimbria makes war upon Mithridates with success.

Had *Lucullus* complied with his request and shut up the mouth of the harbour, the proud *Mithridates* must have fallen into the hands of the *Romans*. But *Lucullus*, detesting the very name of *Fimbria*, sailed away, and left an open retreat to the king, when he might have easily taken him, and by that means prevented the bloody war, which that prince carried on for the space of forty years with the republic. However, *Fimbria* took *Pitane* and several other places, treating the inhabitants with unparallelled insolence and cruelty, as we have related at length in our history of *Pontus*. In the mean time, *Sylla*, having put the last hand to the peace in a conference with the king at *Dardanus*, marched against *Fimbria*, whom he found incamped under the walls of *Thyatira* in *Lydia*. And now two *Roman* armies seemed ready to entertain the *Asiatics* with a battle among themselves in the heart of *Asia*. *Sylla*, advancing within two furlongs of *Fimbria*'s camp, sent him a summons, *to surrender up his troops to him, divest himself of the command, and return to* Italy. *Fimbria* proudly answered, *that he despised the orders of a proscribed man, who was declared by the senate an enemy to his country.* Hereupon the two generals begin to prepare for a battle; but

Fimbria's men desert to Sylla.

Fimbria's treachery.

Fimbria's men declaring, that they would not take arms against their countrymen and friends, and great numbers of them deserting to *Sylla*, the treacherous *Fimbria* resolved to have his adversary assassinated. But the slave he employed for that base purpose betrayed himself by the terror that appeared in his looks, and then discovered the treachery of his master. This barbarous attempt exasperated *Sylla* to such a degree, that he immediately led his legions to attack the traytor in his trenches. *Fimbria*, finding his soldiers ready to abandon him, desired a conference with *Sylla*. But he, not caring to come near a traytor, who was capable of any desperate attempt, only sent *Rutilius*, one of his officers, to treat with him, and acquaint him, that if he would leave *Asia* and deliver up his troops, he would not only save his life, but furnish him with all necessaries for returning to *Italy*. *Return to* Italy! replied *Fimbria*; *no*; *I know a more expeditious way.* Having uttered these words, he retired to his tent, and soon after privately withdrew

to *Pergamus*, where he ſtabbed himſelf with his own ſword in the temple of *Æſculapius*. But, the wound not proving mortal, a faithful ſlave, who attended him, diſpatched him, and then plunged the ſword into his own breaſt [z]. *He kills himſelf.*

AND now *Sylla*, having no more enemies to contend with in *Aſia*, reſolved to return to *Italy*, where *Cinna* and *Papirius Carbo* had appointed themſelves conſuls for the next year. The former, to eſtabliſh himſelf more firmly in his uſurped authority, married his daughter *Cornelia* to a young patrician, whoſe extraordinary talents were already admired in *Rome*. This was the famous *Julius Cæſar*, who afterwards followed the ſteps of his father-in-law; and, being no leſs wicked, and more ſucceſsful, turned at laſt the republic into a monarchy. *Sylla*, before he left *Aſia*, wrote a letter to the ſenate of great temper and moderation; but when their deputies came to meet him at *Dyrrachium*, and intreat him not to carry his reſentments ſo far as to produce a civil war, he ſpoke a very different language, telling them, that he was coming to *Rome* full of rage and revenge; and that all his enemies, if the *Roman* people conſented to it, ſhould periſh either by the ſword, or the axes of the common executioners. Hereupon the two conſuls ordered *Marius*, and the other heads of the party, to raiſe forces and recruit the legions. Several armies were raiſed with incredible expedition, the new citizens and allies readily concurring to ſupport the cauſe of the conſuls, which they looked upon as their own. A fleet was likewiſe brought from *Sicily* to guard the coaſts of *Italy*. In a council of war, at which all the leading men of the party aſſiſted, it was reſolved, that one of the conſuls ſhould go and meet *Sylla* before he entered *Italy*, and carry the ſeat of the war into *Dalmatia*. This *Cinna* took upon himſelf, and accordingly cauſed ſome of his forces to be immediately tranſported thither. But the reſt of his ſoldiers refuſed to go on board, and began to mutiny. *Cinna* aſſembled his troops in order to appeaſe them, when one of the lictors, who ſurrounded the conſul as uſual, ſtruck a ſoldier who drew too near to the general. The ſoldier returned blow for blow, and called his comrades to his aſſiſtance. Upon this the ſtones flew about, and the legionaries, who were next to the conſul, fell *The ſenate ſend deputies to* Sylla.

[z] PLUT. in Sylla. ARRIAN. in Mithridat. LIV. epit l. lxxxiii. c. 32.

upon

Cinna *killed by one of his soldiers.*

upon him ſword in hand. *Cinna* fled, but a centurion overtaking him, buried his ſword in his body [a] (S).

UPON the death of *Cinna*, *Carbo* continued ſole maſter of the adminiſtration, till the end of the year. His firſt care was to bring back the troops which his collegue had ſent into *Dalmatia*. He then ordered new levies to be made in all the cities of the allies and in the *Roman* colonies, to keep *Sylla* out of *Italy* by force of arms. We are told, that the troops raiſed for this purpoſe amounted to two hundred thouſand men.

Several armies raiſed againſt Sylla.

They were divided into ſeveral bodies commanded by different generals; viz. *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Junius Norbanus*, whom *Carbo* had got choſen conſuls, *Appius Claudius*, *Sertorius*, young *Marius*, *Flavius Fimbria*, the brother of that *Fimbria* who had killed himſelf in *Aſia*, *M. Marius*, *Albinovanus*, and *Lucius Brutus Damaſippus*. In the mean time, *Sylla* was preparing to imbarque at *Dyrrachium*, now *Durazzo*, where he had ordered his fleet, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty ſail, to wait for him. When every thing was ready, he aſſembled his troops, and in the harangue he made to them, gave them by ſeveral hints to underſtand, that he was under ſome apprehenſion, leſt they ſhould diſperſe, and retire to their reſpective homes, as ſoon as they found themſelves on their native ſhore. Hereupon the whole army of their own accord took a new oath, promiſing to ſtand by him to the laſt, and to commit no devaſtations in *Italy*, which might raiſe the country againſt him. They even offered him all the gold and ſilver they had got in the war with *Mithridates*. But *Sylla*, thanking them for their generoſity, declined their offer, and being now well aſſured of their fidelity and affection, he imbarqued, and put to ſea, as he himſelf tells us, againſt fifteen generals and four hundred and fifty cohorts. He had a proſperous paſſage, and landed his troops to the number of forty thouſand men at *Brunduſium* and *Tarentum*,

Sylla *lands in* Italy.

[a] Liv. Appian. ibid Auth. de vir. illuſtr.

(S) *Plutarch* relates this matter very differently. He ſays, that *Pompey* came to *Cinna*'s camp, and that the cold reception he met with there giving him reaſon to believe that his life was not ſafe, he privately withdrew. His abſence raiſed great murmurs in the army, the ſoldiers imagining, that *Cinna* had ſacrificed him to his jealouſy. This report being ſpread among the troops, they firſt demanded young *Pompey* with loud clamours, and then fell with great fury on the general, whom they charged with his death, and cut him in pieces (11).

(11) *Plut. in Pomp.*

rentum, without meeting with any oppoſition. There the army reſted a few days, to refreſh themſelves after the fatigues of the ſea, and then began their march croſs *Calabria* and *Apulia* in ſearch of the enemy. On his march he was joined by *Metellus Pius*, who, during the tyranny of old *Marius*, had fled into *Liguria*. *Sylla*, who had no other title but that of proconſul, received him as his collegue, and both advanced at the head of the army into *Campania*, keeping their troops under the moſt exact diſcipline. The conſul *Norbanus* was incamped between *Capua* and *Caſilinum*, in order to ſtop *Sylla*'s march; which the proconſul no ſooner underſtood, than he diſpatched two of his officers to him with offers of a pacification. Whether he was really inclined to concord, or artfully diſſembled the rage he concealed in his heart, is uncertain. However that be, his offers were rejected, and his deputies groſsly inſulted, which ſo incenſed *Sylla*'s troops, that they ran to arms without orders from their general, drew up in battalia, and went out to inſult *Norbanus* in his camp. Hereupon an action enſued, in which the conſul was defeated, and ſix thouſand of his men killed on the ſpot. The fame of this action drew many of the contrary faction to *Sylla*'s camp, and amongſt the others *Cethegus*, *Verres*, and *Piſo*, all three men of great diſtinction, and hitherto moſt furious zealots of the *Marian* faction. *Verres*, who was quæſtor of the proconſul *Carbo*'s army, brought with him his military cheſt, a preſent very acceptable to *Sylla*. But, in the mean time, the conſul *Scipio* drawing near, the proconſul's army was in a manner ſurrounded by the innumerable forces of the enemy. In this diſtreſs *Sylla* had recourſe to his old artifice of pretending to treat of peace; and accordingly ſent deputies to the conſul's camp to propoſe an accommodation, pretending, that he was much grieved at the calamities to which the republic muſt be expoſed by a civil war. *Scipio*, who was ſincerely diſpoſed to peace, hearkened to the overtures that were made him, and by way of preliminary agreed to a truce, during which, there being a free intercourſe between the two camps, *Sylla*'s men found means to debauch the whole conſular army; inſomuch, that when *Sylla* detached twenty cohorts, as it were, to force the conſul's trenches, the conſular troops, all to a man, came out to meet them, and joining them marched back with them to *Sylla*'s camp. The conſul and his ſon, being deſerted by their whole army, which conſiſted of forty cohorts, were ſeized by *Sylla*'s ſoldiers, who delivered them up to their general. But he, being under no apprehenſions from commanders, who could be ſo eaſily over-reached, let

them both at liberty, and gave them a guard to conduct them ſafe to the neareſt quarters of their friends. When news of this general deſertion was brought to *Carbo*, who was then incamped in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, he cried out in great ſurpriſe, *We have both a fox and a lion to deal with; but the fox is more formidable than the lion* [b].

Pompey *makes his firſt appearance.*

The news of the great advantages *Sylla* was daily gaining, over the generals of the adverſe party, prompted young *Pompey* to declare for him. He aſſembled troops in *Picenum*, where his family had a great many friends and clients, and taking upon him, of his own authority, the title of general, though he was then but twenty three years of age, obliged moſt of the towns of *Picenum* to declare for *Sylla*. The ſmall army he commanded increaſed ſo faſt, that in a ſhort time he had men enough to form three legions; and at the head of theſe, after he had appointed them their tribunes and centurions, he advanced towards *Campania* to join *Sylla*. The march of the brave youth, which was ſignalized by the reduction of many cities, drew upon him three generals, who commanded armies in that neighbourhood under the conſuls. *Carinas*, *Cælius*, and *Brutus* agreed to obſtruct his march by attacking him in different places. *Brutus* oppoſed him the firſt with a conſiderable army, conſiſting chiefly of *Gauliſh* horſe. But *Pompey* at the head of his own cavalry defeated that of the *Gauls*, after having killed with his own hand the *Gaul* who commanded them. He then fell ſword in hand on *Brutus*'s infantry, cut moſt of them in pieces, and forced the reſt to ſave themſelves by a diſorderly flight. This ſucceſs, which was chiefly owing to the young general's perſonal bravery, ſo damped the courage of the two other generals, that they reſolved to quit the field, and leave the country open to the conqueror. However, he had not advanced far before he was met by the conſul *Scipio*, who, ſince the deſertion of his troops had raiſed a new army. But the infantry on both ſides were no ſooner in ſight, than the conſul's troops went all over to the young hero; ſo that *Scipio*, deſerted a ſecond time by his army, was forced to retire with ſhame. *Pompey*'s name being now become formidable to the adverſe party, *Papirius Carbo*, quitting *Gaul*, haſtened after him, in order to prevent his joining *Sylla*. His cavalry came up with him at the river *Æſis*, which divides *Picenum* and *Umbria*; but the young general having repulſed them with great vigour, purſued his march, and at laſt reached

[b] Plut. Appian. ibid.

Sylla's

Sylla's camp, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of eſteem and ſincere friendſhip. *Sylla*, charmed with the account he gave him of his exploits, honoured him, though he had not yet a ſeat in the ſenate, with the title of *Imperator*, which the legionaries gave but rarely to their braveſt generals. *Rome* being greatly alarmed at the increaſe of *Sylla*'s army, the two conſuls as well as *Carbo* drew near it, in order to keep up their party there, and defend the city in caſe of an attack. The conſul *Norbanus* incamped without the walls on the road to *Campania*; and *Carbo*, entering *Rome* at the head of his army, forced the ſenate to declare *Metellus*, *Pompey*, and all the patricians who had joined *Sylla*, enemies to their country. The reſt of the campaign was employed on both ſides in private negotiations, each party endeavouring to debauch the allies of the other. *Sylla*, a great maſter in that art, ſent conſiderable ſums into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and by that means gained over ſeveral *Gauliſh* nations to his intereſt. On the other hand, the oppoſite faction ſent *Sertorius* into *Spain*, to keep thoſe vaſt provinces in awe, and prevent them from declaring for *Sylla*. At the ſame time, young *Marius* prevailed on the *Samnites* to join him with an army of forty thouſand men, under the command of *Pontius Teleſinus*, an able commander, who had gained great reputation in the war of the confederates [c].

AND now, the conſular year being near expired, *Carbo*, who tyrannized at *Rome* without controul, forced the tribes to chuſe himſelf and young *Marius* conſuls for the next year. As the winter, which was very ſevere, ſuſpended hoſtilities on both ſides for ſome months, the conſuls made it their whole buſineſs to raiſe money for the ſupport of the troops, which they had levied in moſt of the provinces of *Italy*. But, the public treaſury being quite exhauſted, they extorted a decree from the ſenate, impowering them to ſtrip the temples of their ornaments, and turn all the gold and ſilver they found in them into money. The conſuls having now wherewithal to pay their troops, and the rigour of the ſeaſon being abated, their armies took the field, and went in queſt of the enemy. The firſt battle was fought on the banks of the *Æſis*, between *Carinas*, one of the conſul's generals, and *Metellus Pius*, who was immoveably attached to *Sylla*. The action proved very bloody, and laſted from morning to night. But *Metellus* at length obliged *Carinas* to retire, and ſoon after made him-

Papirius Carbo *and young* Marius *conſuls.*

Carinas defeated by Metellus.

[c] Appian. Liv. Plut. ibid.

The cruelty of young Marius.

ſelf maſter of his camp. The news of this defeat exaſperated young *Marius* to ſuch a degree againſt *Sylla* and his adherents, that he ſent orders to *Junius Brutus*, then prætor in *Rome*, to put all *Sylla*'s friends in the city to death. This order was executed with the utmoſt cruelty; not one of thoſe, whom the inhuman prætor could get into his power, was ſpared. Among the ſlain were *Papirius Carbo*, the conſul's brother, *P. Antiſtius*, father-in-law to *Pompey*, *L. Domitius*, and the great *Mutius Scævola*, pontifex maximus. The latter took refuge in the temple of *Veſta*; but the prætor's agents followed him thither, and murdered him at the foot of the altar.

The account *Sylla* received of theſe cruelties made him reſolve to quit *Campania*, and draw near to *Rome*. Accordingly, he advanced to *Setia* on the banks of the *Liris*, where he was met by young *Marius* at the head of eighty five cohorts. *Sylla* reſolved, contrary to the advice of all his officers, to venture an engagement, being encouraged by a dream, in which the night before he imagined to ſee old *Marius* adviſing his ſon to beware of the following day, which might be of fatal conſequence to him. Both armies engaged with great intrepidity, and fought with unparallelled bravery. The ſucceſs was long doubtful; but at length *Marius*'s right wing gave way, and the diſpute was ended by the deſertion of ſeven of his cohorts, who all in a body went over to *Sylla*. Their example drew many others, which ſtruck the conſular army with ſuch terror, that they all betook themſelves to flight, and diſperſed about the fields. The conqueror purſued them, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives.

Marius *defeated by* Sylla.

Marius *flies to* Prænesle.

The vanquiſhed, ſeeing themſelves cloſely purſued, fled to *Prænesle* in ſuch numbers, that the inhabitants were forced to ſhut the gates before the conſul arrived; ſo that he was drawn up with a cord, and by that means eſcaped for the preſent the fury of his purſuers. All the reſt, who were left without the walls, periſhed by the ſwords of the enemy. *Sylla*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, tells us in his memoirs, that on this occaſion twenty thouſand of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot, and eight thouſand taken priſoners; whereas he loſt in all but three and twenty men [d].

Prænelle *inveſted*

Sylla, flattering himſelf that he ſhould put an end to the war by taking *Marius*, inſtantly inveſted *Prænesle*; but, as the place was too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, he reſolved to reduce it by famine; and with this view he ſurrounded it with a broad and deep ditch, placing guards at proper diſ-

[d] Plut. in Sylla.

tances

tances to prevent the conveying in of any proviſions. He committed the care of the blockade to one *Lucretius Ofella*, a ſoldier of fortune, whom he had lately gained over from *Marius*'s party. As for himſelf, he marched with a ſtrong detachment towards *Rome*, which, he was informed, the friends of *Marius* had abandoned upon the news of his defeat. The citizens, oppreſſed with famine and all the calamities that attend a civil war, opened the gates to him; ſo that he entered the city without oppoſition, and incamped in the *Campus Martius*. And now ſeeing himſelf maſter of the capital, he aſſembled the people, complained to them of the injuſtice done him by his enemies, confiſcated the eſtates of all thoſe who adhered to *Marius*, promoted his friends to the offices he found vacant by the flight of thoſe who had oppoſed him; and then, without ſtaining his firſt coming to the capital with any acts of cruelty, returned to his camp before *Præneſte*. In the mean time, *Carbo*, having raiſed a numerous army in *Ciſalpine Gaul* and *Hetruria*, drew near to *Præneſte*, with a deſign to throw ſuccours into the place. But *Sylla* meeting him, a bloody action enſued, which laſted from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet, without any advantage on either ſide. During the engagement, *Marcius Cenſorinus*, one of *Carbo*'s generals, at the head of eight legions, attempted to force the enemy's trenches in another quarter; but he was repulſed by *Pompey* and *Craſſus*. A few days after, theſe two generals were attended with equal ſucceſs againſt *C. Albinius Carinas*, whom they defeated, after having killed five thouſand of his men. *Sylla*'s other generals gained ſtill greater advantages in ſeveral parts of *Italy*. The two *Servilii* beat the conſular troops near *Cluſium*; *Marcus Lucullus* defeated another army near *Fidentia*; and *Metellus* gained a ſignal victory over the united forces of *Carbo* and *Norbanus* in the neighbourhood of *Faventia*. Ten thouſand of them were cut in pieces, and ſix thouſand went over to *Metellus*. Upon the news of this defeat, a legion, which lay at ſome diſtance from *Metellus*'s camp, under the command of *Albinovanus*, immediately forſook him, and joined *Metellus*. Hereupon *Albinovanus*, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe in the party he had embraced, abandoned it in ſo criminal a manner as has made his name infamous. He invited *Norbanus* his general, *C. Apuſtius*, *Flavius Fimbria*, and moſt of the chief officers of his party, to an entertainment. *Norbanus* was prevented, by an unforeſeen accident, from complying with the invitation; and this ſaved him; for the reſt when they were in the height of their jollity and mirth, were barbarouſly maſſacred by a band

Sylla enters Rome.

Great advantages gained by Sylla and his generals.

The treachery of Albinovanus.

band of aſſaſſins, whom the traitor had hired for that purpoſe. Such are the effects of party-zeal and domeſtic diſſenſions. *Albinovanus*, thinking himſelf ſufficiently recommended to *Sylla* by this black piece of treachery, withdrew to his camp, with all the accomplices of his crime. *Norbanus*, not knowing any longer whom to truſt, went on board a veſſel, which he found ready to ſet ſail for *Rhodes*, and arrived ſafe in that iſland. *Sylla* ſent immediately to demand him of the *Rhodians*; but while they were deliberating how to behave in ſo nice an affair, *Norbanus* prevented their coming to a determination by ſtabbing himſelf in the middle of the market-place [c].

Norbanus *flies to* Rhodes, *where he kills himſelf.*

In the mean time, *Carbo*, after having attempted ſeveral times in vain to relieve his collegue *Marius* cloſely beſieged in *Præneſte*, retired into *Hetruria* to reinforce his army there with new levies. But while he was encamped near *Cluſium*, news was brought him, that *M. Lucullus* had, with ſixteen cohorts, defeated fifty cohorts of his beſt troops, under the command of *Quinctius*, in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*, killed eighteen thouſand of them, and taken their camp. This misfortune ſtruck *Carbo* with ſuch terror, that, deſpairing of ſucceſs in *Italy*, he withdrew privately from his army, though thirty thouſand ſtrong, and with a few friends embarqued for *Africa*, to carry on the war there. Upon the news of his flight, *Pompey* and the *Servilii* haſtened to attack the army he had left in the neighbourhood of *Cluſium*, which, as it was deſtitute of a general, made but a faint reſiſtance; twenty thouſand men were killed upon the ſpot, and the reſt either taken or diſperſed. And now one of the three chief ſupporters of the *Marian* faction being dead, another fled, and the third ready to periſh with want in an inveſted town, without any hopes of eſcaping, *Sylla* began to think the war at an end. But a new enemy, more brave and reſolute than any *Sylla* had yet encountered, entering the liſts againſt the conqueror, had like to have humbled him, and turned the ſcales in favour of the oppoſite party. This was *Pontius Teleſinus*, a *Samnite* of noble extraction and great experience in war; who having raiſed an army of forty thouſand men, partly *Lucanians* and partly *Samnites*, joined them to thoſe of *Carinas*, *Brutus*, and *Cenſorinus*; and with theſe three chiefs advanced boldly to make a laſt effort, and either relieve *Marius* in *Præneſte*, or periſh in the

Carbo *retires to* Africa.

Teleſinus *the* Samnite *joins the generals of the* Marian *faction.*

[c] Plut. in Sylla. Appian de bell. civil. l. i. Vell. Paterc. l. ii.

attempt

attempt. *Sylla*, being informed of their motions, advanced to meet them at the head of his victorious army, and at the ſame time ſent orders to *Pompey*, who commanded another body, to follow *Teleſinus*, and fall on his rear, while he attacked him in front. The *Samnite*, finding himſelf in a manner ſurrounded by two armies, ſo that he could neither advance nor retire, without being attacked by both at the ſame time, decamped ſilently in the night, and over-reaching the two generals, inſtead of purſuing his march to *Præneſte*, took the rout to *Rome*, which he knew was not in a condition to ſuſtain a ſiege. His march was ſo expeditious, that, before break of day, he came within ten furlongs of the *Collatine* gate. His approach threw the city into the utmoſt confuſion. The gates were immediately ſhut; the men ran to arms, and appeared on the walls; the women all in tears crouded to the temples to implore the aſſiſtance of the gods. *Teleſinus* was a ſecond *Hannibal* at the gates of *Rome*, and already thought himſelf maſter of it. He then pulled off the maſk, and, ſhewing himſelf as much an enemy to *Marius* as to *Sylla*, declared to his troops, who were moſtly *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, that his deſign was not to aſſiſt one *Roman* againſt another, but to extirpate, if poſſible, the whole nation, utterly deſtroy the proud city, and bury its inhabitants under the ruins. He walked through all the lines and ranks of his army, encouraging his men to lay hold of the opportunity which offered of humbling the proud republic, and putting her out of a condition of pretending to lord it over the reſt of *Italy*. *Let fire and ſword*, ſaid he, *deſtroy all*; *let no quarter be given*; *mankind can never be free ſo long as one* Roman *is left alive.* His troops, fired by ſuch a ſpeech, advanced with great fury. The *Roman* youth marched out to oppoſe them, under the conduct of *Appius Claudius*, a young patrician of noble extraction and great hopes. But he was killed, and the reſt forced back into the city with great ſlaughter. In the mean time *Sylla*, receiving intelligence of the enemy's march, detached ſeven hundred horſe under the command of *Balbus*, with orders to ride full gallop to *Rome*, and throw themſelves into the city, while he advanced with the utmoſt expedition at the head of all the infantry of his army. The arrival of *Balbus* raiſed the drooping ſpirits of the citizens, who had given themſelves up for loſt. But the ſudden appearance of *Sylla*, at the head of his army, occaſioned ſuch joy among all ranks of men as can hardly be expreſſed. He arrived about noon, and incamped near the temple of *Venus*. After he had allowed his men a few minutes to refreſh themſelves, he called them again to arms, and drew them up in order

Overreaches Sylla *and* Pompey, *and marches to* Rome.

He repulſes the Romans.

Sylla *baſtens to the relief of the city.*

order of battle. *Dolabella* and *Torquatus*, two of his lieutenants, endeavoured to diſſuade him from expoſing his troops, harraſſed and ſpent as they were, to a deſperate puſh, when all lay at ſtake. They remonſtrated to him, that he had not a *Marius* or a *Carbo* to deal with, but an experienced general at the head of the *Lucanians* and *Samnites*, two of the moſt warlike nations in *Italy*, and the moſt inveterate enemies of the *Roman* name. But *Sylla*, without hearkening to their remonſtrances, ordered the trumpets to ſound the charge, and began the attack. The fight was the ſharpeſt and moſt bloody that had happened during the whole courſe of the war. The *Samnites*, animated by the example of the brave *Teleſinus*, behaved with their uſual valour, and put the left wing of the *Romans*, where *Sylla* himſelf commanded, into great confuſion. Several cohorts fled, and entire legions, not able to keep their ground againſt the *Samnites*, who puſhed them with incredible vigour, began to retire. *Sylla* did all that lay in his power to rally them, and bring them back to the charge. He even preſented himſelf ſword in hand before the runaways to ſtop their flight. But all in vain; the legionaries, who had behaved ſo gallantly in *Aſia*, without any regard to the command or danger of their general, thought only of ſaving themſelves by a ſhameful flight, ſome of them haſtening back to their camp, and others ſtriving to get into the city. The *Samnites* made a dreadful havock of the fugitives, and *Sylla* himſelf narrowly eſcaped death. As he was flying from line to line, mounted on a white courſer, two *Samnites*, knowing him by his equipage, levelled their javelins at him, which one of his attendants perceiving, gave his horſe a laſh, which made him bounce forwards ſo ſeaſonably, that the javelins juſt grazed upon his tail, and fell deep into the ground at ſome diſtance from him. In this imminent danger *Sylla* took out of his boſom a little golden image of *Apollo*, which he brought from *Delphos*, and conſtantly carried about him in all engagements; and, as danger and fear uſually awaken religious ſentiments, he addreſſed himſelf to it in the following words; *Great* Apollo *the* Pythian, *thou who haſt granted* Cornelius Sylla *victory in ſo many engagements, and raiſed him to the higheſt pitch of glory, haſt thou at laſt brought him to the very gates of his native city to fall there ignominiouſly with his fellow-citizens?* He then endeavoured anew to rally the fugitives. Some of them he threatened, others he conjured only to face about, and look on the enemy. But when he found all was to no purpoſe, and that the left wing was entirely broken, and put to flight, he had no reſource but in a retreat; and accordingly endeavoured

Engages Teleſinus.

Sylla's left wing defeated.

Sylla in great danger.

Sylla forced to fly to his camp.

with

with the reſt to gain the camp, after having loſt a great number of his friends, and ſome of the moſt conſiderable officers of the army. A great many of the citizens likewiſe, whoſe curioſity had led them out to be ſpectators of the engagement, were trod under foot by the enemy's horſe; others were ſhut out, and left at the mercy of the victorious *Samnites*, and ſome, among whom were ſeveral ſenators, ſtifled in the croud. A great many of the fugitives retired to the camp before *Præneſte*, which they filled with terror, reporting, that *Sylla* was certainly killed, his army cut in pieces, and *Rome* in the hands of the *Samnites*[c].

The Samnite *army defeated by* Craſſus.

IN the mean time, *M. Craſſus*, who commanded the right wing of the *Roman* army, having put to flight *Carinas*, who commanded the enemy's left, fell unexpectedly upon the victorious *Samnites*, charged them with unparalleled bravery, overpowered them, and at length by putting them to flight, ſaved, we may ſay, *Rome* from undergoing the fate of *Carthage* and *Corinth*. *Sylla* was defeated; *Rome* was not in a condition to ſtand a ſiege; and the brave *Samnite*, not knowing the fate of his left wing, was advancing to the gates of the defenceleſs city, crying out to his ſoldiers, as they marched along, *Courage, my brave* Samnites, *courage! we ſhall be ſoon maſters of* Rome. *There is no ſafety for us, till we have deſtroyed that den of wolves, which watch all opportunities to devour us.* And indeed, had it not been for *Craſſus*, this great metropolis had been buried in its ruins, and liberty reſtored to the reſt of the world. The *Samnites*, now no more conquerors, but conquered, fled to *Antemnæ*, whither *Craſſus* purſued them, and from thence ſent an expreſs to acquaint *Sylla* with his victory. In this engagement *Teleſinus* was killed at the head of his troops, after having given ſuch proofs of valour, as intitle him to a place among the greateſt heroes of antiquity. *Carinas*, *Brutus*, and *Cenſorinus*, were all taken priſoners, and ſoon after beheaded by *Sylla*'s orders. That general, upon notice given him by *Craſſus* of the defeat and flight of the enemy's army, haſtened to *Antemnæ*, and there, as he had now no enemy to fear, he gave the firſt inſtances of his cruel and barbarous temper. For as he approached the place, three thouſand of thoſe unhappy wretches, who had taken ſhelter there, having ſent deputies to him, intreating him to ſpare their lives, and promiſing him an inviolable fidelity, the cruel general anſwered, that he would ſpare their lives, provided they put ſuch of their comrades to death as refuſed to join them. Up-

Teleſinus *is killed.*

Sylla's *cruelty.*

[c] PLUT & APPIAN. ibid.

on this they fell upon their fellow-ſoldiers ſword in hand, killed a great number of them, and then preſented themſelves before *Sylla* without arms, and in the poſture of ſuppliants. He pretended to pardon them, and carried both thoſe who had ſurrendered, and the reſt, to the number of ſix, or, as *Appian* will have it, eight thouſand men, to *Rome*, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the people. Upon his arrival he cauſed thoſe unfortunate wretches to be ſhut up in the circus, and then ſummoned the ſenate to meet in the temple of *Bellona*, which ſtood near the circus. When the fathers were met, he began to harangue them; but while they were hearkening with great attention to his ſpeech, his troops, purſuant to their orders, entered the circus, and fell ſword in hand upon the unfortunate priſoners confined there. The cries and groans of ſo many men, butchered in ſo narrow a place, alarmed the ſenators, who were not acquainted with his orders, and filled them with terror. But *Sylla*, with great unconcern and compoſure in his countenance, addreſſing himſelf to the conſcript fathers, *Attend*, ſaid he, *to what I am ſaying, and don't trouble your heads about what is doing without doors: the noiſe you hear is occaſioned by ſome offenders, whom I have ordered to be chaſtiſed.* He then continued his diſcourſe with great calmneſs, telling the fathers, that he deſigned to ſettle the republic upon the ſame foot on which it ſtood in the beſt of times. But when the ſenators were informed of the maſſacre in the circus, they plainly ſaw, that they were ſtill under tyranny, and had only changed their tyrant, which was to them matter of no leſs ſurpriſe than grief and terror. For in *Sylla* the nobility had hoped to find a friend, and the people a protector. He had been from his youth inclined to mirth, and was not only of a jovial, but of ſo compaſſionate a temper, that he had been often ſeen to weep upon very ſlight occaſions. But the change of fortune introduced, in a manner, a change of nature, and begot pride, arrogance, inhumanity, and all thoſe vices, which, generally ſpeaking, attend an uncontrouled power and authority.

Præneſte *ſurrenders.*

THE inhabitants and gariſon of *Præneſte* no ſooner heard of the defeat of *Teleſinus* than they delivered up the city to *Oſella*. *Marius* endeavoured to make his eſcape through ſome ſubterraneous paſſages; but finding them all guarded, where they opened into the country, by *Sylla*'s ſoldiers, he laid violent hands on himſelf, as ſome writers tell us, to avoid falling into the power of his enemies. Others ſay, that *Pontius Teleſinus*, brother to him who commanded the *Samnite* army, and the young conſul engaged in a ſingle combat

combat with a design to kill each other, and that *Pontius* falling first, *Marius* ordered a slave to kill him. His head was brought to *Sylla*, who looking upon it with an air of arrogance and contempt, *What did this rash boy mean*, said he, *in pretending to govern the rudder, before he had learned to handle the oar?* His head was afterwards by *Sylla*'s orders exposed in the forum to inspire terror. All the *Samnites* and *Prænestines* able to bear arms were put to the sword, and the city was given up to be plundered; so that from being one of the most populous and rich cities of *Italy*, it became at once the most poor and desolate. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Sylla* upon the news of the surrender of *Præneste* hastened thither, in order to bring the inhabitants and *Samnite* prisoners to a formal trial, that he might put them to death with some show of justice. Accordingly, he began with citing each particular person before his tribunal, and, after hearing their defence, pronounced sentence like an impartial judge. But finding this a work of too much time, he ordered them all, to the number of twelve thousand men, to be cooped up close in one place, and gave a general order for their execution. They were all inhumanly massacred in the presence of the tyrant, who beheld that cruel butchery, and heard the cries and groans of those unfortunate men, with as much calmness and unconcern, as if he had been assisting at a public show. He was pleased to except one out of the number of the victims, and offer him his life, because he had formerly entertained him in his house. But the generous *Prænestine* rejected the offer with the utmost indignation; *I scorn*, said he, *to owe my life to the butcher of my country.* This said, he mixed with his fellow-citizens, and perished in the general slaughter. About the same time *Norba*, a city of *Campania*, being after a long siege reduced to the last extremity by *Æmilius Lepidus*, one of *Sylla*'s generals, the inhabitants, dreading the fate of the *Prænestines*, set fire to their houses, and perished with all their effects in the flames [f].

Marius killed.

Sylla's cruelty towards the Prænestines.

Norba taken.

THE taking of *Præneste* and *Norba* put an end to the civil war in *Italy*. *Sylla* therefore, having placed in all the *Italian* provinces such governors, as were intirely at his devotion, and pitched several little camps in different districts to keep the country in awe, returned to *Rome*, which he entered at the head of his troops. The same day he assembled the people in the comitium, and told them with a haughty air, *He pre-*

to the people in the Comitium

[f] PLUT. APPIAN. ibid. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. VELL. PATERCUL. l. i.

that he had conquered; but that thoſe, who had made him take arms againſt his country, ſhould expiate the blood they had made him ſhed, with their own. *I will not ſpare one,* ſaid he, *who has borne arms againſt me. They ſhall all periſh to a man.* Theſe words from a man, who was abſolute maſter of their lives and fortunes, made the moſt intrepid tremble. They filled the whole city with dread and horror; and the conſternation was doubled the next day, when they ſaw fixed up in all public places a liſt of proſcribed perſons, containing the names of forty ſenators and ſixteen hundred knights. If any man gave ſhelter to a perſon proſcribed, though his ſon, his brother, or his father, death was the certain reward of his humanity; whereas the aſſaſſin was recompenſed with two talents, though a ſlave had murdered his maſter, or a ſon his father. The children and grandchildren of thoſe he proſcribed were by an edict declared infamous, and their eſtates confiſcated. The tyrant choſe ſuch agents to execute his decrees, as had even leſs pity than himſelf. The chief of theſe was the infamous *Catiline*, whoſe ſeditious enterpriſes we ſhall relate hereafter. That profligate wretch, though yet very young, had ſometime before killed his brother; and now, to juſtify his crime, he prevailed upon *Sylla* to inſert his brother's name among the proſcribed. This favour ſo attached him to the tyrant, that he became the chief inſtrument of all his cruelties. At the head of a band of aſſaſſins, he ſcoured the ſtreets, and killed many knights, and ſenators, before they knew they were proſcribed. The perſons named in the liſt were ſought for in their own houſes, in the porticoes, and even in the temples, whence they were dragged to *Sylla*, and cruelly butchered in his preſence. Nor was the maſſacre confined to thoſe named in the liſt. *Sylla* extended his revenge to all who had borne arms againſt him, of what rank ſoever or condition. Nay, his cruel agents took this opportunity to gratify their private revenge and avarice, confounding the moſt innocent and peaceable with the moſt guilty, out of ſome private grudge, or purely for the ſake of their wealth and rich furniture. In ſhort, the ſlaughter was ſo dreadful, that *Sylla* was reproached with it even by his beſt friends. Among others a young ſenator, named *Caius Metellus*, ventured one day to aſk him in full ſenate, when he deſigned to put a ſtop to the calamities of his fellow-citizens? *We do not*, ſaid he, *intercede for ſuch as you have reſolved to deſtroy; but only deſire you to free thoſe from their uneaſineſs whom you have determined to ſave.* *Sylla*, without ſeeming to take this bold ſpeech amiſs, anſwered cooly, that he

His proſcriptions.

Catiline *the miniſter of his cruelties.*

Rome *turned into a ſhambles.*

Metellus's *courage.*

he knew not yet whom he ſhould ſave. *Name to us then*, replied *Metellus*, *thoſe you have determined to deſtroy. That I will do*, anſwered *Sylla* very ſmartly, and immediately cauſed a new liſt to be fixed up of eighty citizens whom he proſcribed, moſt of them ſenators and perſons of great diſtinction. The next day he proſcribed two hundred and twenty more, and an equal number the third. Among theſe were *Carbo*, *Scipio*, *Sertorius*, and *Marcus Marius*; the three former were out of the tyrant's reach; but the latter, who was nearly related to the great *Marius*, and highly favoured by the people, was ſeized by *Catiline* and put to death, after having ſuffered the moſt exquiſite torments tyranny could invent. He was whipped through all the ſtreets of *Rome*, and after this ignominious puniſhment carried beyond the *Tiber*, where by *Sylla*'s barbarous agents his eyes were put out, his hands and ears cut off, his tongue tore out, all his joints diſlocated, and his bones broken. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that one *Marcus Plætorius*, being moved at ſuch an affecting ſight, could not help pitying the unfortunate young man; which ſo offended *Sylla*, that he ordered him to be killed upon the ſpot. Even that natural compaſſion for the unhappy, which no man of any humanity can prevent, was judged criminal and worthy of death (T). And now, after nine thouſand ſenators, knights, and citizens had been inhuman-

M. Marius *put to a cruel death.*

(T) *Marius* was ſcarce expired in his torments, when *Catiline* cut off his head, and carrying it as a trophy into the forum, preſented it to *Sylla*, while he was haranguing the people. The tyrant received the ſhocking preſent, and beheld it without ſhewing the leaſt concern. As for *Catiline*, his hands being daubed with the blood he had ſhed, he went and waſhed them in the *holy* or *luſtral* water, placed at the gate of *Apollo*'s temple (12). For the heathens had veſſels placed at the gates of their temples filled with water, which they called *luſtral* or *holy*. In this water ſuch as intended to go into the temple waſhed their hands by way of purification. They likewiſe ſprinkled it on the aſſembly to cleanſe them from their impurities. An excluſion from the uſe and benefit of this luſtral water was looked upon by the *Greeks* as a kind of excommunication. For this reaſon *OEdipus*, in the firſt ſcene of the ſecond act in *Sophocles*, forbids thoſe who had been guilty of the death of *Laius* the uſe of the luſtral water But here the profligate *Catiline*, after the murder he had committed, waſhes his hands in that water, intending by ſuch an impious action to affront and defy religion.

(12) *Plut. in Sylla.*

ly

ly murdered by *Sylla*'s agents, he aſſembled the people, and told them, that he had proſcribed as many as he could think of at preſent; and as for thoſe he had forgot, they ſhould be proſcribed too, as ſoon as he could call them to his memory [g].

From *Rome*, *Sylla* extended his cruelties to the neighbouring cities that had declared againſt him, and uſed them without mercy. Some were diſmantled, others oppreſſed with heavy taxes, and immenſe ſums raiſed upon the inhabitants. All the effects of the inhabitants of *Florentia*, *Spoletum*, *Interamna*, and *Sulmona*, were confiſcated and ſold to the beſt bidder. Some cities were intirely demoliſhed, and the citizens all to a man proſcribed. The allies as well as the *Romans* ſubmitted, without reſiſtance, to the tyrannical yoke. *Cato* alone, known afterwards by the name of *Cato Uticenſis*, or *Cato of Utica*, though at this time but fourteen years of age, diſcovered ſome remains of the old *Roman* ſpirit. As *Sylla* ſhewed a great regard for him on account of his antient friendſhip with his father, his governor *Sarpedo* brought him frequently to the tyrant's houſe, which looked like a priſon, great numbers of citizens being confined there, and many daily executed. One day the young *Roman* ſeeing a great many heads preſented to the tyrant, which were ſaid to be of great men, he asked his governor how it was poſſible that the author of ſo many murders could eſcape being murdered himſelf? *Becauſe he is more feared*, replied *Sarpedo*, *by the diſheartened citizens, than hated. Give me a ſword then*, anſwered the intrepid youth, *and I will with one blow deliver my country from the tyrannical yoke.* *Sarpedo* was ſurpriſed at the courage of his pupil, but ever after kept a watchful eye over him, leſt he ſhould by ſome raſh attempt expoſe himſelf and his family to utter deſtruction [h].

The noble ſpirit of young Cato.

While *Italy* was thus groaning under the oppreſſion of the tyrant, *Pompey* was employed againſt his enemies in *Sicily*, which was governed by *Perpenna*, *Carbo*'s friend, a man greatly attached to the *Marian* faction. But, upon *Pompey*'s landing, he abandoned the iſland, and retired to *Carbo* then in *Africa*. The *Sicilians* no ſooner heard of his flight, than they came in crouds from all parts of the iſland to make their ſubmiſſions to *Pompey*. *Catanea* was the only city that ſeemed determined not to ſubmit. But *Pompey* having begged of

Sicily *ſubmits to* Pompey.

[g] Plut. Appian. ibid. Flor. l. iii. c. 21. Seneca de ira. Plin. l. xxxiv. Oros. l. viii. [h] Plut. in Cat.

the

the inhabitants as a favour to admit into their city his ſick men, and they complying with his requeſt, he ſent the flower of his troops, and by that means made himſelf maſter of the place. In the mean time, *Carbo*, not thinking himſelf ſafe in *Africa*, retired to the iſland of *Coſſura* between *Sicily* and *Africa*, with a deſign to paſs from thence into *Egypt*. But *Pompey*, being acquainted with his deſign, ſent a ſquadron of galleys to inveſt the iſland, ordering his officers to ſeize *Carbo* and all the outlaws who attended him, and bring them to *Sicily*. *Carbo* finding he could not eſcape, came and ſurrendered himſelf to the commander of the ſquadron. He had formerly ſaved *Pompey*'s eſtate, which the tribunes were for confiſcating, on his father's being convicted of having embezzled the public money. He could not therefore believe, that party-zeal had effaced all ſence of gratitude in the heart of a friend. But he found, to his great ſurpriſe, a man, whom he had highly obliged and ſaved from beggary, become, through his attachment to *Sylla*, his implacable enemy. The young general ordered the old magiſtrate, who had b en dignified with three conſulates, to be brought before him loaded with chains; ſuffered him to fall proſtrate at his feet, and received his ſubmiſſions with ſuch an air of pride as was ſhocking even to his friends. After he had reproached him with his cruelties, and the diſturbances he had raiſed in the republic, he pronounced ſentence of death againſt him, which was immediately put in execution. However, he ſuffered moſt of thoſe *Romans*, who were taken with *Carbo*, to make their eſcape; which, with his prudent and mild conduct towards the *Sicilians*, gained him the affections of the people. Upon his threatening to puniſh the inhabitants of *Himera* with great ſeverity, for having been more ſanguine than the reſt of the *Sicilians* in the cauſe of *Marius* and *Carbo*, *Sthenis*, their chief magiſtrate, told him, that he was the man who had ſtirred up his fellow-citizens againſt *Sylla*, and that therefore he alone ought to be puniſhed. *Pompey* was ſo taken with this generous freedom, that he not only pardoned him, and for his ſake the city, but received him into his friendſhip. As his ſoldiers, accuſtomed to ſlaughter, put many of the *Sicilians* to death without his orders, he cauſed their ſwords to be ſealed up in their ſcabbards, and ſeverely puniſhed thoſe whoſe ſeals were found broken. By theſe acts of clemency towards the *Sicilians*, he wiped off the reproach of inhumanity and ingratitude, which he had brought on himſelf by the death of *Carbo*. Nay, it was generally thought, that his behaviour towards the chief ſupporter of the *Marian* faction was much againſt his inclination and the bent of his good-nature.

Carbo *taken and put to death by* Pompey.

Pompey *by his clemency gains the hearts of the* Sicilians.

good-nature. At leaſt it is certain, that he made no inquiries after his friends in *Sicily*, and that he not only connived at the eſcape of many who were ſeized, but conveyed them away privately himſelf[1].

And now *Sylla*, being abſolute maſter of *Rome* and all the countries ſubject to the republic, except *Spain*, reſolved to leave the ſenate and people a ſhadow at leaſt of their former liberty. To this end he retired into the country for ſome days, deſiring the conſcript fathers to chuſe one of their own body in his abſence to govern the commonwealth, which, ſince the death of the conſuls, had no legal magiſtrate. The fathers, out of complaiſance to *Sylla*, created *L. Valerius Flaccus* inter-rex: he was preſident of the ſenate, and wholly devoted to *Sylla*'s intereſt; and this gave him an opportunity of bringing the ſenate to execute the ſcheme he had formed. He wrote to *Valerius*, deſiring him to declare to the ſenate and people, that, ſince affairs were yet unſettled, he was of opinion, that a dictator ſhould be created, not for any limited time, but till all evils and grievances were redreſſed. In his letter he intimated, that at the requeſt of the conſcript fathers he would accept of the employment. This propoſal, which tended to the eſtabliſhing of regal authority in *Rome*, ſurpriſed the ſenators. But the remembrance of ſo much bloodſhed, of ſo many proſcriptions and aſſaſſinations, chilled every heart; and, the law paſſing without any oppoſition, *Sylla* was declared dictator without any limitation in point of time. Thus the *Romans*, after many ages, fell again under the abſolute power of one man; which proved a fatal blow to the republican government, and paved the way to abſolute monarchy. As flattery is the uſual conſequence of ſlavery, the people formerly ſo jealous of their liberty, worſhipped the idol they had ſet up, erecting to their tyrant an equeſtrian ſtatue of braſs in that very comitium, where they had ſeen the heads of ſo many illuſtrious citizens expoſed to public view.

Sylla *perpetual dictator.*

Year after the flood 2922. Before Chriſt 77. Of *Rome* 671.

[1] Plut. in Pomp. Val. Max. l. v. c. 3. Liv. epit.

Chap.

CHAP. X.

The history of Rome, *from the perpetual dictatorship of* Sylla, *to the triumvirate of* Cæsar, Pompey, *and* Crassus.

SYLLA, now perpetual dictator, or, to speak more properly, king, and absolute sovereign of *Rome*, undertook the reformation of the government, being seconded therein by *L. Valerius Flaccus*, whom he appointed his general of the horse. The first law he enacted related to the election of the chief magistrates, and imported, That no man should stand for the prætorship till he had been quæstor, nor be elected consul till he had been prætor, which was only the revival of an antient custom. Notwithstanding this law, *Lucretius Ofella*, who had carried on the siege of *Præneste*, presuming on that merit, appeared among the candidates for the consulate, though he had not yet bore any office in the republic. *Sylla* put him in mind of the law he had just enacted; but the bold candidate, presuming too much on his passed services, and the favour of the people, continued to solicit their suffrages; which so provoked the dictator, who saw him from his tribunal, that he dispatched a centurion with orders to cut off his head. This execution raised the indignation of the assembly; but *Sylla* made them thoroughly sensible, that they were no longer a free people, by a low, but expressive fable; *A ploughman*, said he, *being tormented with vermin, pulled off his cloaths, and cleaned them. While he was busy at his work, they began to molest him anew, and the ploughman killed a far greater number of those troublesome insects the second time than he had done the first. They returned to disturb him a third time; and then the poor labourer, out of all patience, threw his cloaths into the fire; and got rid of them all at once. This fable you may apply to yourselves. Your seditions have hitherto cost you but little blood. Take care that*

The dictator orders Ofella *to be put to death.*

the caſe of the vermin be not one day your own [k] This fable, coming from a man inveſted with an abſolute power, made the whole aſſembly tremble; the tumult was immediately appeaſed, and the election of the conſuls made agreeable to the dictator's will. The perſons choſen were *M. Tullius Decula* and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, two of the chief officers of *Sylla*'s army. They both ſet out for the provinces allotted them, the former for *Gaul*, and the latter for *Macedon*, leaving *Sylla* to reign alone in the capital, where he made ſeveral laws, which were all, except that relating to proſcriptions, allowed to be equitable and judicious. That law ordained, That thoſe, who eſcaped death after their proſcription, ſhould be killed where-ever they were found; that thoſe who concealed them, ſhould be liable to the ſame puniſhment; that their effects ſhould be ſold to the beſt bidder; and that their children ſhould be incapable of holding any of the great employments of the republic. By another law he greatly weakened the authority of the tribunes of the people; for it enacted, That for the future no tribune ſhould be allowed to ſpeak in the aſſembly of the people, for or againſt any law in agitation; that only ſenators ſhould be choſen tribunes; and that thoſe who had bore this office ſhould be for ever excluded from the ſuperior offices. This made the ambitious diſdain ſeats in a college, beyond which they could not riſe. But the tribunes ſoon recovered their old power, and held it till the time of the emperors, who left them only the name and ſhadow of magiſtrates. The pontifices, augurs, and decemvirs appointed to keep and explain the *Sibylline* books, were by another law reinſtated in their former honours, and empowered to fill up the vacancies in their reſpective bodies; a prerogative as old as their inſtitution, but which had been transferred from them to the people, in the times that the plebeian faction prevailed. To each of theſe colleges he added five new members, ſo that they were no longer called decemvirs, but quindecemvirs, their number being increaſed from ten to fifteen. The temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* having been burnt two years before, and the *Sibylline* books, which were lodged there, deſtroyed in the flames, *Sylla* charged the quindecemvirs to repair that loſs, by ſearching for copies, or at leaſt fragments of them, in the cities of *Erythræa*, *Samos*, *Ilium*, &c. Out of this collection they formed a new book, which was indeed larger; but not ſo authentic, as the originals that had been

Sylla *makes ſeveral good laws.*

[k] Appian. bell. civil. l. i.

kept

kept at *Rome*, ever ſince the time of *Tarquin the Proud* (U)[1].

Sylla

[1] APPIAN, ibid POMPONIUS de orig. juriſ. TACIT. annal. l. xi. CIC. de legib. l. iii. ULPIAN. digeſt.

(U) There is a great diſagreement among the antients as to the number of the *Sibyls*. *Suidas* ſays there were fourteen; *Ælian* reckons but four; *Solinus* only three; and *Martianus Capella* reduces them to two. But moſt authors follow *Varro*, who tells us in expreſs terms that they were ten. Some modern writers indeed, without any regard to the authority of *Varro*, or the other antients, are for uniting all the *Sibyls* in one. So that, according to them, different names were given to one and the ſame *Sibyl*, from the different places where ſhe uttered her oracles. She had, ſay they, no fixed abode, but being led by the ſpirit, that inſpired her, ſhe, firſt publiſhed her predictions in the city of *Erythræa*, the place of her nativity, then rambled about the world, and at length ended her rambles and her life at *Cumæ* in *Italy*. But be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Sibyls* were held in great veneration at *Rome* and among the eaſtern nations. A collection was made of the oracles they uttered, and copies of them multiplied in moſt cities of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Aſia*. The pagans looked on theſe prophetic rhapſodies as a myſterious book containing the decrees of fate. They were the uſual reſource of people in times of calamity, and in important affairs, whereof the ſucceſs was doubtful. St. *Jerom* was of opinion, that god gave them this wonderful gift as a reward for their chaſtity; others pretend, that the devil diſcovered future things to them; and ſome aſcribe the enthuaſim, with which they were ſeized, to a melancholy diſpoſition. They were in all likelihood fanatical women, who gave themſelves the airs of propheteſſes, in order to impoſe on the credulity of the ſimple. The pagan authors themſelves own the terms, in which their prophecies were couched, to have been very obſcure and ambiguous; ſo that they were capable of the different interpretations which each perſon thought fit to give them *Cicero* does not diſſemble, that the different rhapſodies of the *Sibylline* books were wrote and diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as to be eaſily accommodated to all ſorts of events. *Callide enim, qui illa compoſuit*, ſays that writer (13), *perfecit, at quodcunque accidiſſet, prædictum videretur.* The ſame judgment ought to be made of the collection, which, by *Sylla*'s orders, was ſubſtituted in the room of the old books after the burning of the capitol. The different fragments, out of which the quindecemvirs compoſed this volume, contained the dregs of ſuperſtition, and were, we may ſay, a jumble of all the dreams of paganiſm. Afterwards, ſome men, who pretended to inſpiration, managed the volume as they thought fit, which obliged the emperor *Tiberius* to put a ſtop to this enormous abuſe by a very ſevere decree. As to the

(13) *Cic. de divinat. l. ii.*

Sylla had the mortification to ſee ſome of his laws abrogated before he died; but the greateſt part of them continued in force, and are parts of the *Roman* law to this day.

And now *Sylla*, ruling in *Rome* without controul, under pretence of ſupplying the places of the many *Roman* citizens, who had periſhed in the civil wars, gave liberty and the right of *Roman* citizenſhip to ten thouſand ſlaves, whom from his own name he called *Cornelians*. Theſe were bound in gratitude to fight and vote for him on all occaſions. In the next place he rewarded his old legionaries, who had ſerved under him in the *Levant* and in *Italy*, beſtowing upon them the lands of the municipia and colonies, which had declared againſt him. Thus, ſurrounded by a guard of freed-men in *Rome*, and ſupported by his old legionaries in the country, he had nothing to fear, either from revolts in the city, or inſurrections among the allies. As all was quiet in the capital, *Sylla*

eight books, which now bear the name of the *Sibyls*, critics agree that they are the work, at leaſt in part, of ſome chriſtian of the ſecond century. Some of the fathers, not aware of the impoſition, often quoted the books of the *Sibyls* in favour of the chriſtian religion; and hence *Celſus* ſtyles the chriſtian *Sibyliſts*. But *Origen* and St. *Auſtin* did not ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed on, and therefore ſpeak of thoſe books with contempt. In the reign of the emperor *Honorius*, the famous *Stilico*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory, cauſed thoſe fragments of the *Sibylline* books, which had been collected by *Sylla*'s orders, to be all burnt, the greateſt part of the *Roman* ſenate having then embraced the chriſtian religion. However, *Stilico* was on this account ſeverely cenſured by the noble poet *Rutilius* in his itinerary (14). Dr. *Hyde*, ſhocked at the contradictions and fabulous adventures with which the pagans filled the hiſtory of the *Sibyls*, found out a new way of accounting for them. He obſerves in the conſtellation called the virgin a bright ſtar, which the *Perſians* called *Sambula*; and remarks, that the *Perſians*, who were fond of judiciary aſtrology, looked on the ſign of the *Virgin*, as having a greater power, than all the other celeſtial bodies, to diſcover future things. The *Greeks*, having learnt the ſciences of the eaſtern nations, ſoon adopted theſe trifling opinions, and, agreeable to their genius, embelliſhed them with their fictions. Their poets ſoon invented a *Sibyl* virgin in alluſion to the term *Sambula*; carried her into ſeveral countries; and made her act the part of a prophetels (15). So that, according to this eminent writer, whatever has been ſaid both by the antients and moderns of the *Sibyls*, and their prophecies, is intirely fabulous.

(14) *Vide Dempſter. ad Roſin. l. iii. c. 24. & Polyb. hiſtor. c. 8.*
(15) *Vide Hyde de relig. perſarum.*

thought

thought this a proper time to decree himself a triumph for his conquests in *Asia*, *Greece*, and *Pontus*. *Rome* had not for a long time seen one so magnificent. It lasted two days, on the first of which were carried before the triumphant victor fifteen thousand pounds weight of gold and a hundred and fifteen thousand pounds weight of silver, which he had brought from *Greece* and *Asia*; and on the second thirteen thousand pounds weight of gold and seven thousand pounds weight of silver, which young *Marius* had saved out of the fire of the capitol, and *Sylla* had recovered at *Præneste* after his death. As soon as the procession was over, the conqueror, mounting the rostra, according to custom, gave the people a pompous detail of his exploits. As he ascribed all his successes to fortune, he ordered, that no other title should be given him than that of the *fortunate*, a title in which he gloried as much as other heroes had done in appellations taken from the countries which they had subdued [m] (W). His triumph was succeeded by the most pompous games that had ever been seen in *Rome*. We are told, that in the *Olympic* games, which were celebrated this year, only the races could be performed, the most skilful actors of *Greece* having left their own country, to display their art in the capital of the world [n].

Sylla's *triumph.*

IN the mean time, the *Marian* faction began to revive in *Africa*. *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*, nephew to the great *Marius*, had raised there twenty thousand men, and prevailed on *Hiarbas*, one of the kings of *Numidia*, to join him. Hereupon *Sylla* ordered *Pompey* to leave *Sicily*, which he had settled in tranquillity, and pass over with all possible expedition into *Africa*. *Pompey*, pursuant to his orders, immediately imbarqued five legions, and, landing in the *African* province, marched without loss of time against the enemy. When the two armies were in sight of each other and drawn up in battalia, a dreadful storm arose; upon which *Domitius*, believing that *Pompey* would not attack him that day, sounded a retreat. But, while his troops were retiring in some disorder to their camp, the young general, laying hold of that opportunity, fell upon them, and after an obstinate dispute, which lasted the greater part of the day, gained a complete victory. Of twenty

Pompey's *successful expedition in* Africa.

[m] APPIAN. ibid. [n] PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid.

(W) *Plutarch* tells us, that his wife having brought him twins, he named the male *Faustus*, and the female *Fausta*, which words signifie *fortunate* or *lucky*. However in his letters to the *Greeks*, he styled himself *Epaphroditus*, that is, *The beloved of* Venus; and his trophies, which were still extant in *Plutarch*'s time, bore an inscription, *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus* (10).

(10) *Plut. in Sylla.*

the land

thouſand men *Domitius* left ſeveneen dead upon the ſpot, and not without much difficulty regained his camp with the poor remains of his ſhattered army. Thither *Pompey* purſued him, forced his camp, killed *Domitius*, and took *Hiarbas* priſoner. In conſequence of this ſucceſs, he recovered all the cities of *Africa*, which had been drawn off from *Sylla*'s party, entered *Numidia*, and having reduced that part of it, which belonged to *Hiarbas* his priſoner, gave it to *Hiempſal*, who had always oppoſed the *Marian* faction. As this glorious expedition was completed in forty days, ſo rapid a progreſs by a general of twenty four years of age alarmed the dictator himſelf, who ordered the young hero to diſband his troops and return to *Rome*. Both *Pompey* and his troops were ſenſibly affected with this order, which would have produced another civil war, had not *Pompey* conducted himſelf with great temper. For when his legionaries began to mutiny, he reſolutely proteſted, that he would rather die by his own hand, than involve *Rome* in new troubles. Having thus appeaſed his troops and diſbanded three of his legions, he returned to *Rome*, where he was received with uncommon marks of friendſhip by the dictator, who went out to meet him, embraced him with great tenderneſs, and honoured him with the ſurname of *The Great*, ordering all, who were preſent, to give him that glorious title [o].

Sylla jealous of Pompey.

When the time came for electing new conſuls, *Sylla*, though dictator, ſtood for that office, and accordingly was elected with *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, ſurnamed *Pius*, who had joined him upon his firſt landing in *Italy*. Never was any conſular year more peaceable. All men trembled at the very name of *Sylla*, and the *Romans*, once ſo fond of liberty, were at length brought to ſubmit tamely to the yoke of an imperious maſter. However, the dictator, to gain the affections of the multitude, gave them ſuch entertainments as now ſeem to ſurpaſs all credit. He conſecrated the tenths of his whole ſubſtance to *Hercules*, and on that occaſion made a general feaſt for all the people of *Rome*; wherein there was ſuch an abundance, or rather profuſion, of all the delicacies the ſea, rivers, foreſts, or fields could afford, that immenſe quantities of proviſions were every day (for the feaſt laſted ſeveral days) thrown into the *Tiber*. *Plutarch* tell us, that the wine with which he regaled the people, was forty years old and upwards. But the joy of this magnificent entertainment was ſomewhat abated by the death of his wife *Metella*, whom he had always reſpected, notwithſtanding her irregularities. However, the dictator's grief did not laſt long. A few

Feaſts the whole Roman people.

[o] Plut in Pomp.

months

months after, he entertained the people with a ſhow of gladiators; and, as in thoſe days men and women ſat promiſcuouſly together, a young lady, of extraordinary beauty and of the firſt quality, placed herſelf near *Sylla*. She was the daughter of *Meſſala*, and ſiſter to the famous orator *Hortenſius*; her name was *Valeria*, and ſhe had been a few days before divorced from her huſband. As ſhe was gay and lively, though virtuous and of an unblemiſhed reputation, ſhe came behind *Sylla*, and reſting her hand gently upon his ſhoulder, took a little of the nap from off his robe, and then returned to her ſeat. The dictator turned ſuddenly about, and ſeemed to be much ſurpriſed with the familiarity, when *Valeria* addreſſed him thus: *It is not out of any want of reſpect that I have done this; but becauſe I was deſirous to partake of your good fortune* (X). *Sylla*, greatly pleaſed with this anſwer, and taken with the charms of *Valeria*, ſent privately to enquire who ſhe was, and to learn her name, family, circumſtances, and character. From that time they did nothing but ogle each other in all public places, receive and return amorous glances and wanton ſmiles. In ſhort, the old warrior, captivated with a few affected glances and coquettiſh airs, like an amorous youth, without experience or diſcretion, was continually dangling after the beautiful *Valeria*, till at length he gave way to his paſſion, and married her [p].

Falls in love with Valeria.

And marries her.

IN the mean time, *Pompey* was ſoliciting the ſenate and people for a triumph, which his late victories ſeemed indeed well to deſerve, and the ſenate was willing to grant. But *Sylla*, probably jealous of the glory of the young hero, oppoſed his pretenſions, alledging a law, which enacted That none but prætors and conſuls ſhould triumph, and that for battles gained under their own auſpices; whereas *Pompey* was but a private *Roman* knight, and had gained his victories under the auſpices of the dictator. But this did not diſcourage the young conqueror, who continued to make intereſt with the ſenate and people for the gaining of his point. *Sylla* told him plainly, that he would employ all his credit with the people againſt him; not doubting, but that declaration, as he was maſter of the ſuffrages of the people, would make him deſpair of obtaining the honour he ſo ardently deſired.

[p] PLUT. ibid.

(X) This paſſage is very remarkable; for it ſhews us, that the ſuperſtition is of a very antient date, by which men were perſuaded, that commerce with, or touch of, a lucky perſon, was a means of making them partakers of his good fortune.

But

Pompey's *bold answer to* Sylla.

But *Pompey*, not in the leaſt diſcouraged, anſwered the dictator frankly, that his oppoſition mattered not, ſince more people adored the riſing than the ſetting ſun. Theſe words the dictator did not well underſtand; but obſerving no ſmall ſurprize in the countenances of thoſe who ſtood by, he aſked what the young man had ſaid. When it was told him, he wondered at his boldneſs, and then cried out twice, *Let him then triumph in the name of the gods.* *Pompey*, taking advantage of this anſwer, immediately ordered every thing to be got ready for his triumph; and to give more uneaſineſs to thoſe who envied him, he ordered his triumphal chariot to be drawn by four elephants; for he had taken ſeveral of thoſe warlike animals from the princes he had ſubdued in *Africa*. But the gate of the city being too narrow for four elephants to paſs a breaſt under it, he was forced to be ſatisfied with horſes as uſual. Thus a *Roman* knight was diſtinguiſhed with the higheſt military honours, before he had attained to the age requiſite for having a ſeat in the ſenate. But the evil fate of *Rome* was raiſing up againſt him a formidable rival in the perſon of *Julius Cæſar*, who in this very year made his firſt campaign in the eaſt. He had married, as we have obſerved above, the daughter of *Cornelius Cinna*, and obtained at the age of ſeventeen, if we may believe *Suetonius*[q], the office of high-prieſt of *Jupiter*, being ſupported by the *Marian* faction, which then prevailed. *Plutarch* indeed contradicts *Suetonius*, and tells us, that when *Sylla* gave law in *Rome*, *Cæſar* ſtood for the prieſthood of *Jupiter*, but was excluded from that dignity by the dictator. Not long after *Sylla* endeavoured to prevail upon him to divorce his wife *Cornelia*, who had already brought him his firſt daughter *Julia*. But the bold youth had courage enough to reſiſt this formidable maſter of *Rome* to his face, though he had juſt before forced *Piſo* to put away his wife *Annia*, whom he tenderly loved, and obliged *Pompey* to part with his wife *Antiſtia*, and marry *Æmilia*, daughter-in-law to *Sylla* by his wife *Metella*, who had been married to *Æmilius Scaurus*. The dictator, highly provoked againſt *Cæſar* for daring to contradict his ſovereign will, reſolved to proſcribe him; and it was not without infinite difficulties that the friends of the *Julian* family got the decree of proſcription ſuſpended. When they intreated him to excuſe the ſallies of a warm and preſumptuous youth, from whom he could have nothing to fear, *Sylla* anſwered, that he *diſcovered in him, young as he was, ſeveral Marius's.* When

Pompey *triumphs.*

Julius Cæſar *reſiſts* Sylla.

[q] Sueton. in Julio.

Cæſar

Cæſar heard this, he ſtole out of *Rome* and wandered ſome time in the country of the *Sabines*, where he had the misfortune to be one day ſurpriſed by a party of *Sylla*'s ſoldiers. But *Cornelius*, who commanded them, conſented to let him eſcape upon his paying two talents. And now, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe in *Italy*, he withdrew to the court of *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, where his reſidence is ſaid to have proved fatal to his modeſty, the private hours he ſpent with that prince raiſing ſuſpicions no-ways to his honour [r]. In this account we have followed *Plutarch*; for *Suetonius* ſays nothing of *Cæſar*'s flight; but on the contrary affirms, that *Sylla* granted him his pardon at the requeſt of the veſtals, of *M. Æmilius*, and *Aurelius Cotta* [s]. After he had reſided ſome time at the court of the *Bithynian* king, he went to ſerve under *Marcus Minucius Thermus*, at that time prætor of *Aſia*. *Suetonius* ſays, that this general ſent him into *Bithynia*, and gave him the command of the fleet, which *Nicomedes* fitted out to aſſiſt at the ſiege of *Mitylene*, the only city in *Aſia*, which refuſed to ſubmit to the *Romans*, after the treaty of peace concluded between *Mithridates* and *Sylla*. *Cæſar* diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the taking of this city, and merited ſeveral civic crowns, which were given to thoſe who had ſaved the life of a *Roman* citizen [t].

He leaves Rome, *and retires into* Bithynia.

His firſt campaign.

BUT to return to *Sylla*; he reduced this year *Nola* in *Campania* and *Volaterræ* in *Hetruria*, the only two cities that held out againſt him. And now all *Italy* being in perfect tranquillity, he declined the conſulate for the next year, and recommended to the tribes *P. Servilius Vatia*, a man of merit and his old friend, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, who were accordingly choſen in the field of *Mars*. This year *Cicero* firſt pleaded in public in favour of *Roſcius*, whoſe father had been proſcribed and killed by *Sylla*'s orders. As he was not very cautious in his reflections on a government which made *Rome* tremble, he thought it adviſeable to leave his country, after he had given a public proof of his great genius. He retired to *Athens*, where he perfected his talents for oratory, and improved his taſte for philoſophy.

Cicero *pleads in public.*

AND now *Sylla*, after having deſtroyed above a hundred thouſand *Roman* citizens, taken away the lives of ninety ſenators, proſcribed or cauſed to be murdered near two thouſand ſix hundred knights, and buried numberleſs multitudes of the allies in the ruins of their cities, reſolved to lay down the power he had uſurped, and put himſelf upon a

[r] PLUT. in Cæſar. [s] SUET. ibid. [t] SUET. in Julio

level with the reſt of the people. Had he conſulted ambition or policy, he would never have taken ſuch a reſolution. The *Roman* people had ſet no limits to his power in point of time. There were no domeſtic troubles to create him any uneaſineſs, *Rome* being now accuſtomed to bear the yoke. His friends, who were as much intereſted as himſelf in his preſervation, were a ſufficient ſecurity to him againſt the attempts of his enemies. On the other hand, ſo many dangers ſurrounded him in a private life, that he could not reaſonably expect to be ſafe. But none of theſe conſiderations had weight with him; he reſolved to lay down his power, and reſtore the republic to her antient liberty, which muſt have proceeded from a greatneſs of mind, to which none of the antient hiſtorians have done juſtice. When he had taken this final reſolution, he aſſembled the people, mounted the roſtra, and ſurpriſed *Rome* with ſo unexpected a determination. He repreſented, in a ſhort ſpeech, the miſerable condition in which he had found the city at his return from *Aſia*; and added, that, the republic being in great danger, he had been forced to uſe violent remedies; that the loſs of a little blood only would have increaſed the diſtemper, inſtead of curing it; that he had therefore thought it neceſſary to take a great deal of blood from a body ſo robuſt and diſeaſed, in order to reſtore it to perfect health, *&c.* He concluded his ſpeech with theſe words, which filled the heart of every true *Roman* with joy: And now, *Romans*, I leave you to yourſelves, I reſign my office, diveſt myſelf of the unlimited power you have conferred upon me, and am ready to give an account of my whole adminiſtration, and anſwer, in a private capacity, all the accuſations that ſhall be brought againſt me. This ſaid, he diſmiſſed his lictors, came down from the roſtra, and walked a great while in the forum, diſcourſing familiarly with ſome of his friends before the multitude, who, ſtruck with admiration, looked on ſo unexpected a change as a prodigy. Though the city was then full of the children and friends of proſcribed perſons, yet none offered to inſult him, except one young man, who followed him to his houſe, abuſing him in a moſt ſcurrilous manner. *Sylla* did not deign to give him any anſwer; but turning to the few friends he had about him, *This uſage*, ſaid he, *will, for the future, deter any man from laying down the ſovereign power, as I have done, if he once gets it into his hands.* A few days after he retired to his fine country-houſe near *Cumæ*, ſpent there ſome days in more tranquillity than he could have done at *Rome*, and then returned to the city, leſt his enemies ſhould think that fear had confined him to the country. In *Rome* he maintained the rank

Sylla *abdicates the dictatorſhip.*

rank of a man of the firſt diſtinction, but intermeddled no farther in public affairs, than became a private perſon, whoſe great employments and powerful friends gave him more weight than a common citizen. At the very firſt election after his reſignation, he had the mortification to ſee *Pompey*, his pupil, or rather his creature, aſſume an aſcendant over him in the aſſembly of the people. *Pompey* uſed all his intereſt to get his friend *M. Æmilius Lepidus* firſt nominated conſul; *Sylla*, on the other hand, ſolicited for *Q. Lutatius Catulus*. The former was a man of a violent temper, and a declared enemy to *Sylla*; whereas the latter was his intimate friend, and generally looked upon as a perſon of great probity, wiſdom, and experience. The emulation was greater between the chiefs of the two parties, than between the candidates themſelves: but *Pompey*, who was extremely favoured by the people, prevailed. His friend *Lepidus* was firſt nominated conſul, not by any merit or intereſt of his own, but by the power and ſolicitation of *Pompey* (Y). When *Pompey* was coming out of the aſſembly, overjoyed with his ſucceſs, *Sylla* took him aſide, and told him, that he had got the worſt of men named conſul before the moſt virtuous man in *Rome*; but that he had no reaſon to triumph in his victory, becauſe he would find, when it was too late, that he had been nouriſhing a ſnake in his boſom. What *Sylla* foretold proved too true, as we ſhall ſee in a more proper place. In the mean time the two conſuls entered upon their office, and the miſunderſtanding, which aroſe between them, threatening the city with a new ſtorm, *Sylla* withdrew again to his country-houſe, and there gave himſelf up to the moſt infamous debaucheries, though full ſixty years of age. The charms of his wife *Valeria* could not keep him from a ſcandalous commerce with actors and actreſſes. His chief favourites were *Roſcius* the comedian, *Sorex*, the chief mimic, and *Metrobius*, who acted womens parts on the ſtage. With theſe he ſpent whole days and nights in drinking and revelling, which brought a diſtemper upon him, that ſoon put an end to

Pompey *reſiſts* Sylla *at the election of conſuls.*

Sylla's *debauched life in the country.*

(Y) **There was no primacy** or diſtinction between the two conſuls. They were both equal in dignity and authority. But it was an honour to be named firſt; for the people gave ſtronger evidences of their zeal and affection for him, than they did for the other, who was named in the ſecond place. The advantage of the conſul firſt named was ſo inconſiderable, that he could not ſo much as aſſume the faſces firſt, unleſs he was elder than his collegue, or had a greater number of children, or was entering upon his ſecond conſulate.

his life. His blood was corrupted, and bred an impoſthume in his bowels. This he was not aware of till the corruption infected his fleſh, and his whole body ſwarmed with vermin. Many ſlaves were employed night and day in deſtroying them; but they multiplied ſo faſt, that his cloaths, baths, rooms, and his very food was covered with them. He went often every day into the waters to cleanſe his body; but being at laſt ſenſible, that his diſtemper was paſt curing, he applied himſelf to the finiſhing of his memoirs; in the twenty-ſecond book of which he declared, that the *Chaldeans* had foretold him, that, after he had acquired great power and glory, he ſhould conclude the laſt act of his life in full proſperity. Ten days before his death he interpoſed in ſome diſputes, which the inhabitants of *Puteoli* had among themſelves, reconciled the contending parties, and preſcribed them a form of government, which they adopted. The day before he died he was informed that *Granius*, the chief magiſtrate of *Puteoli*, delayed paying the immenſe ſums due from him to the public, in hopes of being freed from that obligation by *Sylla*'s death. Hereupon *Sylla* ſent for him into his bed-chamber, and there ordered his ſlaves to ſtrangle him in his preſence; but, ſtraining his voice in the heat of his paſſion, he broke the impoſthume, and voided a great deal of blood. This diſcharge weakened him to ſuch a degree, that he paſſed the night in great agony, and died the day following, leaving behind him two children very young by his wife *Metella*. *Valeria* was afterwards delivered of a daughter named *Poſthuma*, for ſo the *Romans* called thoſe who were born after the death of their fathers †. He was, without all doubt, one of the greateſt commanders *Rome* ever bred, and as able a ſtateſman. But moſt of the antients ſeem to have drawn a vail over all his good qualities, and to have diſplayed only his cruelties and proſcriptions, which, we own, betrayed a moſt cruel and inhuman temper. But after all, we ought not to forget that greatneſs of mind truly heroic, which appeared in his unexpected and ſurpriſing abdication. What could a man of the moſt refined virtue have done more, than reſtore his country to its antient liberty, reform the republic with excellent laws, revive and inforce the old inſtitutions, and lay down his power as ſoon as it was no longer neceſſary for the public good. Could the warmeſt patriot have ſhewn a more generous regard for his country? His funeral occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between the conſuls. *Lepidus* was for having

Sylla *dies.* Year of the flood, 2926. Before Chriſt, 73. Of Rome, 675.

† Plut. in Sylla. Liv. epit. l. clx. c. 4. Appian bell. civil. l. i.

him

him carried to the burial-place of his anceſtors without any mark of diſtinction. But *Catulus* made uſe of all the authority his office gave him, and *Pompey* of his intereſt with the people, to have the funeral honours paid to the deceaſed, which were due to his merit. And indeed never was a more magnificent funeral ſeen in *Rome*. His corpſe, being placed on a rich bier, was carried on the ſhoulders of four ſenators, and attended by the pontifices, the veſtals, the ſenate in a body, all the curule magiſtrates, the whole body of *Roman* knights, and a numerous train of officers, who had ſerved under him in *Africa*, *Greece*, *Aſia*, and *Italy*. The veſtals and pontifices ſung hymns in praiſe of the deceaſed, which were repeated by the ſenate, the knights, and the whole multitude. The body was burnt with great ſolemnity in the field of *Mars*, where no funeral pile had been raiſed ever ſince the time of the firſt kings. Many ſtatues were erected to his memory, and a moſt magnificent monument in the field of *Mars*, with an epitaph of his own compoſing, the ſubſtance of which was, that no *friend had ever done him ſo much good, nor enemy ſo much hurt, but he had returned both with uſury* *. Of all his friends, who were almoſt numberleſs, *Pompey* alone, whoſe ingratitude gave him no ſmall offence, was left out of his will.

His funeral.

And epitaph.

Sylla was no ſooner dead, than new diſturbances ſprung up in the republic. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* the conſul did all that lay in his power to revive the old quarrels between the nobility and the people, hoping by that means to make himſelf as abſolute maſter of the government as *Sylla* had been. He began with attempting to annul *Sylla*'s acts, which would have deprived the republic of the many wiſe laws the dictator had made. But he was therein reſolutely oppoſed by his colleague *Catulus*; and the miſunderſtanding between the two chief magiſtrates was carried ſo far, that the ſenate, dreading the conſequences of their quarrel, forced them to ſwear, that they would not take up arms againſt each other Care was alſo taken to ſeparate the two rivals, and to make the turbulent *Lepidus* ſet out without delay for *Tranſalpine Gaul*, which had fallen to him by lot. The incendiary indeed left *Rome* at the head of a conſular army; but, inſtead of paſſing the *Alps*, continued in *Hetruria*, till his conſulate was near expiring. He then drew near *Rome* with his army, which he had taken care to ſtrengthen with new levies in *Hetruria*, and openly declared, that his deſign was to procure himſelf a ſecond conſulate by force, if he could not ob-

New diſturbances raiſed by Lepidus.

* PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid.

tain

Lepidus *defeated by* Catulus *and* Pompey.

tain it otherwiſe. He expected to have entered *Rome* without oppoſition; but, to his great ſurpriſe he found both his collegue and *Pompey* under arms, the one poſted at the entrance of the bridge *Milvius*, the other at the foot of the *Janiculus*. As he was too far advanced to go back, he attempted to force his way into the city; but was repulſed by *Catulus* and *Pompey*, and obliged to ſave himſelf by a ſhameful flight into *Hetruria*. The capital being delivered from all danger by the defeat of the ſeditious conſul, *Pompey* was ordered to march againſt *M. Junius Brutus*, the father of the famous *Brutus* who had declared for *Lepidus*, and commanded a great detachment in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. *Brutus*, at the approach of *Pompey*, ſhut himſelf up in *Mutina*, where he was cloſely beſieged, and at length forced to ſurrender up himſelf and his whole army at diſcretion. *Pompey* treated his troops with great humanity, but ordered *Brutus* himſelf to be beheaded, without regarding the hatred which ſo odious an execution might bring upon him [t].

In the mean time, *Lepidus*, having aſſembled his diſperſed forces, and made new levies in *Hetruria* and in the countries of the allies, appeared once more before *Rome*. But, finding *Catulus* ready to receive him, and being at the ſame time informed of the defeat of *Brutus* and reduction of *Mutina*, he retired a ſecond time into *Hetruria*. Upon his retreat, the great elections were made with the uſual tranquillity, when *D. Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Lepidus*, and *Mamercus Æmilius Livianus* were choſen conſuls. And now *Lepidus*, having loſt all hopes of obtaining the conſulate, left *Italy* and went over to *Sardinia*, where he raiſed a new army with a deſign to carry the war into *Sicily*. But he was prevented by death from purſuing the wicked meaſures he had taken. He is ſaid to have died of grief upon the receipt of a letter, aſſuring him, that his wife, in his abſence, had proved unfaithful to him. His party fell with him; and *Catulus* and *Pompey* ſhared between them the glory of having ſaved *Rome* from the new misfortunes that threatened her [w].

Lepidus *dies in* Sardinia.

During theſe tranſactions at home, *Muræna*, whom *Sylla* had left in *Aſia*, unjuſtly attacked the king of *Pontus*, and forced him into the ſecond *Mithridatic* war, of which we have given a very particular account in our hiſtory of *Pontus*.

Sertorius *retires to* Spain.

Italy now enjoyed a profound tranquillity; but the party of *Marius* and *Cinna* was ſtill kept up in *Spain* by the brave

[t] Plut. in Pomp. Appian. bell. civil. ibid. [w] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

Sertorius,

Sertorius, whose noble exploits, since his proscription and flight, we have, to avoid confusion, reserved for this place. Upon the first advantages gained by *Sylla* in *Italy*, *Sertorius*, who had been appointed by the *Marian* faction prætor of *Spain*, retired thither, to secure that country, which would be a refuge to his friends, and a support to his declining party. Notwithstanding the opposition he met with from the *Barbarians*, through whose countries he passed, he got safe to his government; and there, by his affable and obliging behaviour, so gained the affections both of the nobility and people, that all *Spain* declared for the new prætor. Thus that flourishing country was unfortunately brought to take part in the divisions of the republic, and by that means became the seat of the civil war, which ambition had begun at *Rome*. *Sylla* no sooner heard of the arrival of *Sertorius* in *Spain*, than he sent *Caius Annius* at the head of a powerful army to drive him from thence. *Sertorius*, having timely notice of the dictator's design, immediately detached *Julius Salinator* with a body of six thousand men to guard the narrow passes of the *Pyrenees*; which he did so effectually, that *Annius*, upon his arrival finding it impossible to open himself a way into *Spain*, incamped at the foot of the mountains, in great perplexity, not knowing what course to take. But, in the mean time, one *Calpurnius Lanarius*, being gained over by *Annius*, treacherously murdered *Julius Salinator*, which so terrified the troops under his command, that they abandoned the passes, and gave *Annius* an opportunity of penetrating into the heart of *Spain*. *Sertorius* not being strong enough to keep the field, retired with three thousand men to *New Carthage*, and there imbarquing on board a fleet, hastily got together, passed over into *Africa*, and landed on the coast of *Mauritania*. His men went ashore to supply themselves with fresh water; but, while they were straggling about with too much security, the *Barbarians* fell upon them, and put many of them to the sword. This new misfortune forced *Sertorius* to sail back to *Spain*; but finding the whole coast lined with *Annius*'s men, he put out to sea again, not knowing what course to steer. At some distance from the coast he fell in with a small fleet of *Cilician* pirates, who were cruising between *Africa* and *Spain*, and having prevailed on them to join him in hopes of booty, he sailed for the island of *Pityusa*, now *Yvica*, on the coast of *Africa*, where he made a descent, overpowered the garison placed there by *Annius*, and got a considerable booty. This slight advantage brought *Annius* in person upon him with a great fleet, having five thousand soldiers on board.

Is driven from thence by Annius.

Is joined by a fleet of Cilician *pirates.*

Though

Though *Sertorius*'s fleet conſiſted of veſſels not built for ſtrength, but for lightneſs, he made ready to engage the enemy. But a violent ſtorm ariſing, moſt of his ſhips were driven againſt the rocky ſhore, and daſhed to pieces. *Sertorius* himſelf, with the ſmall remains of his ſhattered fleet, being prevented by the fury of the weather from putting out to ſea, and by the enemy from landing, was toſſed about for ten days together, being all that time, as the ſea ran very high, in great danger of periſhing with all his men. As ſoon as the ſtorm was over, he paſſed the ſtraights of *Gades*, and landed near the mouth of the *Bætis*. There he met with ſome ſeamen newly arrived from the *Atlantic* or *Fortunate* iſlands (Z), and was ſo taken with the account they gave him of thoſe

(Z) Theſe iſlands, according to *Plutarch*, were only two in number, divided from each other by a narrow channel, and diſtant about ten thouſand furlongs from the coaſt of *Africa*. The deſcription he gives us of them agrees exactly with that which we read in the fourth book of the *Odyſſey*. But after all, we are ſtill at a loſs to know what country the antients meant by the *Atlantic* or *Fortunate* iſlands. *Plato* deſcribes them in a very pompous manner in his *Timæus* and *Critias*, and the great extent he allows them, has inclined ſome, namely *Ortelius* and *Sanſon*, to believe, that he meant *America*. But no one, before Mr. *Ruſbeck*, ever dreamt, that *Plato* in deſcribing his *Atlantis* had *Scandinavia* in view, which comprehends the kingdoms of *Norway* and *Sweden*. That learned writer, in love with the colds and froſts of his native country, finds all the charms of this renowned iſland in thoſe northern and frozen countries. To convince others of this, he urges no fewer than a hundred and two arguments in his work intitled *Atlantica*, and finds in certain ruins not far from *Upſal* the ſame ſituation and dimenſions which *Plato* gives to the capital of *Atlantis*. *Norway* and *Sweden* are, we allow, moſt pleaſant and delightful countries; but we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that *Homer* had either of them in view, when he deſcribed the *Elyſian fields*, which he places in the iſland of *Atlantis*. His deſcription of that happy region is as follows:

Elyſium ſhall be thine; the bliſsful plains
Of utmoſt earth, where *Rhadamanthus* reigns.
Joys ever young, unmix'd with pain or fear,
Fill the wide circle of th' eternal year.
Stern winter ſmiles on that auſpicious clime,
The fields are florid with unfading prime.
From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy ſnow:
But from the breezy deep the bleſt inhale
The fragrant murmurs of the weſtern gale.

We

thoſe happy regions, that, being quite tired out with ſo many fatigues and dangers both by ſea and land, he reſolved to retire thither, and ſpend his life in peace and quietneſs, far from the noiſe of wars, and free from the troubles of government. He no ſooner communicated his deſign to the *Cilician* pirates, than they abandoned him; and, chuſing rather to rove about the ſeas in queſt of ſpoils and riches, than to live in peace and quiet, ſet ſail for *Africa*, to aſſiſt *Aſcalis* king of *Mauritania* againſt his rebellious ſubjects. *Sertorius*, who only entertained a faint deſire of a quiet and retired life, no ſooner heard of this new war in *Africa*, than he likewiſe reſolved to ſail thither and join the enemies of *Aſcalis*. He loſt no time, but immediately put to ſea, and landing on the coaſt of *Mauritania*, marched directly againſt *Aſcalis*, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of *Tingis*, now *Tangier*, which he cloſely beſieged. In the mean time, *Pacianus*, whom *Sylla* had ſent to aſſiſt the king, advanced againſt *Sertorius* at the head of a conſiderable army. Hereupon the brave general, leaving part of his forces before the place, marched with the reſt to meet *Pacianus*, whoſe forces, though far ſuperior to his own in number, he entirely defeated, ſlew the general himſelf, and took the whole army priſoners. After this victory he not only reduced the city of *Tingis*, but made himſelf abſolute maſter of the whole country. Having thus delivered the oppreſſed *Mauritanians* from the tyrannical yoke of *Aſcalis*, he reſtored to them their eſtates, their cities, their laws, and their privileges, accepting only of ſuch acknowledgements as the people freely offered him [x].

Paſſes over into Africa.

Defeats Pacianus, *and takes the city of* Tingis.

HOWEVER, his reputation flew croſs the ſea. The *Luſitanians*, being threatened with a new war from *Annius*, ſent an embaſſy to him, inviting him to come and take upon him the command of their armies. This was raiſing him to the height of his deſires; he therefore immediately imbarqued with two thouſand five hundred *Romans*, who had followed him in his flight, and ſeven hundred *Africans*, who were willing to ſhare his fortune with him; and putting to ſea ſteered his courſe towards *Luſitania*. In his paſſage he happened to

[x] PLUT. in Sertor.

We can hardly believe, that *ſtern winter ſmiles* either upon *Norway* or *Sweden*, that the fields there are *florid with unfading prime*, that *no inclement winds blow from the bleak pole*, &c. and therefore are inclined to think, that father *Kircher* gueſſed better than Mr. *Rudbeck*, when he took the *Canaries* and *Azores* for the *Fortunate* or *Atlantic* iſlands.

fall in with the *Roman* fleet, commanded by *Cotta*; but having forced his way through it, he arrived ſafe on the *Luſitanian* coaſt, landed his men, and marched ſtrait to mount *Ballera*, the place of the general rendezvous. There he put himſelf at the head of that warlike nation, and became, in a manner, king of *Luſitania*, the natives, who were well acquainted with his virtues, experience in war, and great abilities, inveſting him with an abſolute and uncontrouled authority, and committing to his care themſelves and their fortunes. And indeed no man was more worthy to govern a ſtate, or command an army. He was, according to *Plutarch*, free from all vices, and an enemy to all ſorts of pleaſures; in adverſity and dangers undaunted, and no-ways puffed up with proſperity, but of an even mind, ever courteous and ever obliging. He was ſparing and backward in puniſhing, but in rewarding liberal and magnificent, even to prodigality. As to war, none of the moſt famous and renowned generals of antiquity underſtood that art better than *Sertorius*. He did not confine himſelf to one uniform method in ranging his cohorts and diſpoſing his ſquadrons, but varied it according to the character of his enemy. Though he approved of the order of battle eſtabliſhed among the *Romans*, yet he would not ſervilely adhere to it on all occaſions, but changed it when he thought proper, and by that means often broke the meaſures of the generals who oppoſed him. His maſter-piece was the art of harraſſing the enemy, laying ambuſcades, ſurpriſing them in narrow paſſes, tiring them with long marches, and avoiding a general engagement unleſs he was ſure of victory. With theſe qualifications, *Sertorius*, at the head of eight thouſand men, made war with four *Roman* generals, who had under their command a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and two thouſand archers and ſlingers. *Titus Didius*, governor of *Bætica*, was the firſt champion who entered the liſts with him, and gave him battle among the mountains. But that weak general was defeated with the loſs of two thouſand men, and driven out of the field. Hereupon *Sylla* diſpatched *Metellus*, one of the beſt generals then in *Rome*, to ſtop the progreſs of this new enemy. But the reputation of that great commander ſuffered much by this expedition. For he did not know which way to turn himſelf, having to do with a man of undaunted boldneſs and uncommon ſagacity, who was continually moleſting him, and yet could not be brought to a pitched battle; but, by the ſwiftneſs and dexterity of his *Spaniſh* ſoldiery, was continually changing his ſtation, caſting his army into all forms, and every

Is made general of the Luſitanians.

His character.

Defeats T. Didius.

every day contriving new ſtratagems. *Metellus* on his firſt arrival, ſent for *L. Domitius*, then prætor of *Hither Spain* to his aſſiſtance. But *Sertorius*, informed of the march of *Domitius*, detached *Hirtuleius* or *Herculeius*, his quæſtor againſt him, who gave the *Roman* prætor a total overthrow. Hereupon *Metellus* ordered *Lucius Lollius*, prætor of *Narbonne Gaul*, to leave his province and join him. But *Hirtuleius*, meeting him in the neighbourhood of *Ilerda*, now *Lerida*, gained a complete victory over him, diſperſed his troops and killed his lieutenant-general. Upon the fame of theſe victories, all thoſe, who were diſſatisfied with the government of *Sylla*, eſpecially ſuch of the proſcribed perſons as could eſcape his fury, flocked to *Sertorius* from all parts. Inſomuch, that he ſoon ſaw in his camp ſuch a number of illuſtrious *Roman* citizens, that he formed a ſenate of them, whoſe authority he ſet up in competition with that of the ſenate of *Rome*. Out of them he likewiſe choſe his quæſtors, his military tribunes, and other officers of his army. Thus he erected *Luſitania* into a new republic, which as it conſiſted chiefly of *Romans*, rivalled that of *Rome*. *Sylla*, highly provoked to ſee a proſcribed perſon thus reigning in *Spain*, and the republic robbed of one of the fineſt parts of her dominions, was continually ſending freſh ſupplies to *Metellus*; but *Sertorius*, at the head of a handful of men, who were accuſtomed to range about the mountains, to endure hunger and thirſt, and to live expoſed to the wind and weather without fire or covering, ſo harraſſed the *Roman* army, that *Metellus* himſelf began to be quite diſheartened. If he ſent out his men in parties to forage, *Sertorius*, who was well acquainted with the country, ſcarce ever failed of cutting off their retreat; if the whole army marched in a body, he was continually harraſſing and alarming them, falling on their rear, blocking up the narrow paſſes, intercepting their convoys, cutting off their ſtragglers, &c. if they laid ſiege to any town, he preſently appeared, beſieged them, and reduced them to great ſtraights for want of proviſions. By this means *Metellus* ſuffered the ſame inconveniencies as if he had been conquered, while *Sertorius* reaped all the advantages of a conqueror. The latter being informed, that his rival had ſpoke of him with contempt, as if he declined fighting out of cowardice, immediately ſent him a challenge, inviting him to put an end to the war by a ſingle combat. But *Metellus*, who was advanced in years, wiſely refuſed to enter the liſts with a ſtrong active man, then in the flower of his age, thinking that it became a general, as *Theophraſtus* obſerves, to die like a general, and not like a gladiator.

Gains great advantages over the Romans.

Forms Luſitania into a republic.

Harraſſes Metellus's troops.

a gladiator. However, his declining the challenge brought him into diſcredit with the undiſcerning multitude; and he, to recover his reputation by ſome ſignal action, turned his arms againſt *Lacobriga* (A), a conſiderable city of the *Turduli*, which he hoped to take in two days time, there being but one well within the city. But *Sertorius* found means to convey into the city, before *Metellus* inveſted it, ſix thouſand ſkins full of water, and to remove all thoſe who could be of no ſervice during the ſiege; ſo that *Metellus* continued a long time before the place, without gaining the leaſt advantage over the enemy. When he had ſpent moſt part of his proviſions, he ſent out *Aquinus*, at the head of ſix thouſand men, to bring in freſh ſupplies from the neighbouring country. But the brave *Sertorius* falling unexpectedly on *Aquinus*, cut in pieces part of his detachment, and took the reſt priſoners, the commander himſelf being the only man, who had the good luck to make his eſcape. And now *Metellus*, being reduced to great ſtraights for want of proviſions, ſhamefully raiſed the ſiege, and withdrew from before the place amidſt the hiſſes of the *Spaniards*, who inſulted him from their ramparts [y].

Defeats Aquinus, *and obliges* Metellus *to raiſe the ſiege of* Lacobriga

Sertorius having gained the eſteem, love, and admiration of the *Luſitanians* by theſe repeated advantages, and much more by his obliging and inſinuating behaviour, changed their ſavage and furious manner of fighting, brought them to make uſe of the *Roman* arms, taught them to keep their ranks and follow their enſigns, and, in ſhort, out of a confuſed multitude of thieves and robbers, formed a regular well-diſciplined army. He likewiſe beſtowed liberally upon them gold and ſilver to adorn their arms, cauſed their ſhields to be wrought and ingraved with various figures, and by converſing familiarly with them, prevailed upon them to lay aſide their own dreſs, and aſſume the *Roman toga* or gown. But what delighted them moſt, was the care he took of their children. For he ſent for all the children of the noblemen in thoſe parts, placed them in the great city of *Oſca* (B), and there appointed maſters to inſtruct them in the *Greek* and *Roman* learning,

Gains the affections of the Luſitanians.

[y] Plut. ibid.

(A) The antient *Lacobriga* is thought to have ſtood where *Lagos*, a little city of *Spain* near the bay of *Cadix*, now ſtands.

(B) The city of *Oſca*, now *Hueſca*, ſtood in the country of the *Ilergetes*, a people of *Tarraconian Spain*. It now belongs to the kingdom of *Arragon*.

that

that they might in due time, as he gave out, be capable of ſharing with him the government of the republic. Under this pretence he really made them hoſtages for the fidelity of their parents (C), who nevertheleſs were wonderfully pleaſed to ſee their children going daily to ſchool in good order, and handſomly dreſſed in fine long garments edged with purple. *Sertorius* paid large ſalaries for their learning, often enquired what progreſs they had made, examined them himſelf, and rewarded the moſt deſerving with thoſe *Bullæ Aureæ*, which were at *Rome* the chief diſtinction of children of high birth. At this time a cuſtom prevailed among the *Spaniards* and *Luſitanians*, that when a great commander was ſlain in battle, all thoſe who attended him died with him, either by the enemy's ſwords, or their own. This the inhabitants called an offering, or devoting of themſelves (D). Of theſe *Sertorius* had many thouſands, all reſolved to ſacrifice their lives for his ſafety, and ſtand by him to the laſt. *Plutarch* tells us, that his army being once defeated near a city in *Spain*, and the enemy preſſing hard upon his broken troops, they, forgetful of their own danger, and concerned only for their general,

(C) This was a true fetch in politics. *Sertorius* knew how to ingratiate himſelf with the people by the ſame means that aſſured him of their fidelity. *Alexander the Great* had done the ſame thing before him.

(D) The ſame cuſtom obtained in *Gaul*, where a number of reſolute men, called *Soldurii*, devoted themſelves to a prince, or ſome great commander, to ſhare with him both his good and bad fortune, and either to fall with him in battle, or kill themſelves in caſe he was defeated. This was a point of honour, wherein none of them were ever known to fail (17). *Dion* tells us, that one *Sextus Pacuvius* or *Apudius* devoted himſelf in full ſenate to *Auguſtus*, after the manner of the *Spaniards*, and would have forced all the reſt to follow his example But this was the action of a vile mercenary flatterer, who meant nothing of what he ſaid, and did it only to ingratiate himſelf with his prince; wherein indeed he ſucceeded, for in courts hypocriſy often prevails over truth This cuſtom did not only prevail in *Gaul* and *Spain*, but in many other parts of the world, and in our days in the iſland of *Ceylan*, and in the kingdom of *Tunquin*. Thoſe who thus devote themſelves are in ſome places called *The king's vaſſals in this world and in the next.* We with *Plutarch* had told us by what name thoſe heroic perſons were diſtinguiſhed in *Spain*, as *Cæſar* has acquainted us what thoſe of the ſame order were called in *Gaul*.

(17) *Cæſar de bell Gall l. iii.*

took

took him upon their ſhoulders, and paſſing him from one to another, conveyed him into the city, and then ſhifted, in the beſt manner they could for themſelves. Nay, his ſoldiers not only revered him as an invincible general, but as a man inſpired and a favourite of heaven. This opinion he gained among the ſuperſtitious *Luſitanians* by ſeveral artifices, and deluding impoſtures; among which that of the hind was none of the leaſt. A *Luſitanian*, by name *Spanus*, meeting one day a doe, which in flying from the hunters had juſt dropped a hind-calf, took up the fawn, and brought it to *Sertorius*, who uſed to reward very liberally thoſe who preſented him with fruit, fowls, or veniſon. As the young hind was milk-white, the general was wonderfully taken with it, reared it up with great care, and made it ſo tame, that it followed him wherever he went, without being in the leaſt frightened at the noiſe and hurry of the camp. As he was well acquainted with the ſuperſtition and credulity of the *Luſitanians*, he gave out by degrees, that the hind was inſpired, that it was given him by *Diana*, and that it diſcovered hidden myſteries. When he received any private intelligence of the enemy's deſigns or motions, he pretended, that the hind had informed him of them in his ſleep, and charged him to keep his forces in readineſs. Upon the firſt notice of any advantage gained by the officers, who commanded under him, he uſed to bring forth the hind crowned with flowers, and encourage his ſoldiers to return thanks to the gods for the account they ſhould ſoon receive of ſome proſperous ſucceſs (E). By theſe and ſuch-like devices he brought the *Luſitanians* to look upon him as a man ſent them from heaven, or rather as a god under the appearance of a man. Hence *Metellus*, though an old and experienced general, could not, during *Sylla*'s life-time, gain the leaſt advantage over him, or prevail upon one city to declare againſt him. When *Sylla* was dead, the republic, alarmed at the extraordinary progreſs *Sertorius* made in *Luſitania*,

He makes uſe of a hind to impoſe upon the ſuperſtitious Luſitanians.

(E) We meet in antient hiſtory with many examples of ſuch devices, made uſe of by the greateſt generals, and wiſeſt law givers, the better to impoſe upon the ſuperſtition and credulity of the people. A few years before, *Marius*, as we have related above, impoſed upon his ſoldiers by a *Syrian* woman, who paſſed for a great propheteſs, and, by tame vultures, which he had accuſtomed to follow him, and come to him when called. Theſe juggling tricks were not only practiſed in the times of ignorance and darkneſs, but are renewed in our days, in the days of the greateſt light and knowledge.

reſolved

reſolved to ſend another general againſt him with ſuch a force as might cruſh him at once. All the officers of any note in *Rome* earneſtly ſolicited ſo honourable a commiſſion, and among the reſt *Pompey*, who had juſt ſuppreſſed the troubles raiſed by *Lepidus*. We are told, that though all was quiet in *Rome*, *Pompey* ſtill kept his army on foot in the neighbourhood of the city, and under various pretences refuſed to diſband it, till the ſenate at laſt thought fit to decree him the government of *Luſitania*. *L. Philippus* was the firſt who made this motion in the ſenate, which was oppoſed by ſeveral ſenators, who were againſt beſtowing ſo honourable an employment on a young man, before he had paſſed through the inferior offices. One of them, ſurpriſed at the motion, aſked *Philippus*, whether his meaning was, that *Pompey* ſhould be ſent into *Spain proconſul*, that is, *inſtead of a conſul*. No, replied *Philippus*, but *pro conſulibus*, that is, *inſtead of both conſuls*, intimating thereby, that the conſuls for the year, were men of no merit, and incapable of managing the war in that province. After a long and warm debate a decree paſſed, appointing *Pompey* commander in chief of the army, that was to march into *Luſitania* to the aſſiſtance of *Metellus*. It was no ſooner paſſed, than *Pompey* ſet out from *Rome*, at the head of the troops he had kept together after the defeat of *Lepidus* [a].

Pompey *appointed to command againſt* Sertorius.

IN the mean time, the republic choſe for her new conſuls *Cn. Octavius Nepos* and *Caius Curio*, who made it their whole buſineſs to ſupport the regulations *Sylla* had made againſt the attempts of the tribunes of the people. The dictator had reduced their power almoſt to nothing, but upon his death their ambition revived. At the head of the college was at this time one *Cneius Sicinius*, whoſe chief talent was buffoonry, the art of mimicking, and turning into ridicule the moſt proper geſtures and moſt ſerious diſcourſes of the greateſt orators. Though he was a man of no principles or probity, yet he had found means to pleaſe the multitude; and, depending upon their favour, he had the confidence to ſummon the conſuls to appear in the comitium, and there give an account why they deprived the tribunes of their ancient prerogatives. The conſuls obeyed the ſummons, and on the day appointed appeared before the people, when *Curio* ſpoke with all the dignity of a conſul and all the force of a great orator, ſhewing, that the late diſturbances owed their riſe to the abuſe of the too great power which the tribunes had uſurped.

The conſuls attempt the recovery of their power.

[a] Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor.

While

While he was ſpeaking, *Sicinius* mimicked all his geſtures and motions, making wry faces to divert the attention of the people. But all in vain; truth prevailed over the fondneſs of the populace for buffoonries; the tribunes continued in the ſame low condition, to which *Sylla* had reduced them, and the patricians triumphed. The whole glory of this victory was owing to *Curio*; for his collegue *Octavius*, who was troubled with the rheumatiſm, kept the whole time a profound ſilence, ſitting on the roſtra wrapped up in linen, and covered over with plaiſters, which gave the facetious tribune an opportunity to rally him, as he came down from the roſtra, and tell him with a ſneer, That he was obliged to his coliegue, who, by throwing himſelf about as uſual, had ſaved him from being devoured by the flies. In ſhort, *Sicinius* was ſo very witty, that he was aſſaſſinated before his office expired, and the republic delivered from a dangerous citizen [a].

Julius Cæſar *begins to ſhine at the bar.*

This year *Julius Cæſar*, tho' but twenty-two years of age, began to ſhine at the bar. After he had ſignalized his valour at the ſiege of *Mitylene*, as we have related above, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence, and this year accuſed *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, formerly prætor of *Macedon*, and honoured with the conſulate and a triumph. He charged him with male-adminiſtration; but *Quintus Hortenſius* and *Caius Aurelius Cotta*, the two greateſt orators in *Rome*, pleaded with ſo much eloquence in favour of the accuſed, that he was acquitted. However, *Cæſar* gained the reputation of being one of the beſt orators of his age, and would have challenged the firſt place among men of that character, had he not proved, to the great misfortune of the republic, one of her greateſt warriors (F). Not long after he had accuſed

[a] Cic. in Bruto. Quintil. l. xi. & Plut. in Craſſo.

(F) In his pleadings, ſays *Plutarch* (18), he appeared with all the graces of an excellent orator, and gained much upon the affections of the people by the eaſineſs of his addreſs and converſation, in which he was accompliſhed beyond what could be expected from his age. He was by nature excellently framed, ſays the ſame writer, for a perfect ſtateſman and orator, and took great pains to improve his genius that way in his youth; but he never roſe up to that pitch of eloquence, to which nature would have carried him, being diverted by thoſe expeditions and deſigns, which at length gained him the empire: Whence he himſelf, in

(18) *Plut. in Cæſare.*

his

ſed *Dolabella*, he imbarqued for *Rhodes*, with a deſign to improve himſelf in the art of oratory under *Apollonius*, one of the greateſt rhetoricians of his time; but he was taken in his paſſage by ſome pirates, who, with a few large ſhips and a vaſt number of ſmall veſſels, infeſted thoſe ſeas. When they demanded twenty talents for his ranſom, he ſmiled at them, as not underſtanding the value of their priſoner, and voluntarily engaged to pay them fifty, that is nine thouſand ſix hundred and eighty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings. Accordingly he diſpatched ſome of his domeſtics to raiſe the ſum he had promiſed in the neighbouring cities, and in the mean time remained in the hands of thoſe robbers, with only one friend and two attendants. During the thirty-eight days he ſpent among them, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence and poetry, wrote verſes and compoſed ſpeeches, which he repeated to them, reproaching thoſe who did not admire them with barbarity and ignorance. He converſed familiarly with them; but always treated them with a high hand, and often in raillery threatened to have them crucified, if they diſturbed him when he had a mind to ſleep. The pirates, aſcribing this free way of talking to ſimplicity and a juvenile vivacity, were mightily taken with it. When his ranſom came, which the *Mileſians* raiſed by a tax upon themſelves, he immediately paid it; and being diſcharged, he went directly to *Miletus*, manned ſome ſhips there, and with them ſurpriſed the pirates, took moſt of them priſoners, and carried them to *Pergamus*. As it belonged to *Junius*, at that time prætor of *Aſia*, to determine their puniſhment, *Cæſar* applied to him, while he was taking a progreſs through the *Aſiatic* province. *Junius*, who was a very covetous man, and hoped to extort great ſums from the pirates, anſwered, That he would think at his leiſure what to do with the priſoners. Upon which *Cæſar*, taking his leave of him, returned to *Pergamus*, where he ordered the pirates to be brought forth and crucified; a puniſhment which he had often threatened them with while he was in their hands, and which they never dreamt he would be ever able to in-

His behaviour when taken by pirates.

Cauſes the pirates to be cru-cified.

his anſwer to *Cicero*'s panegyric on *Cato*, deſires his reader not to compare the plain diſcourſe of a ſoldier with the ſtudied harangues of an orator, who was not only endued with fine parts, but had employed his whole life in this one ſtudy (19).

(19) *Idem ibid.*

fict upon them [b] (G). He then went to *Rhodes*, where he improved his talent for oratory, under the famous rhetorician *Apollonius Molon* (H), who at that time had *Cicero* for his auditor.

In

[b] Plut. in Cæſare.

(G) *Plutarch*, in this place, contradicts *Suetonius*, whom we have followed. The former writer tells us, that *Cæſar* was taken by the pirates near the iſland of *Pharmacuſa*, on his return from *Bithynia*, where he had reſided ſome time at the court of king *Nicomedes*, as we have related above.

(H) *Plutarch* calls *Apollonius Molon*'s ſon, and of one man makes two; for *Apollonius* himſelf, and not his father, was called *Molon*, as is evident from *Suetonius*, *Quintilian*, and *Cicero*, who often call him *Molon* ſimply, without the addition of the other appellative, which would have been very improper, if he had been only the ſon of *Molon*. *Plutarch* falls into the ſame miſtake in the life of *Cicero*, as the learned *Rualdus* obſerves. Thus far M. *Dacier*, in her notes upon *Plutarch*. But that learned critic is certainly miſtaken, it being evident from *Strabo*, that *Molon* and *Apollonius* were two different men; for he tells us in expreſs terms, that *Molon* and *Apollonius* were both natives of *Alabanda*, a city of *Caria*; that they were both ſcholars of *Menecles* the *Alabandian*; and that they both profeſſed the ſame art at *Rhodes*, tho' *Molon* went thither later than *Apollonius*, who, on that account, applied to him that of *Homer* Ὀψὲ Μόλων; for he was likewiſe called by ſome *Molon*, by others Μαλακὸς, or *the Soft* (20). *Cicero* likewiſe diſtinguiſhes them, calling the one *Molon*, and the other *Apollonius* the *Alabandian*, eſpecially in his firſt book *de oratore*, where he introduces *M. Antonius* ſpeaking of him thus: *For this one thing I always liked* Apollonius *the* Alabandian; *though he taught for money, he did not ſuffer any, whom he thought incapable of becoming orators, to loſe their time and labour with him; but ſent them home, exhorting them to apply their minds to that art, for which they were, in his opinion, beſt qualified.* It were much to be wiſhed, that thoſe who, in our days, ſet up for teachers and ſchoolmaſters, were as honeſt and diſintereſted as *Apollonius*. Of this *Apollonius Plutarch* relates, that as he was not well verſed in the *Latin* tongue, he deſired *Cicero* to declaim in *Greek*. The *Roman* was mightily pleaſed with this motion, ſuppoſing, that *Apollonius* could better correct him, in caſe he ſhould ſay any thing amiſs; but while thoſe who were preſent, amazed at his eloquence and the purity of his diction, ſtrove to outdo one another in commending him, *Apollonius* neither expreſſed any ſatisfaction in his countenance while his diſciple was ſpeaking, nor applauded him after he had done; but, without utter-

(20) *Strabo*, *l. xiv p.* 655, 660, 661.

ing

IN the mean time *Pompey*, having ſpent the winter in *Narbonne Gaul*, and in the beginning of the ſpring paſſed the *Pyrenees*, after having ſurmounted the obſtacles which ſome *Gauliſh* nations threw in his way, appeared on the frontiers of *Hither Spain*. There he was informed, that the *Roman* troops, under the command of *Perperna*, or *Perpenna*, had, in ſpite of their general, joined *Sertorius*, and taken the military oath to him. *Perperna*, after the death of *Lepidus*, whoſe lieutenant he was, had got together the remains of his army, amounting to fifty three cohorts, that is, about thirty two thouſand men, and had marched with them into *Spain*, intending to ſettle there, as *Sertorius* had done, and to make war with *Metellus* by himſelf, thinking it below a man of his birth and rank to act in ſubordination to one, who was not even a *Roman*; but when his ſoldiers underſtood, that *Pompey* had paſſed the *Pyrenees* at the head of a mighty army, they took up their arms and enſigns, and threatened to abandon *Perperna*, if he did not inſtantly lead them to *Sertorius*, and reſign the command to a general, who was able to defend himſelf and thoſe who ſerved under him. *Perpenna* complied, tho' much againſt his will, with their deſire, joined *Sertorius*, and ſerved under him as a ſubaltern. *Sertorius*, now at the head of a very conſiderable army, took the field, in order to ſtop the progreſs of *Pompey*, whoſe high character, founded on many glorious exploits, was a ſtrong prejudice in his favour. He was in the flower of his age, at moſt about thirty, had been honoured ſome years before with a triumph and the ſurname of *Great*, and was now empowered to act ſeparately and independently of *Metellus*, with the title of proconſul. Upon his arrival, ſeveral cities, which had hitherto continued faithful to *Sertorius*, began to waver, and ſeemed inclined to open their gates to a general, whoſe great fame had already reached the moſt remote corners of *Spain*. *Sertorius* therefore, to prevent their defection by ſome ſignal

Perperna retires to Spain.

His troops join Sertorius.

ing a word, continued in his place muſing and penſive. When he obſerved *Cicero* to be uneaſy at this behaviour, he addreſſed him thus: *Take courage, Cicero; I both praiſe and admire you; but I am ſorry for poor* Greece, *when I ſee the two only ornaments that were left us, learning and eloquence, tranſferred by you from us to the* Romans. This *Apollonius* ſupplied *Apion* the grammarian, if *Joſephus* is to be credited (z1) with the many falſhoods he publiſhed againſt the *Jews* and their temple.

(z1) *Joſeph. contra Apion. l. ii.*

action, and to make them ſenſible that *Pompey*'s protection could avail them little againſt his power and reſentment, entered the province of *Hither Spain*, which was moſt devoted to the republic, and there, tho' *Pompey* was advancing full march againſt him, laid ſiege to *Lauron*, now *Liria*, a ſtrong city on the banks of the *Turia*. *Pompey*, not doubting but he ſhould be able to raiſe the ſiege, marched quite up to the enemy's lines, and thinking he had incloſed them between his own army and the city, found means to convey a meſſenger into the place, to acquaint the gariſon, that thoſe who beſieged them were themſelves beſieged, and would be ſoon obliged to retire with ſhame and diſgrace. *Sertorius*, when informed of this meſſage, ſmiled, and turning to the officers about him, *I will teach* Sylla's *diſciple*, ſaid he, *that it is the duty of a general to look as well behind him as before him.* Having thus ſpoke, he ſent orders to a detachment of ſix thouſand men, who lay concealed among the mountains, to draw near to *Pompey*, and fall upon his rear, if he ſhould offer to force the lines. *Pompey*, ſurpriſed at their ſudden appearance, durſt not ſtir out of his camp; but was forced to ſit ſtill, and ſee his friends and confederates ruined before his face: for the beſieged, deſpairing of relief, delivered themſelves up to *Sertorius*, who ſpared their lives and granted them their liberty; but burnt their city, not out of anger or cruelty, to which *Sertorius* was an utter ſtranger, but that it might be ſaid, for the greater confuſion of the admirers of *Pompey*, that though he was ſo near the fire, which burnt down a confederate city, as to be well warmed by it, yet it was not able to raiſe heat enough in him to make him attempt the relief of it *. *Frontinus* tells us, that *Pompey*, without coming to a general action, loſt, during the ſiege of *Lauron*, ten thouſand men, cut off in ſmall parties by *Sertorius*'s horſe, who were continually ſcouring the plains and intercepting all the enemy's convoys c. However that be, it is certain, that *Pompey*, after the ſurrender of the place, retired with *Metella* to the foot of the *Pyrenees*; and there, without putting their troops into winter-quarters as uſual, ſuffered all the rigour of the ſeaſon in tents, being afraid of a ſurprize from a general, whom they both dreaded and admired.

Sertorius *beſieges* Lauron.

And takes it before Pompey's *face.*

The next year *L. Octavius* and *Aurelius Cotta* were choſen conſuls, and upon a complaint made, that the famine occaſioned in *Rome* by the *Cilician* pirates, who infeſted the ſeas, was owing to *Sylla*'s having leſſened the power of

* Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor. c Frontr. ſtrat. l. i. c. 5.

the

the tribunes of the people, *Cotta* was weak enough to give up one point in their favour, to the great prejudice of the republic. He consented, that, for the future, the tribunes might be promoted to superior offices, contrary to a law enacted by *Sylla*. Thus they began to recover by degrees their former power, which, in the end, proved the ruin of the republican government [d].

The tribunes of the people begin to recover their former power.

BUT to return to *Spain*. As soon as the season was proper for action, *Metellus* took the field, and marched against *Hirtuleius*, one of *Sertorius*'s lieutenants, engaged him, and, after a most obstinate dispute which lasted the whole day, put him to flight. *Hirtuleius* lost in the action twenty thousand men, was himself dangerously wounded, and very narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands [e]. *Sertorius*, upon the news of this overthrow, advanced with all possible expedition to the banks of the *Sucro* in *Tarraconian Spain*, intending to attack *Pompey*, who was incamped there, before he could be joined by *Metellus*, and by that means repair the loss which his lieutenant had sustained. On the other hand, *Pompey*, fearing *Metellus* should share with him the glory of the victory, made what haste he could to engage *Sertorius* before his arrival. However, *Sertorius*, considering that the darkness of the night would be a great disadvantage to the enemy, whether they were conquerors or conquered, none of them being acquainted with the country, delayed engaging till the close of the day, and then advanced in order of battle against his rival, whose troops were drawn up in a large plain on the banks of the *Sucro*. *Pompey* tho' well apprised of the enemy's design in putting off the engagement till the evening, would not decline it, for fear *Metellus* should in the mean time join him with his victorious troops, and rob him in great measure of the glory, which he promised himself from conquering a commander of so great reputation. The attack was begun with equal valour on both sides. *Pompey*, who commanded his own right wing, soon obliged *Perperna*, who commanded the enemy's left wing, to give way. Hereupon *Sertorius*, committing the care of his right wing to his lieutenants, flew to the assistance of the left; and having, what by promises what by menaces, brought his flying troops back to the charge, fell upon *Pompey* with such fury, that, in spite of his utmost efforts, he was forced to give way, and betake himself to flight. As he was flying, *defeated*

Hirtuleius *entirely defeated by* Metellus.

A battle between Pompey *and* Sertorius.

[d] APPIAN de bell. civil. l. i. SALLUST in fragment. PLUT. in Crass. [e] PLUTARCH. ibid.

an *African* of a gigantic ſize, who purſued him cloſe, had already lifted up his arm to diſcharge a blow at him with his broad ſword; but *Pompey*, more active and nimble than the unwieldy *African*, prevented him by cutting off his hand at the firſt blow. He then continued his flight; but being wounded and thrown from his horſe, he would have been made priſoner, had not the *Africans*, who purſued him, quarrelled about his horſe's golden trappings and rich capariſon. While they were dividing the ſpoil, *Pompey* made his eſcape, and, with much ado, being wounded in the thigh with an arrow, reached his camp. On the other hand, *Afranius*, who commanded the left wing of the *Roman* army, had all the advantage over the right wing *Sertorius* had left; he put them into diſorder, forced them to retire in confuſion, and purſued them ſo cloſe, that he entered the enemy's camp with the fugitives; but while his troops were buſy in rifling the tents, *Sertorius* came upon them unexpectedly, made a dreadful ſlaughter of them at the head of his victorious forces, and retook his camp. Early next morning, *Sertorius* drew up his army in the ſame plain, being reſolved to venture a ſecond engagement, which he had taken proper meaſures to make deciſive; but in the mean time *Metellus* coming up, he drew off, and returned to his camp, ſaying, *Had it not been for the old woman*, meaning *Metellus*, *I would have whipt the boy ſoundly, and ſent him back to* Rome [f].

At this time *Sertorius* was greatly concerned for the loſs of his hind, which had gone aſtray, being frightened with the noiſe and hurry of the late battle. He was thereby deſtitute of an admirable contrivance to encourage the ſuperſtitious people, and inſpire them with an awful reſpect for his perſon; but, by good fortune, ſome of his men, who were wandering about in the night, meeting her and knowing her by her colour, retook her. The general was overjoyed with the news, and promiſed an ample reward to thoſe who had found her, provided they kept it ſecret and locked her up carefully. A few days after he appeared in public with a chearful countenance, and declared to the chief nobility, that the gods had foretold him in a dream, that ſome extraordinary good fortune would ſoon attend him. He then aſcended his tribunal, and while he was there adminiſtering juſtice and giving audience to his officers and ſoldiers, the favourite hind being let looſe, purſuant to his directions, no ſooner diſcovered her maſter, than ſhe ran bounding to him with great joy, leaped on the tribunal, laid her head in his lap, and licked his hand. *Serto-*

[f] Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor.

rius

rius in return ſtroaked and careſſed her with all the tokens of a real tenderneſs and affection, inſomuch, that tears ran down his cheeks. All thoſe who were preſent, filled with wonder and aſtoniſhment, proclaimed him above the rank of common men, looked upon him as a perſon highly favoured by the gods, and with reſpectful congratulations and loud ſhouts of joy, attended him to his tent, proteſting, that they were ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in his defence [g].

Sertorius, not thinking it adviſeable to engage *Pompey* and *Metellus* at the ſame time, retired in the night from his camp; and, upon his retreat, *Pompey* went out to receive and welcome *Metellus*. As he drew near, *Pompey*, out of reſpect to him as his ſuperior officer, ordered his lictors to lower their faſces; but *Metellus* would not aſſume any diſtinction, except that of giving the watch-word to the whole army while they incamped together. As a perfect harmony reigned both between the generals and the two armies, they agreed to march after *Sertorius*, and attack him in his new poſt. They found his army divided into two bodies, one commanded by *Perperna*, the other by himſelf. After they had continued ſome days in ſight of each other, *Metellus* fell upon *Perperna*, and *Pompey* led his forces againſt *Sertorius*, in hopes of recovering the reputation he had loſt in the late battle. The engagement was ſo furious and obſtinate, that it laſted the whole day; but in the end *Pompey* was defeated anew and put to flight, after having loſt ſix thouſand men, among whom was *Memmius* his lieutenant, and one of the greateſt officers of his time. On the other hand, *Metellus* put *Perperna* to flight, and killed five thouſand of his men; but, *Sertorius*, having rallied the fugitives and renewed the fight, repulſed *Metellus* in his turn, and, cutting his way through the battalions that ſurrounded him, wounded him with his lance, and would have ſoon diſpatched him, had not his troops, aſhamed to leave their general in diſtreſs, returned to the charge. After they had reſcued *Metellus* they fell upon the *Luſitanians*, who attended *Sertorius*, with ſuch fury, that they obliged them to retire in great confuſion. The brave general, having attempted ſeveral times in vain to rally his troops and lead them back to the charge, was forced at length to quit the field. He withdrew to a city among the mountains, not that he deſigned to ſtand a ſiege there, but only to deceive *Pompey* and *Metellus*. Accordingly the two generals, giving over the purſuit of the *Luſitanians*, haſtened to lay ſiege to the place whither *Sertorius*

Pompey defeated anew.

Sertorius obliged by Metellus to quit the field.

[g] Idem ibid.

had

had retreated; but while they were forming their camp, he made a ſally, and eſcaped with his troops croſs the mountains into *Luſitania*, where he raiſed a ſufficient number of forces to enable him to keep the field. All the cities in his intereſt ſent him ſupplies of men, money, and proviſions, with ſuch expedition, that in a very ſhort time he appeared again at the head of a formidable army, and offered the two generals battle, which they wiſely declined; but they could not avoid the continual attacks of *Sertorius*, who fell upon them from all quarters, drove them from poſt to poſt, and, by intercepting all their convoys, reduced them to ſuch ſtraits, that they were obliged to ſeparate and retire, *Metellus* into *Gaul*, and *Pompey* into the country of the *Vaccæi*, whom *Iſidorus* places at the foot of the *Pyrenees*. From thence he wrote a doleful letter to the ſenate, demanding a ſpeedy ſupply of men and money, acquainting them with the wretched condition his troops were in, and adding, that if they delayed ſending him powerful reinforcements, he ſhould be forced to return into *Italy* with his army. To ſuch extremities *Sertorius* brought the two greateſt commanders and moſt experienced warriors of his age [r].

Pompey and Metellus reduced to great ſtraits.

Sertorius offers to lay down his arms.

He was now in the height of his proſperity; but nevertheleſs, as he was a ſincere lover of his country, and had a great deſire to return home, he ſent word to *Metellus* and *Pompey*, that he was ready to lay down his arms and lead a private life, provided the decree of his proſcription were repealed. This great deſire of ſeeing again his native country, was chiefly owing, as *Plutarch* informs us, to the tender affection and extraordinary reſpect he always had for his mother, under whom he had been brought up with great care, having loſt his father when he was very young. When he afterwards received the melancholy news of her death, he was ſo much affected with it, that he had almoſt died himſelf of grief; he wept bitterly, and lay ſeven days together on the ground, without giving the word, or being ſeen by his moſt intimate friends. The chief commanders of the army and perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, crouding round his tent, with much-ado prevailed upon him to appear again in public, and take upon him the management of affairs, which were then in a very proſperous condition. All this plainly ſhews, that he was of a mild and compaſſionate temper, naturally inclined to lead a quiet life, and that he was driven by his enemies to have recourſe to arms, contrary to his own inclination. What anſwer *Pom*

[r] Plut. ibid.

pe

pey and *Metellus* returned him, hiſtorians have not told us. All we know is, that the decree of his proſcription was never repealed, nor he ſuffered to return to his native country.

IN the mean time the fame of his noble exploits, and of the great advantages he gained every day over the two moſt renowned generals of the republic, flew as far as *Aſia*. *Mithridates the Great* had been obliged by *Sylla*, as we have related in our hiſtory of *Pontus*, to ſubmit to ſuch conditions of peace, as that general had been pleaſed to impoſe upon him; but, after the deceaſe of *Sylla*, he raiſed a powerful army, with a deſign to renew the war, and improve the diſturbances of the republic to his advantage. As his court was at that time filled with proſcribed perſons, who had fled from *Rome*, theſe, eſpecially *L. Magius* and *L. Fannius*, adviſed him to enter into an alliance with *Sertorius*; and the king, purſuant to their advice, ſent embaſſadors into *Spain*, offering the *Luſitanian* general three thouſand talents and forty gallies completely fitted out, on condition that he would ſuffer him to re-conquer thoſe provinces of *Aſia*, which he had been forced to give in virtue of his treaty with *Sylla*. Upon the arrival of the embaſſadors, *Sertorius* called a council, when all to a man approved of the king's propoſals, and were very preſſing with *Sertorius* to comply with his requeſt, ſince he demanded nothing but an empty conſent to an undertaking, which they could no-ways prevent. And here we cannot ſufficiently admire the conſtancy and magnanimity of that brave commander, who, we may ſay, appeared greater in this glorious negotiation, than at the head of his army. Tho' it would have coſt him nothing to have granted *Mithridates* whatever he deſired, and ſuch a grant would have procured him great ſums and a conſiderable armament; yet he would not by any means hearken to the propoſal, ſaying, That it was his duty to inlarge the *Roman* dominions by his victories, and not to increaſe his own power by the diminution of the *Roman* territories. Having therefore ſent for the embaſſadors, he declared to them, that he was willing their maſter ſhould re-conquer *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, kingdoms to which the *Romans* had no right; but that he would not conſent he ſhould ſet a foot in the province of *Aſia*, that is, the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which undoubtedly belonged to the commonwealth, and which he had given up by a ſolemn treaty. With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the embaſſadors; and when the king heard it, he could not help admiring the magnanimity of *Sertorius*: *What would not this* Roman *preſcribe to us*, ſaid he, *if he were at* Rome, *ſince from the ſhores of the* Atlantic *ocean, he takes upon him to ſet bounds to our kingdom, and threatens us*

Mithridates *ſends embaſſadors to* Sertorius.

with war, in caſe we ſhould make any attempts upon Aſia? However, the king of *Pontus*, knowing how advantageous it would prove to his deſigns to foment the civil war, concluded the treaty upon *Sertorius*'s own terms. The king ſupplied him with three thouſand talents and a fleet of forty gallies; and *Sertorius* ſent to the king a body of troops, under the command of *Marcus Marius*, or as others call him, *Marcus Varius*, one of the ſenators, who had been proſcribed by *Sylla* [f].

Sertorius *enters into an alliance with* Mithridates.

While *Mithridates* was making prodigious preparations for war in *Aſia*, and *Sertorius* in *Spain*, *P. Servilius*, with the title of proconſul, cleared the coaſts and ſeas of the pirates who infeſted them, took *Iſaure* their capital (I), and was honoured with the ſurname of *Iſauricus*, and with a triumph for his ſucceſs. The next year *Licinius Lucullus* and *Aurelius Cotta* were choſen conſuls. The former, by paying his court to a miſtreſs of *Cethegus*, one of the tribunes of the people, got the command of the troops that were to be ſent into *Cilicia*. His colleague was appointed to command the fleet that was to guard *Bithynia* againſt the invaſion threatened by *Mithridates*; but, before he ſet ſail, he procured an unlimited commiſſion for *M. Antonius*, the father of the triumvir, which was that of guarding all the ſea-coaſts ſubject to the republic. He ſet out with great confidence in queſt of the pirates, and engaged them off the iſland of *Crete*; but he had the mortification to ſee moſt of his ſhips taken, and his men hanged to the maſts, with the chains which he had prepared for the enemy. This ſight ſo grieved him, that he died a

M. Antonius *defeated by the pirates.*

[f] Plut. in Sert. Cic. pro lege Manilia, & pro Muræna. Liv. l. xciii. Appian. in Mithridatic. Oros. l. vi. c. 2.

(I) *Iſaura*, called afterwards *Iſauropolis*, and now *Saura*, was the capital of *Iſauria*, a country of *Aſia Minor*, comprehending part of mount *Taurus*, and the mountains between *Cilicia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pamphylia*. This city, in *Pliny*'s time, had loſt much of its antient ſplendor. *Servilius*, beſides *Iſaure*, reduced ſeveral other cities, *viz* *Phaſelis*, *Olympus*, and *Coricus*, which were retreats for pirates. The firſt ſtood on the confines of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. Its inhabitants, who were for the moſt part pirates, made uſe of a ſort of brigantine, which from them was called *phaſelus*. They were ſo poor, according to the antients, that they ſacrificed nothing but ſalt fiſh to their gods; and hence the proverb, *ſacrificium Phaſelitarum*, to ſignify *a mean preſent* or *offering*. The city of *Olympus* ſtood on the ſea coaſt of *Cilicia*; and that of *Coricus* was a famous port in the ſame country, and is now known by the name of *Curco*.

few

few days after [t]. In the mean time *Cotta* arriving in *Bithynia*, found *Mithridates* in motion at the head of a mighty army. All the cities of *Paphlagonia* opened their gates to him, imagining, that, in submitting to him, they submitted to the authority of *Rome*, because *Marius*, whom *Sertorius* had sent into *Asia* in quality of proconsul, always marched before the king's troops, attended by his lictors with their fasces. The *Bithynians* likewise would readily have revolted, had not *Julius Cæsar*, who had retired to *Rhodes*, as we have related above, upon the news of their motions, crossed over to the continent, raised troops without any commission, and, driving the king's emissaries out of the country, kept the cities, which were ready to revolt, steady to their duty. This was as it were, the first essay of this young commander, who, tho' only twenty four years of age, already equalled the oldest generals in prudence and bravery [u]. On the other hand, the consul *Cotta* being defeated in a sea engagement by the fleet of *Mithridates*, was forced to take refuge in *Chalcedon*, where he was closely besieged; but his collegue *Lucullus*, marching to his relief, obliged *Mithridates* to retire. The king went from thence to besiege *Cyzicus*; but was obliged by *Lucullus* to drop that enterprise, after having lost the greatest part of his army, which, when he sat down before the place, was thirty thousand strong. The *Roman*, encouraged with this success, took several places from the enemy, and put an end to the campaign by a complete victory over the king's fleet, as we have related in our history of *Pontus*, to which we refer our readers for a full account of what we have only hinted at in this place.

The success of Lucullus *against* Mithridates.

THE republic was no less successful in *Spain* than in *Asia*. The senators and other patricians who served under *Sertorius*, thinking they could now make head against the enemy without him, began to be jealous of his glory. They were headed by *Perperna*, who was continually inveighing, both in private and in public, against *Sertorius* and his senate. That ambitious patrician could not brook the authority which he had assumed over his army, and flattering himself that he should succeed him in the command of all the troops in *Lusitania*, he plotted his ruin, and drew into the conspiracy several officers, pretending, that *Sertorius* slighted the *Romans*, and confided only in the *Lusitanians*. The conspirators, not daring at first to make any attempt upon his life, by reason

A conspiracy against Sertorius.

[t] CIC. act. 2. in Verr. FLOR. l. iii. c. 7. LIV. l. xciv. [u] SUET. in Julio, c. 4. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 42.

of the great affection the *Luſitanians* bore him, did all that lay in their power to alienate their minds from him, and ſecretly deſtroy his intereſt among them. With this view the governors of the cities abuſed the inhabitants, puniſhed them with the utmoſt ſeverity, and loaded them with taxes, giving out, that all this was done by the expreſs order of *Sertorius*. Hereupon ſeveral cities revolted, and great diſturbances were raiſed all over *Luſitania*. *Sertorius* ſent perſons, in whom he thought he could confide, to appeaſe the mutineers; but thoſe, in whom he repoſed moſt confidence, being gained over by his enemies, proved traytors to him, and inſtead of mitigating the people by gentle methods, exaſperated them with an unſeaſonable ſeverity, and left them at their departure more obſtinate and more inclined to revolt, than they had found them.

His ſeverity to the Spaniſh *hoſtages.*

This incenſed *Sertorius* to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed ſome of the children of the *Luſitanians*, who were educated at *Oſca*, to be put to death, and ſold others for ſlaves. This is the only piece of cruelty and injuſtice, which the author of *Sertorius*'s life can lay to his charge (K); on all other occaſions he ſhewed a mildneſs of temper hardly to be matched [w].

[w] Plut. ibid.

(K) However, he endeavours to excuſe it, and reaſons thus: "The cruelty which *Sertorius* practiſed upon the *Spaniſh* hoſtages "ſeems to argue, that his clemency was not natural, but only acted "as his affairs required. As to my own opinion, I am perſuaded "that true virtue, eſtabliſhed by reaſon and mature judgment, can "never be totally perverted and extirpated by any misfortune "whatever; not that I think it impoſſible, but that great indignities offered without cauſe, and frequent abuſes put upon thoſe "of the beſt nature and moſt virtuous inclinations, may make ſome "impreſſion and alteration in their temper; and thus, I ſuppoſe, "it happened to *Sertorius*, who, being exaſperated by repeated "injuries of ungrateful perſons, was at laſt ſevere to thoſe who "had wrongfully injured him." Thus far *Plutarch* (zz). What that writer did not think impoſſible, is not only poſſible, but very common; for nothing can be truer, than what *Electra* ſays in *Sophocles*; *It is very difficult, my friends, for any one in my condition to keep within due bounds, and not repine at providence. Such woful calamities change our very nature, and force us, in ſpite of ourſelves, to become wicked.* This is the only reaſon that can be offered as an excuſe for *Sertorius*.

(zz) *Plut. in Sert.*

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In the mean time the baſe *Perperna* increaſed the number of the conſpirators, and, amongſt others, drew in *Manlius*, one of the chief officers of the army. This *Manlius*, having conceived a ſhameful paſſion for a young *Roman*, diſcloſed to him the whole conſpiracy, telling him, that he ſhould ſoon ſee him at the head of the army. The youth diſcovered to one *Auſidus* what he had learnt of *Manlius*; but as *Auſidus* himſelf was one of the conſpirators, and knew not that *Manlius* was any-ways engaged in the plot, he made ſlight of what the youth ſaid; but when the young *Roman* named *Perperna*, *Gracinus*, *Q. Fabius*, *Tarquitius*, *Sertorius*'s two ſecretaries, and ſeveral others, who, *Auſidus* well knew, were all in the plot, he went immediately to *Perperna*, gave him notice of the danger they were in, and ſolicited him immediately to put their deſign in execution. Accordingly *Perperna*, with the conſent of the other conſpirators, pitched on that very day; and they all agreed to aſſaſſinate him at an entertainment to which no body but he and the conſpirators ſhould be invited. As it was no eaſy matter to engage him in a party of pleaſure, they had recourſe to artifice, and provided a meſſenger, who brought to him feigned letters, giving him notice of a ſignal victory obtained by one of his lieutenants over *Pompey* and *Metellus*. He was ſo well pleaſed with this news, that he readily came into the propoſal of the perfidious *Perperna*, and promiſed to paſs the evening with him and his friends in mirth and jollity. Accordingly, after he had returned ſolemn thanks to the gods for the pretended ſucceſs, he went to *Perperna*'s quarters, to rejoice with him upon the new victory. At all entertainments, where *Sertorius* was preſent, great order and decency was obſerved; for they all knew, that he could not bear any looſe and indecent diſcourſes: but in the midſt of this entertainment, the conſpirators, pretending to be warmed with wine, began to talk very looſely, on purpoſe to provoke their general and pick a quarrel with him. *Sertorius*, offended at their indecent and diſreſpectful behaviour, changed his poſture, and leaning backward, pretended not to hear nor regard them. Then *Perperna*, taking a cup full of wine, let it fall, as he was drinking, out of his hand, which was the ſignal agreed on. Upon this *Antonius*, who was next to *Sertorius*, drew his poniard and wounded him. The brave general ſtrove to raiſe himſelf; but *Antonius*, throwing himſelf upon his breaſt, held both his hands, ſo that, without being in the leaſt able to defend himſelf, he lay expoſed to the fury of the reſt of the conſpirators, who fell upon him and diſpatched him. *Sertorius* was, without contradiction, one of the greateſt ſoldiers

Sertorius aſſaſſinated.

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the republic had ever bred. *Rome* was ſo fully convinced of it, that ſhe ſent againſt him two of the greateſt generals ſhe had, *Metellus* and *Pompey*; but the glory, which theſe two renowned warriors had acquired elſewhere, was eclipſed in *Spain*: they could never gain any conſiderable advantage over the *Luſitanian* general, and were at laſt by him driven quite out of the field, and forced to ſhelter themſelves either in *Gaul*, or among the moſt inacceſſible mountains. *Pompey*, who had been honoured in his youth with a triumph and the ſurname of *Great*, and had filled all *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa* with the fame of his exploits, gained nothing in *Spain*, ſo long as *Sertorius* lived, but ſhame and diſgrace.

Perperna defeated and taken.

Upon his death, the treacherous *Perperna* took upon him the command of the army; but ſoon made it appear, that he underſtood no more how to command, than how to obey; for *Pompey*, who had continued for ſome time inactive in a corner of *Hither Spain*, no ſooner heard of *Sertorius*'s death, than he left the place of his retreat, marched againſt *Perperna*, gained an eaſy and complete victory over him, and took the traytor himſelf priſoner. As *Perperna* had, on *Sertorius*'s death, ſeized on all his papers, he offered to ſhew *Pompey* letters from the greateſt men in *Rome*, inviting him into *Italy*; but *Pompey*, not vouchſafing to ſee the perfidious wretch, ordered him to ſend to him all *Sertorius*'s papers and writings ſealed up. He no ſooner received them, than he cauſed them to be burnt unopened, in the preſence of all the officers of his army; and

Perperna put to death.

immediately after ordered *Perperna* to be put to death, leſt he ſhould name any of *Sertorius*'s correſpondents, and by that means give occaſion to new diſturbances. As to the reſt of the conſpirators, ſome of them were taken and put to death by *Pompey*'s order; others fled into *Africa*, where they were murdered by the *Mauritanians*. In a ſhort time not one of them was left alive, except *Auſidus*, who, not being much inquired after, died many years after in an obſcure village of *Spain*, in extreme poverty and abhorred by all [*]. The death of *Perperna* put an end to the war, which had employed the greateſt generals and the beſt forces of the republic almoſt ten years. *Pompey*, though he gained little reputation by this expedition, yet he had the glory of ending it ſucceſsfully. He continued ſome time in *Spain*, to reduce the rebellious cities, and then returned with his army into *Italy*.

The war in Spain *ended.*

Year after the Flood, 2030. Before Christ, 60. Of Rome 679

Scarce was the rebellion in *Spain* at an end, when a new ſtorm aroſe in the heart of *Italy*. In the next conſu late

[*] Plut. in Sert. & Pomp.

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of *Terentius Varro* and *Oſſius Varus*, ſome ſlaves of *Capua*, having broke their chains, took up arms, and, under the conduct of *Spartacus*, a *Thracian* gladiator of uncommon abilities, firſt defeated the *Capuan* militia, and afterwards *Glaudius Pulcher*, a *Roman* prætor at the head of three thouſand men. Theſe ſucceſsful beginnings ſo raiſed the reputation of *Spartacus*, that he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men, whom he led againſt the prætor *Vatinius*, and gave him a total overthrow. He then marched into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, with a deſign to give his troops, who were moſtly *Gauls*, an opportunity of returning into their own country; for he found them ungovernable, and therefore incapable of carrying on a war. But the next year, when *Gellius Poplicola* and *Cornelius Lentulus* were conſuls, *Cnixus*, one of the chiefs of the *Gauliſh* ſlaves, ſeparated from him, and marched back into *Apulia*, where he was attacked and cut in pieces with his whole army, by the conſul *Gellius* and the proconſul *Anius*. Upon the news of this defeat, *Spartacus*, who was in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and had nothing elſe in view but to paſs the *Alps* and take ſhelter among the *Tranſalpine Gauls*, turned back, and falling upon the conſul *Lentulus*, who purſued him, gave him a total overthrow. Then, without delay, he marched in queſt of the conſul *Gellius*, defeated his victorious army, and obliged both him and his troops to ſhelter themſelves behind the walls of their cities. Never was the proud republic more humbled. Her two conſuls and her invincible legions were forced to fly, in a ſhameful manner, before a *Thracian*, a gladiator, and a ſlave. *Spartacus* would not give quarter to any of the *Roman* priſoners, but in honour of *Cnixus* ſacrificed them all round his funeral pile. As his army now conſiſted of a hundred and twenty thouſand men, all fugitive ſlaves, he ravaged moſt of the provinces of *Italy*, without the leaſt oppoſition, and then returned into *Lucania*, poſted himſelf on the mountains near *Thurii*, and erected magazines in that city for the ſupport of his numerous army.

The war of the ſlaves under Spartacus.

Cnixus *defeated.*

Spartacus *defeats both the conſuls.*

THE next year, when *Auſidius Oreſtes* and *Lentulus Sura* were conſuls, the ſenate gave the conduct of the war againſt the rebellious gladiators to *Licinius Craſſus*, one of the chief commanders of *Sylla*'s party, and who had a great ſhare in moſt of his victories. *Craſſus*, having raiſed in a few days ſix legions, detached *Mummius*, one of his lieutenants, with two of them, to watch the enemy's motions, while he came up with the reſt of the army. The raſh lieutenant no ſooner diſcovered the enemy, than he drew up his troops in battalia, and challenged

Craſſus *ſent a againſt* Spartacus.

challenged *Spartacus*, contrary to the expreſs orders of his general. The *Thracian* accepted the challenge, and put the *Romans* to flight at the firſt onſet. *Craſſus* ſoon after arrived, and having reprimanded *Mummius* in the ſevereſt terms, he cauſed five hundred legionaries, who had retired at the approach of the enemy, to be decimated; which ſeaſonable piece of ſeverity made him as much reſpected by his troops, as he had been formerly beloved. He ſoon after marched in queſt of the enemy, and falling in with a body of ten thouſand rebels, who were laying waſte the country, he fell upon them, and, cutting off their retreat, put them all to the ſword. Hereupon *Spartacus*, after a fruitleſs attempt to get over to *Sicily*, poſted himſelf in a peninſula near *Rhegium*. There *Craſſus* ſhut him in with a ditch from one ſea to the other, three hundred furlongs long, fifteen foot broad, and as much in depth. But the brave *Spartacus*, taking the opportunity of a ſnowy ſtormy night, filled up part of the ditch, forced his way through the enemy's army, and incamped again in the open country. *Craſſus* was afraid leſt he ſhould march directly to *Rome*. But he was freed from this apprehenſion, when he ſaw a great body of the rebellious ſlaves upon ſome diſcontent revolt from *Spartacus*, and incamp by themſelves. Theſe *Craſſus* attacked without loſs of time, and defeated them after a long and obſtinate diſpute. Twelve thouſand three hundred of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot, of which number only two were found wounded in the back, all the reſt died fighting in their ranks with incredible bravery. After this defeat, *Spartacus* retired towards the mountains of *Petilia*. But his men, encouraged by a ſlight advantage gained over two of *Craſſus*'s officers, obliged him to march them back, and lead them againſt the *Romans*. This was what *Craſſus* impatiently deſired, being informed by his friends at *Rome*, that the people deſigned to recal him, and give the command of the army to their favourite idol *Pompey*. He therefore incamped near the enemy and offered them battle. As *Spartacus* could not retreat, being inveſted in his camp by *Craſſus*, he drew up his army with all the ſkill of a great commander. When his horſe was brought him before the onſet, he drew his ſword and killed him, ſaying, *If I gain the victory, I ſhall have a great many better horſes; if I loſe it, I ſhall have no need of this.* He then began the attack at the head of his infantry. His men, animated by his example, fought with unparallelled bravery. Victory was long doubtful, but at length declared for the *Romans*. *Spartacus*, after all his men were fled, ſtood his ground alone for a great while

Cuts off ten thouſand of the rebels.

Bravery of the ſlaves.

Spartacus *defeated and ſlain.*

while with invincible courage. Being wounded in the leg with a javelin, he fought on his knees, holding his buckler in one hand and his sword in the other. At last, being pierced with many wounds, he fell upon a heap of *Romans*, whom he had sacrificed to his fury. In this battle forty thousand of the rebels were killed upon the spot, whereas the *Romans* lost but a thousand men. However, the fugitives rallied again to the number of five thousand, and retired under the conduct of one *Publipor* into *Lycania*. Against these *Pompey* marched, and having defeated them without difficulty, wrote a bragging letter to the senate, wherein he vainly assumed to himself the glory of having finished the war. *Crassus*, said he, *has overcome the gladiators in a pitched battle; but I have plucked up the war by the roots.* This is the true spirit of ambition, which wrests every thing, even the actions of others, to its own advantage. *Crassus* was highly provoked at *Pompey*'s vanity, which robbed him of the glory he deserved; but nevertheless, as he aspired at the consulship, and was well apprised that it was in *Pompey*'s power to get him excluded, he dissembled his resentment, and even begged his rival's interest. *Pompey*, who stood himself for the same dignity, and had long desired to lay some obligation upon *Crassus*, readily embraced this opportunity, declaring in open assembly, that he should be as much obliged to his friends for the advancement of *Crassus* as for his own. Upon this declaration the tribes unanimously concurred in raising *Pompey* to the consulate, and giving him *Crassus* for his colleague. But this good understanding between the two rivals did not continue long. *Pompey* refused to disband the troops he had brought from *Spain*, till a triumph was decreed him. On the other hand, *Crassus* would not part with the command of the army he had led against *Spartacus*, so long as *Pompey* continued in arms. The latter gave out, that *Pompey* aspired at an absolute power, and intended to follow the example of *Sylla* (L), and to govern by

Pompey *and* Crassus *consuls*.

(L) No body doubted but this was his design; whence *Cicero* wrote to *Atticus* in the following words; *Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit: ἀλλως σοι λεγω, nihil ille unquam minus obscure tulit*; that is, *Our friend* Pompey *is wonderfully desirous of obtaining a power like that of* Sylla. *I tell you no more than what I know for certain; for he makes no secret of it* (23). And elsewhere; *Hoc turpe Cneius noster biennio ante cogi*

(23) *Cic. ad Attic. l.* vii. *epist.* 3

They fall out.

by a ſtanding army. Theſe diſcourſes greatly exaſperated *Pompey*; and the breach between the two collegues growing daily wider, the ſenate and people, to prevent the evil effects of their mutual jealouſies, earneſtly intreated them to diſband their armies, and ſacrifice their private reſentments to the public peace. But they both continued obſtinate; *Craſſus* pretending, that *Pompey* ought firſt to diſband his army, ſince he had firſt finiſhed the *Spaniſh* war; and *Pompey* proteſting, that he would not diſmiſs his troops till the arrival of *Metellus*, who was to triumph with him. The people, dreading to ſee *Rome* involved again in a civil war, even went ſo far as to beg of them on their knees in the comitium to be reconciled. But neither of them hearkening to the intreaties of the people, a *Roman* knight, by name *Ovatius Aurelius*, who had ſpent ſome years of his life in the country, and was then accidentally in *Rome*, mounting the roſtra, gave them an account of a viſion he pretended to have ſeen in his ſleep. *Jupiter*, ſaid he, *appeared to me laſt night, and admoniſhes you*, O Romans, *by my mouth, not to ſuffer the miſunderſtanding between the two conſuls to continue any longer.* When *Ovatius* had done ſpeaking, the people renewed their intreaties, and then *Craſſus*, moved with ſentiments of piety, made the firſt advances, drew near to *Pompey*, and offered him his hand. *Pompey* returned the civility; they embraced each other; and ſoon after they diſbanded their troops by conſent [y].

Are in appearance reconciled.

Pompey and Craſſus affect popularity.

However, as their reconciliation was not ſincere, each of them ſtrove, by different methods, to gain the favour of the people, and ſtrengthen his party. *Pompey* baſely made his court to the multitude by reinſtating the tribunes in their antient power, which greatly contributed to the deſtruction of the common-wealth. He likewiſe engaged *M. Aurelius Cotta* the prætor, to move, that ſome *Roman* knights might be appointed to be his aſſeſſors, and to judge with him in civil cauſes. Thus the right of judging private cauſes, which had been taken from the knights by *Sylla*, was, by means of *Pompey*, reſtored to them; which engaged that powerful or-

[y] Plutarch. in Craſſ & Pomp. Cic. pro lege Manilia. Appian. bell. civil. l. i.

tavit; ita Sullaturit animus ejus & proſcripturit; that is, *Pompey has been forming this ſhameful deſign for theſe two years laſt paſt; ſo ſtrongly is his mind bent upon imitating* Sylla, *and proſcribing like him* (24)

(24) *Idem ibid. ep.* 9 in

Ver-

der to ſupport him in all his pretenſions with their whole intereſt. On the other hand, *Craſſus*, to get the better of his rival in the eſteem of the people, entertained them, though naturally covetous, with ſurpriſing profuſion and magnificence, at ten thouſand tables, and at the ſame time diſtributed corn enough to all the populace to maintain their families three whole months. Such prodigious largeſſes will ſeem leſs ſurpriſing, if we conſider that *Craſſus* was the richeſt man in *Rome*, and that his eſtate amounted to ſeven thouſand talents and upwards, that is, to 1,356,250 *l.* ſterling. But notwithſtanding this mighty bounty, *Pompey* ſtill maintained the firſt place in the affections and eſteem of the multitude [z]. This year the cenſorſhip, which had been ſuppreſſed during the civil wars, was revived, *L. Gellius Poplicola* and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* being promoted to that dignity. Theſe appointed *Q. Catulus* prince of the ſenate, ſtruck the names of ſixty-four antient ſenators out of the liſt, and made a cenſus, in which they found, that the number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred and fifty thouſand.

AND now the conſulate of *Pompey* and *Craſſus* being expired, the republic raiſed to the faſces the famous orator *Q. Hortenſius* and *Q. Metellus*, the ſon of *Metellus Dalmaticus*. As all was calm at *Rome* during their adminiſtration, *Pompey* no longer intermeddled in public affairs, neither frequenting the bar, as he had done formerly, nor the aſſemblies of the people. He ſeldom appeared in public; and when he did, he was always attended by a great number of clients, deſigning thereby to keep up the reſpect due to him, as a man of ſuperior rank and uncommon merit. He even thought it beneath him to converſe with the generality of the nobility, and therefore kept company only with a few ſelect friends [a]. The following year the tribes raiſed *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *Q. Marcius*, ſurnamed *Rex*, to the conſulate. The former died before he entered upon his office, and another, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us, was choſen in his room. But he alſo dying ſoon after his election, the people ſuperſtitiouſly took it for granted, that it was the pleaſure of the gods, that the republic ſhould be governed one whole year by *Marcius* alone. During his adminiſtration the ſenate, pretending that the *Cretans* had ſided with *Mithridates*, and given a retreat to the pirates, ſent *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* with a fleet to reduce that iſland. But of this expedi-

[z] PLUT. in Craſſo. CIC. de legib. l. iii. SALLUST. in bel. Catilin. [a] PLUT. ibid.

The iſland of Crete *reduced.*

tion we have given a diſtinct account in our hiſtory of *Crete* [b].

In the following conſulate of *C. Calpurnius Piſo* and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, *Gabinius*, tribune of the people, at the inſtigation of *Pompey*, who began to be weary of a retired life, propoſed a law for clearing the ſeas of the pirates, whoſe numbers and power daily increaſed. Theſe robbers fitted out at firſt but a ſmall number of light veſſels; but, upon their being protected by *Mithridates*, who, during his war with *Rome*, took them into his ſervice, they equipped a thouſand galleys, and exerciſed a kind of ſovereignty over all the coaſts of the *Mediterranean*. They ſpared not one temple that was famous for its riches on the coaſts of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Aſia*. All the country-ſeats on the ſea-ſhore were a prey to them. They took ſlaves without number; blocked up all the ports of the republic; pillaged the city of *Caieta*; ſunk part of a conſular fleet at *Oſtia*, and, having made a deſcent near *Miſene*, carried away the daughter of the old conſul *Antonius*, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. They even ſurpriſed and carried off two *Roman* prætors, *Sextilius* and *Bellinus*, in their purple robes, with their lictors and attendants. If any of the captives declared himſelf to be a *Roman*, the barbarians, in deriſion, threw themſelves at his feet, begging his pardon, and imploring his protection. But, after they had inſolently ſported with their priſoner, they often dreſſed him in a toga, and then, caſting out a ſhip's ladder, deſired him to return home, and wiſhed him a good journey. If he refuſed to leap into the ſea, they threw him over-board, ſaying, that they would not by any means keep a free-born *Roman* in captivity. But the greateſt calamity the world ſuffered by theſe tyrants of the ſea was, the ſcarcity of proviſions which they occaſioned, not in *Europe* only, but likewiſe in *Aſia* and *Africa*, no veſſel venturing out without being taken. *Gabinius* therefore, who propoſed a law for clearing the ſeas of theſe pirates, was much applauded for his zeal, though in reality he had nothing in view but the procuring of new honours for *Pompey*, who had reſtored the college of tribunes to their former authority. In virtue of the law which *Gabinius* propoſed, the perſon, to whom the *Roman* people and ſenate ſhould commit the management of this war, for the crafty tribune did not name *Pompey*, was to have a power without controul or reſtriction. His authority was to extend all over the ſeas within the *Straights*, or *the pillars of Hercules*, and over all

The ſeas infeſted by pirates.

The Gabinian Law.

[b] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. VII. p. 386, & ſeq.

the

the countries for the ſpace of four hundred furlongs from the ſea. By the ſame law he was empowered to raiſe as many mariners and ſoldiers as he thought fit, to take what ſums he pleaſed out of the public treaſury, without being accountable for them, and to chuſe out of the ſenate fifteen ſenators to be his lieutenants, and to execute his orders, where he could not be preſent in perſon. As this arbitrary and unbounded authority was to be for three years, it gave a great deal of uneaſineſs and jealouſy to the ſenate. They ſaw through the tribune's deſign, and ſeveral of them reproached *Pompey* with aiming at the ſovereignty of *Rome*; nay, the conſul *Calpurnius* told him ſmartly, that if he followed the footſteps of *Romulus* he would ſcarce avoid his end. But he was in danger of being tore in pieces by the people, for treating with ſuch freedom their favourite. The conſcript fathers, finding the people determined to paſs the law, had recourſe to their old method of diſconcerting the meaſures of the tribunes, and gained over two of them, *Trebellius* and *Roſcius*.

As no body doubted but this extenſive commiſſion, which the tribune *Gabinius* called *the proconſulate of the ſeas*, was deſigned for *Pompey*, when the day appointed for holding the comitia came, in which the *Gabinian* law was to be received or rejected, the concourſe was prodigious. The tribune *Trebellius* attempted to oppoſe it; but the tribes threatening to depoſe him, he was forced to give way and be ſilent. Then *Catulus*, prince of the ſenate, riſing up, made a long ſpeech, which was nothing but a panegyric upon *Pompey*. In the cloſe of his harangue, he adviſed the people not to expoſe a man of his value, the greateſt general of the republic, to ſo many dangers. *For if you ſhould loſe him*, ſaid he, *where could you find another* Pompey? *Or whom would you put in his place?* At theſe words the people, who had hearkened to the venerable ſenator with great attention, cried out with one voice, *You*, Catulus, *we will put you in his place*. *Catulus*, no longer able to reſiſt the firm reſolution of the whole people, and at the ſame time pleaſed with the eſteem they ſhewed for him, waved his oppoſition and withdrew. Then the tribune *Roſcius* attempted to ſpeak, but being prevented by the clamours of the people, he held up two of his fingers, to ſignify that he was for dividing that extenſive commiſſion between two perſons, and not intruſting *Pompey* alone with ſuch an ample and unlimited authority. Upon this the aſſembly made ſuch a terrible outcry, that a crow flying acci-

* Plut. in Pomp. Dio. Caſs. l. lvi.

dentally

dentally over the comitium at that inſtant, was ſtunned and dropt down among the rabble †. *Hortenſius* and ſeveral other ſenators ſpoke with great eloquence, and were heard with attention; but their harangues made no impreſſion on the multitude. *Cicero* never opened his mouth, though ſo fine an opportunity offered of diſplaying his talents. He did not care to make either *Pompey*, the ſenate, or the people, his enemies. The whole day being ſpent in ſpeeches and debates, the determination was poſtponed to the next, when *Gabinius*'s motion was agreed to by a great majority, and *Pompey* appointed to make war on the pirates with the title of proconſul. The people even granted him more than the tribune had deſired; for they allowed him to equip five hundred ſhips, to raiſe a hundred and twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and to chooſe out of the ſenate twenty, or, as *Appian* has it, twenty five ſenators for his lieutenants. He had alſo two quæſtors allowed him, and ſix thouſand *Attic* talents paid down to him before he left *Rome*. Thus the people, ſeduced by their tribunes, were running blindly into ſlavery; for it was now in *Pompey*'s power to follow the example of *Sylla*, and make himſelf abſolute maſter of the republic [d].

The Gabinian *law paſſes.*

Pompey's power.

He extirpates the pirates.

HOWEVER, on this occaſion he behaved with great integrity, and gained more glory than he had done by all his former exploits. He conducted the expedition with ſuch prudence, and took ſuch wiſe meaſures, that, inſtead of the three years allowed him, he quite cleared the ſeas in four months, after having taken or ſunk, according to ſome, one thouſand three hundred, according to others, eight hundred and forty ſix of their veſſels, cut ten thouſand of them in pieces, and made himſelf maſter of a hundred and twenty towns or caſtles on the coaſts, which they had ſeized. In this glorious expedition the proconſul ſet at liberty an incredible number of captives, and took above twenty thouſand of the pirates priſoners, whom he ſent to people the deſerted cities of *Cilicia*, namely *Mallus*, *Adana*, *Epiphania*, and *Soli*, which latter he called from his own name *Pompeiopolis* [e].

The Manilian *law.*

NO ſooner did the news of *Pompey*'s victories reach *Rome*, than *Manilius*, tribune of the people, at the inſtigation of the proconſul's friends and agents, propoſed a new law in his favour, importing, that *Lucullus* ſhould be recalled from *Aſia*, where he was waging war with *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*; that the conduct of the armies employed againſt thoſe two

† PLUT. ibid. [d] PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid [e] APPIAN. & PLUT. ibid. c. 31. CIC. pro lege Manilia. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii.

princes

princes ſhould be committed to *Pompey*; that *Cilicia*, where *Marcius Rex* commanded, and *Bithynia*, which had been allotted to *Acilius Glabrio*, ſhould be reſigned to him; and that finally he ſhould, at the ſame time, retain the ſame naval forces and ſovereignty of the ſeas as before. This was appointing him abſolute monarch of all the *Roman* dominions; for the provinces, which were exempted from his authority by the former decree, ſuch as *Phrygia*, *Lycaonia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Colchis*, *Armenia*, &c. would by this new law be within the precincts of his province. This was the famous law, which from its author was ſtyled the *Manilian Law* When the tribune propoſed it in the comitia, it raiſed ſuch diſturbances among the nobility and the zealous republicans, as are not eaſily deſcribed. They looked upon the new law as calculated for the eſtabliſhing of tyranny; *We have then got at laſt*, ſaid they, *a ſovereign*; *the republic is changed into a monarchy*; *the ſervices of* Lucullus, *the honour of* Glabrio *and* Marcius, *two zealous and worthy ſenators, are to be ſacrificed to the promotion of* Pompey; Sylla *never carried his tyranny ſo far*, &c. They encouraged one another to uſe their utmoſt efforts in oppoſition to ſo ſcandalous a decree, and not to part with their liberty at ſo tame a rate. But notwithſtanding the reſolution they ſhewed in private, when the day came for the accepting or rejecting of the *Manilian* law, their hearts failed them; inſomuch, that of all the conſcript fathers, only *Hortenſius* and *Catulus* had courage enough to ſpeak againſt it. The latter eſpecially made ſurpriſing efforts to diſſuade the people from inveſting one man with ſuch an abſolute power; he reproached them with the injuſtice they were going to do *Lucullus*, deſcribed to them in pompous terms his glorious exploits both by ſea and land, enumerated the many evils which they had reaſon to apprehend from ſuch an unbounded authority, &c. But finding the people heard with great indifference, and grew uneaſy at his diſcourſe, he directed his ſpeech to the ſenate, and raiſing his voice, *Let us fly*, ſaid he, *conſcript fathers, let us fly to ſome mountain, as our fore-fathers have done; let us fly to ſome rocks, where we may ſhelter ourſelves from the ſlavery with which we are threatened.* Two great men ſpoke in favour of the law, viz. *Cicero* and *Cæſar*; the former aimed at the conſulate, which *Pompey*'s party could more eaſily procure him, than that of *Catulus* and the ſenate. On this occaſion he made that ſpeech, which is ſtill preſerved, and will be the admiration of all ages. As for *Cæſar*, he was delighted to ſee the people inſenſibly loſe that republican ſpirit and love of liberty, which might one day obſtruct the vaſt deſigns he had already formed. Thus was the

The cowardice of the ſenate.

Cicero *and* Cæſar *favour* Pompey

the

the public intereſt, as it too commonly happens, ſacrificed to private views. The decree paſſed by the ſuffrages of all the tribes; and the people of their own accord conferred on *Pompey* as extenſive an authority as *Sylla* had uſurped by an armed force[f]. He was ſtill on the coaſts of *Aſia*, when news was brought him of the extraordinary power with which the people had veſted him. He received it with an affected modeſty and reluctance; *What!* ſaid he, *will* Rome *then burden me with a new war? Muſt I never have any reſt? Muſt I ſacrifice to the deſires of my country the pleaſures of a retired life, and the enjoyment of a beloved wife? Happy, thrice happy are thoſe who live in the inglorious croud, unknown and unregarded!* *Plutarch* tells us, that even his moſt zealous friends were highly diſpleaſed with ſuch groſs hypocriſy, well knowing what ſteps he had taken in order to procure this new commiſſion. *Lucullus*, ſeeing himſelf thus degraded, returned to *Rome*, where he was received by the nobility, with all poſſible marks of eſteem, and honoured with a moſt pompous and magnificent triumph. As for *Pompey*, he purſued the war againſt *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* with great ſucceſs, and performed thoſe glorious exploits in *Pontus*, *Albania*, *Iberia*, &c. which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of *Pontus*[g].

Pompey's *diſſimulation and hypocriſy.*

Catiline's *character.*

While *Pompey* was extending the dominions of the republic in *Aſia*, ſome wicked citizens were plotting her ruin at home. At the head of theſe was *Lucius Sergius Catiline*, who was deſcended of an illuſtrious patrician family, but had rendered himſelf infamous by a continued ſeries of debaucheries, inceſts, murders, and the moſt horrible crimes. He is ſaid to have debauched, when he was very young, a woman of diſtinction, and to have afterwards married the daughter he had by her. He was likewiſe accuſed of keeping an unlawful correſpondence with *Fabia Terentia*, the veſtal, ſiſter to *Terentia*, *Cicero*'s wife. He had committed murders without number, and had been, in the time of *Sylla*'s proſcriptions, the moſt mercileſs miniſter of that tyrant's fury. The favour of the dictator, his birth and courage, had raiſed him to the principal dignities of the republic. He had been quæſtor, lieutenant in ſeveral armies, and had governed *Africa* in quality of prætor. But in all theſe different employments, he had equally diſhonoured himſelf by his debaucheries and enormous oppreſſions. As he had ſquandered away his patrimony, and was overloaded with debts, he had no proſpect of retriev

[f] Plut. in Pomp. Dio. l. xxxvi. Liv. l. c. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 33. Cic. pro lege Manilia. [g] Vide Vol. IX. p. 203, & ſeq.

ing his affairs, but by the ſubverſion of the ſtate. He therefore watched all opportunities of raiſing diſturbances; and one offered ſoon after his return from *Africa*, where he had been prætor. *P. Antronius Pætus* and *P. Cornelius Sylla*, the ſon of the dictator's brother, being choſen conſuls, and afterwards diſqualified for that office upon their being convicted of having openly bought the ſuffrages of the people, *Catiline* prevailed upon them to enter into a plot againſt the conſuls who were choſen in their room, viz. *Aurelius Cotta*, and *Manlius Torquatus*. His ſcheme was to aſſaſſinate them both, murder the greateſt part of the ſenators, and ſeize the government. Beſides *Antronius* and *Sylla*, he engaged a great many young men, who were undone by their exceſſes, and among the reſt *Cn. Calpurnius Piſo*, a youth of a noble family, but raſh, factious, and by his exceſſes reduced almoſt to beggary. This wicked attempt was to be put in execution on the calends of *January*, when the new conſuls took poſſeſſion of their office. But the conſpirators not having found a convenient opportunity that day, they put off the affair to the nones of *February*, the day appointed for the uſual meeting of the conſcript fathers. But this ſecond attempt proved as unſucceſsful as the firſt. *Catiline* gave the ſignal at an improper time, before the conſpirators were got together; ſo that no body offered to ſtir; by which means the lives of the conſuls and ſenators were ſaved, and the moſt bloody and execrable conſpiracy, which had been formed ſince the foundation of *Rome*, came to nothing. However, *Catiline* did not drop his wicked deſign; as he had ſpent his patrimony in debauchery, and was plunged in debt, he had no reſource but in the ſubverſion of the republic [b]. But we ſhall leave him for a while, to obſerve the conduct of another young *Roman*, who had the ſame view with *Catiline*, of ſubverting the whole conſtitution, but took more prudent and better concerted meaſures for the executing of his deſign. This was *Julius Cæſar*, who, having paſſed through the offices of legionary tribune and quæſtor, was this year raiſed to the ædileſhip, in which employment he made it his whole buſineſs to gain the affections of the people. Nothing could be more polite and engaging than his behaviour. His liberality knew no bounds, and the magnificence of his furniture and entertainments ſurpaſſed any thing that had ever before been ſeen in *Rome*. As he was naturally of a generous diſpoſition, he is ſaid to have owed above one thouſand three hundred talents, that is, 251,875 *l.* ſterling, before he entered upon any of the pub-

Conſpires againſt the conſuls and ſenate.

His conſpiracy defeated.

Julius Cæſar *captivates the hearts of the people.*

[b] SALLUST. bell. Catilin. Plutarch in Cic.

lic offices. The immenſe ſums he beſtowed upon the populace gave no umbrage even to his enemies, who uſed to ſay, that this was a ſhort-lived ſhow, which would ſoon end with his eſtate, and then he would be reduced to the ſtate of a common citizen. *Cicero* only ſaw farther than the vulgar into the intentions of the ambitious youth. He was the firſt who had any ſuſpicion of his aſpiring at a ſovereign power, and often uſed to ſay, that, in all his other actions and intrigues, he plainly diſcovered the air of a tyrant; but when he ſaw his hair lie in ſo exact order, and obſerved him ſo often adjuſting it with his finger, he could not imagine it ſhould enter into ſuch a man's thoughts to ſubvert the *Roman* ſtate. *Cicero* did not diſcover that manly courage and intrepidity, which lay concealed under the appearance of luxury and effeminacy. As the office of ædile confined him to *Rome*, he undertook the repairing of the *Appian* way, and finiſhed that great work almoſt wholly at his own expence. He entertained the people with a ſhow of three hundred and twenty couple of gladiators, and built porticoes of timber with ſeats all round the forum, that the populace might ſee, without any inconvenience, the *Megaleſian* games, which were exhibited at *Rome* during his ædileſhip. By theſe means he ſo captivated the people, that they were now as much, if not more, devoted to him than to *Pompey*. Depending upon the favour of the people, he made a funeral oration in praiſe of his aunt *Julia*, though ſhe was the widow of *Marius*, whoſe name was odious to the ſenate and nobility; and was even ſo bold as to bring forth, on that occaſion, the images of *Marius*, which nobody had preſumed to produce ſince the government firſt came into *Sylla*'s hands. The nobility exclaimed againſt him for reviving the memory of one who had been declared an enemy to his country; but the people applauded the action; and this encouraged him to ſet up in the night-time the ſtatues and trophies of *Marius*, which *Sylla* had ordered to be taken down. Next morning the people crouded to ſee them, and many of *Marius*'s party even wept for joy at the ſight of his ſtatues and trophies. But the nobility inveighed bitterly againſt *Cæſar*, as if he had deſigns upon the government, and *Catulus* even accuſed him before the ſenate of aiming at the ſame tyrannical power which *Marius* had uſurped. He cloſed his ſpeech with this remarkable ſaying; Cæſar *no longer undermines the government, but openly plants his batteries againſt it.* But the accuſed anſwered the invectives of *Catulus* with ſo much art and temper, that he was not only acquitted, but highly applauded by the people as a relation worthy of the great *Marius*.

He revives the memory and honours of Marius.

rius. Julius Cæsar being thus become the idol of the people, he prevailed upon them to confer the consular dignity on *L. Julius Cæsar*, one of his own family, though of another branch. The collegue the republic gave him was *C. Marcius Figulus*, a man of a mild disposition, and an enemy to all factions and parties. During their administration *Cæsar* got many of *Sylla*'s partisans condemned, some to perpetual banishment, others to death, for the murders they had committed during the dictator's tyrannical reign. Among the latter was *L. Bellienus*, uncle to *Catiline*; but *Catiline* himself was spared, though he had been the chief instrument of *Sylla*'s fury [1]. He was a friend to *Cæsar*, and had communicated to him, as was supposed, his wicked design of subverting the government. Of this horrible conspiracy the antients give us the following account:

Catiline's conspiracy.

Catiline, though he had failed in his two former plots, as we have related above, yet did not drop his wicked design of subverting the government, but having strengthened his party with a great number of senators and knights, waited only for an opportunity of putting it in execution. Among his accomplices in the senate were *P. Lentulus Sura*, *P. Antronius*, *L. Cassius Longinus*, *C. Cethegus*, *Publius*, and *Servius Sylla*, *L. Vargunteius*, *Q. Annius*, *M. Porcius Læca*, *L. Bestia*, and *Q. Curius*; and among the knights *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *L. Statilius*, *P. Gabinius Capito*, and *C. Cornelius*. We are told, that *M. Licinius Crassus* was also privy to the plot, and that *Cæsar* favoured it underhand: These two cunning and equally ambitious men waited for the event before they would declare themselves. Besides the above-mentioned senators and knights, *Catiline* drew into the plot all the debauched youth of *Rome*, who had squandered away their estates, and could no longer follow their extravagant courses; and likewise some of the old soldiers and officers of *Sylla*'s army, who, after having consumed all the rewards of their former services in debaucheries, were longing for a new civil war, as the only remedy against want and poverty. As it was very difficult, that the designs of such men as were continually rioting should long remain secret, *Cicero* was informed of them by *Fulvia*, a woman of distinction, but who dishonoured her family by a criminal correspondence with *Quintus Curius*, one of the conspirators. The young debauchee, finding himself scornfully treated by *Fulvia*, after he had spent his estate upon her, in order to recover her favour, boasted, that *he should be soon*

Year of the Flood, 2940. Before Christ, 59. *Of Rome*, 689.

The conspiracy discovered to Cicero.

[1] PLUT. in Cæsar. SALLUST. bell. Catilin.

rich enough to pleaſe her; adding, *that the method he was taking to become ſo, was a ſecret, which he would never diſcloſe to her.* This awaked her curioſity; and as ſhe was more artful than her lover, ſhe ſoon prevailed upon him by her careſſes to unravel the whole plot. Whether *Fulvia* was really ſtruck with the danger of the republic, or thought the undertaking would not ſucceed, as being managed in great part by young people, ſhe made a full diſcovery of all ſhe had heard to *Cicero*, but concealed the name of the perſon who had given her that intelligence. This diſcovery *Cicero*, who then ſtood for the conſulate, and had *Catiline* for his competitor, made uſe of to get himſelf choſen, and *Catiline* excluded. The collegue given him by the tribes was *C. Antonius*, a man naturally lazy, a lover of eaſe and pleaſure, and who hitherto no further concerned himſelf in public affairs, than was neceſſary to ſhew that he was not abſolutely unfit for them. As he was a man of little weight, and eaſily manageable, *Cicero* flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able, with a little art, to get the aſcendant over him, and govern him as he pleaſed. They no ſooner entered upon their office, than *P. Servilius Rullus*, tribune of the people, endeavoured to revive the old troubles about the diſtribution of the conquered lands. But he was vigorouſly oppoſed by *Cicero*, who, by the force of his eloquence, prevailed upon the people to ſacrifice their private intereſt to the public tranquillity. The cauſe of the public diſturbances being removed, the new conſul applied himſelf next to draw off his collegue from the faction of the tribunes, which he favoured; and ſucceeded by changing provinces with him, and reſigning to him the government of *Macedon*, which by lot was fallen to himſelf, and taking that of *Gaul*, which was leſs profitable, and had fallen to *Antonius*. This done, he made it his chief buſineſs to prevent any popular diſturbance. One had like to have been raiſed in the theatre, on account of the new diſtinction which the tribune *Otho* had given the *Roman* knights, allotting to them, in all public ſhows, the fourteen firſt ranks after thoſe of the ſenators. But *Cicero* interpoſed, and harangued the people with ſuch ſtrength and ſucceſs, that they willingly complied with *Otho*'s regulation. By this means he ſtifled a ſedition in its birth, of which *Catiline* might have made a very ill uſe [k].

Cicero's conſulſhip.

Preparation made by Catiline *for an open revolt.*

In the mean time *Catiline*, grown outrageous at *Cicero*'s ſucceſs, reſolved to ſtand once more for the conſulate, and prepared for an open rebellion, in caſe he ſhould not ſucceed.

[k] Plut. in Cic. Cic. in Rull. & Piſon.

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He borrowed what money he could; and engaged his partiſans to raiſe as much as poſſible upon their credit, and on ſecurities. Theſe ſums were lodged in the hands of one *Manlius*, a ſoldier of fortune, who had ſerved with great reputation of bravery under *Sylla*, and at that time reſided at *Fæſulæ* in *Hetruria*. As that city was a colony of *Sylla*'s ſoldiers, *Manlius*, who had great intereſt among them, engaged them in the plot, and made conſiderable levies throughout all *Hetruria*. *Lucullus* the famous general, whom *Pompey* had ſucceeded in the eaſt, being informed of theſe preparations, made a report of what he had heard to the ſenate, and aſſiſted the conſul with all his intereſt in the proſecution of the traytor. *Cicero* at the ſame time kept up a ſtrict correſpondence with *Fulvia*, and even gained over ſome of the conſpirators, who purſuant to his directions, pretended to be the warmeſt promoters of the plot. It was by their means that he diſcovered the deſigns of *Catiline*, the various ſentiments of his accomplices, their number and quality, and the general, as well as the private, views of each of the conſpirators. By them he was informed, that on a day appointed the conſpirators were to ſet fire to ſeveral parts of the city; that during the confuſion and uproar, which ſo general a conflagration would occaſion, ſome were to murder the chief men of the ſenate in their houſes, others to aſſemble the mutinous populace, ſeize the capitol, and fortify themſelves there, till *Manlius* arrived from *Hetruria* with his veterans. Two *Roman* knights were appointed to murder *Cicero* in his own houſe; but the conſul, immediately informed of all that paſſed in their aſſembly, ſummoned the ſenate, and boldly informed the fathers, in *Catiline*'s preſence, of the danger they were in. He communicated to them the whole plot, and though he did not think proper to name thoſe by whom he had been informed, yet the ſenate by a public decree ordered the conſuls to *take care that the republic ſuffered no detriment*; an antient form, by which the magiſtrates for the time being had almoſt an unbounded authority conferred on them. *Cicero*, inveſted with ſuch an ample power, diſpatched without delay, ſome of the worthieſt ſenators to the principal cities in *Italy* to keep them in awe. At the ſame time he placed guards in different parts of *Rome* to prevent the incendiaries. By his advice the ſenate promiſed not only a pardon, but ample rewards, to any of the conſpirators, who ſhould make farther diſcoveries of this black attempt. But not one ſingle man, which is very ſurprizing, out of ſo great a number of profligates, appeared as an evidence againſt his accomplices. The conſul might indeed, upon his own perſonal knowledge, have

The conſuls are inveſted with an extraordinary power.

have made uſe of the new power the ſenate had given him, and condemned *Catiline* and his adherents to death without appeal. But as this was a dangerous ſtep, he thought it more adviſeable to induce *Catiline* to leave *Rome*, and take refuge in *Manlius*'s camp near *Fæſulæ*. With this view he aſſembled the conſcript fathers, and *Catiline* appearing among the reſt, as if he had been no-ways concerned in the affair, thoſe ſenators, near whom he came to ſeat himſelf, quitting their places, left him quite by himſelf. Then *Cicero*, no longer able to conceal his indignation, firſt read certain letters, which had been put into his hands by *Licinius Craſſus* (M); and then directing his ſpeech to *Catiline*, made that famous oration, which is ſtill extant, and will ever be admired by all men of taſte and judgment. *Catiline* heard his ſpeech with the moſt artful diſſimulation, and even had the aſſurance to intreat the conſcript fathers not to ſuffer themſelves to be prejudiced againſt him by the calumnies of his moſt bitter enemy, *a new man*, who had not in *Rome* ſo much as a houſe of his own, and who had forged a conſpiracy in order to raiſe himſelf, and acquire the title of *defender of his country*. He added, that *Cicero* laughed in private at their credulity, and the falſe alarms he had given them. But when he began to proceed to invectives againſt the conſul, he was interrupted by the cries of the whole aſſembly, the ſenate-houſe ring ng with the names of incendiary, parricide, enemy to his country, *&c.* *Catiline*, highly provoked at theſe reproaches, and foaming with rage, cried out, *Since you have provoked me to the utmoſt, I will not periſh alone, but will have the ſatisfaction of involving thoſe who have ſworn my ruin, in the ſame deſtruction with myſelf.* Having ſpoke thus, he inſtantly left the ſenate, and ſending for *Cethegus*, *Lentulus*, and the other chief conſpirators, he gave them an account of what had juſt happened in the ſenate; made them ſenſible, that he could no longer ſtay in *Rome* with ſafety; encouraged them to lay hold of

Cicero *harangues the people againſt* Catiline.

(M) After *Craſſus* had ſupped, one of his ſervants brought him a packet, which, he ſaid, had been delivered to him by an unknown perſon. In the packet were ſeveral letters directed to different perſons, and one to *Craſſus* himſelf, which he read, and found therein the whole ſcheme of the conſpiracy. The anonymous writer likewiſe adviſed him to leave *Rome* without delay, if he tendered his life. Upon this *Craſſus* went directly to the conſul, and delivered to him the packet, in order to clear himſelf of the ſuſpicion, which his ſtrict friendſhip with *Catiline* had raiſed

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the firſt opportunity of ſetting fire to the city, of aſſaſſinating the ſenators, and above all of deſtroying the conſul, the only man who could render their deſigns abortive. He told them, that he was going to put himſelf at the head of the forces, which *Manlius* had raiſed for him in *Hetruria*, and that they ſhould ſoon ſee him again with ſuch a force as would ſtrike the boldeſt of his enemies with dread and terror. After this conference he ſet out in great haſte for *Hetruria*, attended by three hundred of his party. His ſudden flight gave *Cicero* great pleaſure; but as he was ſenſible how tender the people were of their privileges, and feared the tribunes might exaſperate the populace againſt him, by ſuggeſting, that he had baniſhed a *Roman* citizen without conſulting them, the next day he mounted the roſtra, and in his ſecond oration againſt *Catiline*, which is ſtill preſerved in his works, informed the aſſembly of the true ſtate of affairs, aſſuring them with great firmneſs that no care or vigilance ſhould be wanting on his part to guard them againſt the impending dangers [1]. Catiline *leaves* Rome.

IN the mean time *Catiline* arriving at *Manlius*'s camp in the neighbourhood of *Fæſulæ*, took upon him the command of the troops, and at the ſame time aſſumed all the marks of a ſupreme magiſtrate, being preceded by lictors carrying their axes and faſces. The ſenate informed of ſo open a rebellion, declared *Catiline* and *Manlius* enemies to their country, and at the ſame time ordered the conſul *Antonius* to take the field with a proconſular army, and *Cicero* to continue in *Rome* and there watch the motions of the conſpirators. At the motion of *Cicero* a decree was alſo paſſed, promiſing impunity to all thoſe who ſhould abandon *Catiline*, and return to *Rome* within a limited time, and declaring thoſe guilty of high treaſon againſt the ſtate, who ſhould join him. Notwithſtanding this decree, great numbers of profligates flocked to him both from *Rome*, and the others cities of *Italy*. Among others the ſon of *Aulus Fulvius*, a venerable ſenator, ſet out for the army of the rebels; but his father diſpatched meſſengers after him, who brought him back to *Rome*; where his father, in virtue of his paternal authority, condemned him to death, and cauſed his ſeverе ſentence to be immediately put in execution. In the mean time *Lentulus* and the other chiefs of the conſpiracy, endeavoured to draw into the plot the embaſſadors of the *Allobroges* then at *Rome*, in order to get aſſiſtance from *Tranſalpine Gaul*. But the Catiline *declared an enemy to his country.*

[1] PLUT. in Cic. SALLUST. ibid.

embaſſadors

embaſſadors imparted the whole affair to Q. *Fabius Sanga*, who was the protector of their nation, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, when the different ſtates ſubject to the republic had in the ſenate one who took care of their intereſts. *Sanga*, after having made them ſenſible of the danger of ſuch an undertaking, brought them to the conſul, who prevailed upon them to continue their negotiations with the conſpirators, in order to procure by their means undeniable proofs of the conſpiracy. Accordingly, the embaſſadors made no difficulty to cloſe with the propoſals of the conſpirators, but inſiſted on a written treaty as their credentials to their countrymen. This treaty was granted them, ſigned by all the chiefs of the plot; and it was agreed, that they ſhould ſet out on the third of the nones of *December*, and take their way through *Hetruria* to get the treaty ratified by *Catiline*. *Cicero*, being informed by the embaſſadors when they were to leave *Rome*, ſent privately two prætors with a ſufficient number of troops to lie in wait for them, ſeize them with the conſpirators, who attended them, and bring them all back to *Rome*. The prætors faithfully executed their commiſſion; the embaſſadors together with *Vultureius*, who had taken upon him to conduct them to *Catiline*, were ſtopped at the bridge *Milvius*, and brought back to *Rome* with all the papers, which either the *Allobroges* or *Vultureius* had in their cuſtody. This news *Cicero* received by break of day, and having now in his power undeniable proofs of the conſpiracy, he ſent, without loſs of time, proper officers to ſeize *Lentulus*, *Gabinius*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and other chiefs of the conſpiracy, in their houſes. Theſe were not ſent to the public priſons, but, agreeable to the tenderneſs of the *Roman* laws ſhewed to citizens, though ſuſpected of the greateſt crimes, were only committed to the care of ſome of the moſt illuſtrious ſenators. Then the conſul, upon the depoſition of the *Allobroges*, ordered the houſe of *Cethegus* to be ſearched; and having found there a great quantity of ſulphur and tow, with arms of all ſorts, he aſſembled the ſenate in the temple of *Concord*. There he produced his evidence, confronted the witneſſes with the criminals, and prevailed on *Vultureius* to diſcover the ſecrets of the plot. *Cicero*, having thus got the proofs he expected both from the witneſſes and criminals, he aſſembled the ſenate again, when the conſcript fathers returned him the thanks he deſerved, and acknowledged, that by his wiſdom, vigilance, and courage, he had diſcovered a deteſtable plot, ſaved *Rome* from the flames, and preſerved the repub-

Is betrayed by the embaſſadors of the Allobroges.

The chiefs of the conſpiracy ſeized.

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lic from utter ruin. *Catulus* and *Cato* went ſo far as to ſtyle him *the father of his country*, an appellation, which had never been given to any *Roman* before him. *L. Gellius* moved, that a civic crown ſhould be given the conſul, a mark of honour which had never been granted but in camps. After theſe applauſes the conſcript fathers entered into a debate concerning the puniſhment of the criminals; but before they came to any reſolution, *L. Tarquinius*, one of the conſpirators, appeared before the fathers, confeſſed his guilt, and accuſed *M. Licinius Craſſus*, the richeſt man in *Rome*, of being concerned in the conſpiracy. But the very name of *Craſſus* raiſed a great clamour in the aſſembly; his friends cried out, that *Tarquinius* had been ſuborned; and thoſe very ſenators, who ſuſpected *Craſſus*, joined the majority in acquitting him. It was dangerous to provoke a man of his great intereſt; ſo that *Tarquinius* was the only ſufferer by his accuſation. He was condemned to impriſonment, and enjoined never to mention this affair again, unleſs it were to diſcover the perſon who had ſuborned him. The ſenate, after long and warm debates, came to no other reſolution, than that the four chief criminals, *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Gabinius* ſhould be carried to the public priſon, and there kept under cloſe confinement, till the fathers agreed about the puniſhment that ſhould be inflicted upon them. During theſe delays, *Cethegus* found means to convey letters to his friends and clients, encouraging them to raiſe the whole party, and try their utmoſt to reſcue them out of priſon. But *Cicero*, informed of this, poſted troops on the ramparts, at the gates, and in the croſs-ways, and having aſſembled the ſenate anew on the nones of *December*, he exhorted the fathers to come to an ultimate reſolution concerning the priſoners. *Syllanus*, conſul elect for the enſuing year, was, according to cuſtom, aſked his advice firſt; and he, without heſitation, declared, that, in his opinion, they all deſerved to die. All who voted after him were of the ſame opinion, except *T. Nero*, and *Julius Cæſar*. The latter made a famous ſpeech in praiſe of clemency, which is ſtill extant, and by all admired as a moſt artful piece of oratory. He concluded, ſaying, that, in an affair, which concerned the lives of citizens and of the principal patricians in *Rome*, it was adviſeable not to be too haſty in giving judgment, but that they ſhould be well guarded, and kept in ſome towns of *Italy*, till *Catiline* was vanquiſhed. As *Cæſar* was an excellent orator, his ſpeech made a great impreſſion on the aſſembly. Moſt of the ſenators, and among the reſt *Syllanus*, retracting what he had ſaid, declared for *Cæſar*'s opinion.

Cicero *ſtyled* Father of his country.

Craſſus *accuſed and acquitted.*

The ſenate

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But *Cato*, when it came to his turn to vote, repreſented in ſuch lively colours the horrible deſigns of the conſpirators, and ſhewed with ſo many unanſwerable arguments, that *Cæſar*'s clemency was incompatible with the ſafety of the ſtate, that the whole ſenate returned to their former opinion, and ſentence of death was pronounced againſt the conſpirators, without any oppoſition but from *Cæſar* only, who, obſtinately perſiſting in his opinion, made ſuch a noiſe, that the guards at the door came into the ſenate, and, thinking him a conſpirator, would have killed him, had they not been prevented by *Cicero* and *Curio* (N). *Cæſar*'s unſeaſonable mildneſs, and management in this whole affair, made moſt of the ſenators ſuſpect he had a hand in the plot; nay, *Curius* undertook to prove from ſome writings of *Catiline*, that he had entered into engagements with the author of the conſpiracy. But *Cicero*, who was ſenſible how great his intereſt was in *Rome*, avoided impeaching him with the reſt, leſt by the aſſiſtance of his friends and relations he ſhould not only eſcape the rigour of the law himſelf, but ſhould likewiſe ſave the reſt of the criminals. As *Cæſar* was going out of the ſenate, the knights who were upon duty, turned the points of their naked ſwords towards him, watching the conſul's looks to receive his orders. But *Cicero* made them a ſign to let him eſcape, either for fear of the people, or becauſe he thought the murder illegal [m].

Cæſar ſuſpected.

But ſaved by Cicero.

The conſpirators executed.

As ſoon as the decree for the execution of the criminals was paſſed, *Cicero*, though it was late in the day, went directly from the aſſembly to the priſons, and to prevent a reſcue in the night, had them executed in his ſight. As he was re-

[m] Sallust. ibid. Plut. in Cic. & Cæſare.

(N) There happened a ridiculous adventure during the heat of the conteſt between *Cato* and *Cæſar*. *Servilia*, *Cato*'s ſiſter, being in love with *Cæſar*, ſent a ſlave to him with a letter, in which ſhe expreſſed her affection in the moſt paſſionate terms. The ſlave, who was ordered to deliver the letter into *Cæſar*'s own hands, not finding him at home, brought it to him in the ſenate. *Cato* no ſooner ſaw the letter delivered, than he cried out, that it came from one of the conſpirators, and inſiſted upon its being read to the aſſembly. *Cæſar* ſmiling, gave him the letter, and *Cato*, after he had peruſed it, threw it back to him, ſaying with his uſual ſourneſs, *Take it, drunkard* (25). This reproach *Cæſar* well deſerved; for in his youth he was greatly given to drinking

(25) *Plut. in Cat.*

tumult;

turning home after the execution, he turned to the populace, who crouded about him, and cried out, *Vixerunt*, *they have lived*, an expreſſion then in uſe among the *Romans* to avoid ſaying, *Mortui ſunt*, *They are dead*, *death* and *dead* being words of an ill augury, which conveyed melancholy thoughts to the mind. The friends and relations of the conſpirators, who had reſolved to break open the priſons in the night and reſcue them, were thunderſtruck, when they heard they were executed, loſt all hopes, and immediately diſperſed. It is impoſſible to expreſs the joy which the people ſhewed, when they heard that the plot was ſuppreſſed, and the conſpirators puniſhed. They conducted the conſul to his houſe with extraordinary ſhouts and acclamations: as it was night, fires were made in the ſtreets, through which he paſſed; and the whole city was illuminated, men, women, and even children calling him, as he paſſed by, *the deliverer of* Rome, *the ſecond founder of the city*, *the father of his country*, &c. This night was more glorious to him, than a day of triumph had ever been to the greateſt general. No conſul ever ſince the birth of the republic had done her more important ſervices. Others had enlarged her territories by their victories, but *Cicero* ſaved the lives of his fellow-citizens, and the ſtate itſelf from utter ruin [n].

Diſturbances raiſed by Cæſar *and the tribunes.*

Cicero and *Antonius* had no ſooner yielded the faſces to *D. Junius Syllanus* and *L. Licinius Muræna*, than *Q. Metellus*, and *L. Beſtia*, two tribunes of the people, to rob *Cicero* of the honour of putting an end to the rebellion, made a motion for recalling *Pompey* from *Aſia* to march againſt *Catiline*. *Cæſar*, jealous of *Cicero*'s glory and growing intereſt, ſupported the tribunes; but *Cato*, with great intrepidity, oppoſed the motion; whereupon the two tribunes and *Cæſar* raiſed ſuch a tumult, that he was driven from the roſtra by violence, and narrowly eſcaped with his life. However, the tumult was no ſooner appeaſed, than the people returned in crouds to the comitium, ſupported *Cato*, and prevented *Metellus* from publiſhing the edict. When the ſenate were informed of theſe violences, they deprived both the tribunes and *Cæſar*, who was then prætor, of their offices. *Metellus* left *Rome*, and ſet out for *Aſia* to complain to *Pompey* of the ſmall concern the *Roman* people ſhewed for his glory; but *Pompey* paid little regard to his complaints. As for *Cæſar*, he at firſt refuſed to comply with the decree of the ſenate; but at length, fearing the reſentment of the fathers, he laid down his office,

[n] Plut. in Cic.

and ſhut himſelf up in his houſe. The multitude, who adored him, offered to reſtore him to his poſt; but he wiſely refuſed it without the conſent of the ſenate. This conduct charmed the fathers to ſuch a degree, that, after many encomiums, they reinſtated him in his prætorſhip. Thus, by the departure of *Metellus*, and the political moderation of *Cæſar*, tranquillity was reſtored to the city.

DURING theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, *Catiline* made it his whole buſineſs to lead his army into *Tranſalpine Gaul*, where the whole nation ſeemed ready to declare for him. To prevent this, Q. *Metellus Celer*, leaving *Picenum*, which he had guarded the laſt year, poſted himſelf with three legions at the foot of the *Alps*. On the other hand, *Antonius*, *Cicero*'s late collegue, kept following *Catiline* in the rear; ſo that the rebels were in a manner hemmed in by two bodies of troops. In this ſituation *Catiline* reſolved to attack *Antonius*, who as he had been formerly of his faction, ſeemed to act but faintly againſt him. With this view he marched back, and meeting the proconſul near the city of *Piſtoria*, now *Piſtoia*, he drew up his men in order of battle. In the firſt line he poſted eight cohorts, which were the beſt armed; in the ſecond the veterans, who had ſerved under *Sylla*, and in the third his new levies, armed only with knotty clubs, long poles, or the implements of huſbandry. Having drawn up his troops he led them to a great diſtance from his camp, to ſhew that he was fully reſolved to give battle. *Antonius* obſerved the enemy's motions, but would not ſtir out of his camp, though all the officers of the army preſſed him not to let ſlip the opportunity that offered of putting an end to the rebellion at once. Should *Catiline* eſcape, ſaid they, and get into *Gaul*, what will be the fate of *Italy*? Who knows how much blood muſt be ſpilt before the rebels are cruſhed? But *Antonius* would not by any means conſent to an engagement; which ſome hiſtorians aſcribe to a ſecret inclination he had for the party, which he was ordered to deſtroy. Whatever were his motives, when the legionaries abſolutely inſiſted on their being led againſt the enemy, he pretended to be indiſpoſed, and committed the conduct of his army to *Petreius*, who had ſerved above thirty years, and had raiſed himſelf by his merit from a private ſoldier to the poſt of lieutenant-general, in which quality he now ſerved under *Antonius*. The ſoldiers, not doubting of victory under ſo brave and experienced a leader, marched out of their camp in two lines, and fell upon the enemy with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. The rebels ſuſtained the onſet with equal intrepidity and reſolution, and, being encouraged by the example

Catiline reſolves to give Antonius battle.

Antonius commits the command of the army to Petreius.

example of their leader, obliged *Petreius*'s firſt line to give ground. But that brave commander flying to their relief with a body of freſh men, the rebels were in their turn forced to retire in diſorder. Hereupon *Catiline*, reproaching his men with cowardice, and putting them in mind of the promiſe they had made before the battle, either to conquer or die, brought them back to the charge, and renewed the fight with ſuch vigour, that the victory continued doubtful, till *Manlius* and the officer of *Fæſulæ*, who commanded the wings were both killed. Then *Catiline*, being no longer able to govern ſo great a body himſelf, his ranks were broken, and moſt of his men, eſpecially in the wings, diſperſed. Hereupon the head of the rebels, reſolving not to outlive the ruin of his party, threw himſelf in a great rage into the midſt of the enemy, and there found the death which he ſought. He no ſooner fell, than his whole army betook themſelves to flight, leaving *Petreius* maſter of the field. That prudent commander would not ſuffer his men to purſue the fugitives, but allowed them all, as they were for the moſt part *Roman* citizens, to eſcape and return to their own houſes. Of the rebels three thouſand were killed on the ſpot. *Catiline* was found on a heap of dead bodies, ſtill breathing, and with thoſe marks of fierceneſs in his countenance, notwithſtanding the agonies of death, which had rendered him formidable to his enemies during his life [o]. And now nothing more ſeemed wanting with regard to the conſpiracy, than to puniſh *Catiline*'s accomplices. *L. Vettius*, a *Roman* knight, became their accuſer, and included *Cæſar*, now prætor, in the number. *Q. Curius* likewiſe accuſed him to the ſenate of being one of the chief conſpirators, and in proof of his depoſition quoted the teſtimony of *Catiline* himſelf, by whom he ſaid he had been told the names of all the conſpirators, and particularly that of *Cæſar*. As for *Vettius*, he offered to produce the accuſed's own handwriting, which had been found among *Catiline*'s papers. But *Cæſar*, called upon *Cicero* to witneſs the diſcoveries he had made to him concerning the plot; and *Cicero*'s teſtimony was his juſtification; not that the orator thought him clear from all guilt, but becauſe he was afraid to rank ſo popular a man among the criminals [p]. After this ſeveral decrees were iſſued out againſt the reſt of the conſpirators, and ſuch effectual care was taken of the public peace, that in all the provinces where any ſeditions had happened, the rebels were ſuppreſſed, and the guilty puniſhed.

Catiline *defeated and killed.*

Cæſar *privy to the conſpiracy.*

[o] SALLUST. *ibid.* [p] PLUT. in CIC.

Cæſar *choſen pontifex maximus.*

In the mean time the pontifex maximus dying, *Cæſar* was by the ſuffrages of the people advanced to that high ſtation, though he had *Servilius Iſauricus* and *Lutatius Catulus*, two of the greateſt men of the republic, for his competitors. But the joy he felt on this occaſion was in great meaſure allayed by his domeſtic misfortunes. His wife *Pompeia*, the daughter of *Pompeius Rufus*, entertained a ſtrong inclination for a young patrician, named *P. Clodius*. As *Clodius*, though yet a youth, was infamous for his lewdneſs and debaucheries, *Pompeia* could not, without expoſing her character, even ſpeak to him in public. At home ſhe was narrowly watched by the virtuous *Aurelia*, *Cæſar*'s mother, and by his ſiſter *Julia*, who entertained ſome ſuſpicions of her. As ſhe could therefore find no other opportunity of meeting *Clodius*, ſhe took advantage of a very ſolemn feaſt, which was to be celebrated in her husband's houſe. It had been cuſtomary, ever ſince the birth of the republic, to have certain religious ceremonies performed at the end of every conſular year in the houſe of the conſul or prætor. Thither the veſtals repaired, and offered a ſacrifice to the *Good Goddeſs* (O), whoſe very name

P. Clodius *carries on an intrigue with* Cæſar's *wife.*

(O) We learn from *Cicero* all that is to be known of the *Good Goddeſs*, and of the ſacrifices offered to her. In his oration concerning the *anſwers of the aruſpices*, he ſpeaks thus; "What ſacrifice is there ſo ancient as that which has been handed down to us from our firſt kings, and is coeval with *Rome* herſelf? What ſacrifice is there ſo private and ſecret as that which is concealed not only from the eyes of the curious and inquiſitive, but from the ſight of all men, and whither neither the moſt profligate wickedneſs nor impudence ever yet preſumed to enter? This ſacrifice no man, except *Clodius*, was ever ſo impious as to violate, no man, but *Clodius*, ever thought, without the utmoſt horror, of aſſiſting at it. This ſacrifice, which is performed by the veſtal virgins, which is performed for the proſperity of the *Roman* people, which is performed in the houſe of the chief magiſtrate, celebrated with unknown ceremonies, and in honour of a goddeſs, whoſe very name to know is ſacrilege; this ſacrifice *Clodius* profaned, *&c*." Since then, at the very time when this adventure happened, the ceremonies obſerved in that ſacrifice were abſolutely unknown to the people, and locked up under ſo religious a ſecrecy, that all were ignorant of the very name of the goddeſs, we are not to wonder, that the ancients have left us in the dark as to the nature of this ſacrifice. One thing indeed ſeems unaccountable: *Cicero* tells us, that the name of the goddeſs was concealed from the men, but revealed to the women: how then could it remain ſuch a ſecret? This is much to the honour of the *Roman* women. *Plutarch* takes the *good goddeſs* to be the ſame with the *Gynæcea*

name was concealed from the men, and known only to the women. At this ſacrifice it was unlawful for any man to aſſiſt; nay it was deemed a ſacrilege even for the maſter of the houſe, or his children, to be at home while the ceremony was performing. Some writers tell us, that the women, who aſſiſted at the ceremony, carried their ſuperſtition ſo far as even to cover the pictures of men and male animals with thick vails. On this ſolemn day, and in the houſe ſet apart for this religious uſe, *Clodius* and *Pompeia* agreed to meet. *Clodius*, in order to get admiſſion, was to come in the habit and diſguiſe of a ſinging woman; for the ſolemnity was attended with dancing and muſic. A female ſlave, who was in the ſecret, had orders to receive him and conduct him to his miſtreſs's apartment. *Clodius*, being yet very young, was by his face and appearance, taken for a woman and readily admitted. The maid, who was in the ſecret, no ſooner ſaw him than ſhe ran to inform *Pompeia*; but as ſhe did not return ſo ſoon as *Clodius* expected, he grew uneaſy; and not thinking it ſafe to continue long in the ſame place, he took ſeveral turns in the rooms, avoiding the lights as much as poſſible for fear of being diſcovered. As he was thus walking about ſlowly by himſelf, one of *Aurelia*'s maids, taking him for a female muſician, aſked him to ſing, which he refuſing to do, the maid put ſeveral queſtions to him, and obliged him at laſt to ſpeak, which he no ſooner did, than his voice betrayed him. Whereupon the woman ſhrieking ran into the rooms where the ceremonies were performing, crying aloud, that ſhe had diſcovered a man. The women all in a fright threw a vail over the myſteries, ſtopt the ceremonies, and, having ordered the doors to be ſhut, ran about with lights in ſearch of the ſacrilegious man, whom they found in the maid's room, who was privy to the appointment. There they ſeized him, and having driven him out of doors, though it was yet night, they went home to acquaint their huſbands with what had happened. The next morning *Clodius*'s impious attempt was the ſubject of every converſation, and all agreed, that he ought to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. Accordingly he was accuſed of prophaning the holy rites, but the populace declared in his favour; ſo that the judges, fearing to provoke the multitude, acquitted him. *Cæſar* immediately divorced *Pompeia*; *Cæſar divorces his wife Pompeia.*

Gynæcea of the *Greeks*, that is, with *the goddeſs of the women*; and adds, that the *Phrygians*, who claimed a particular title to her, ſaid ſhe was mother to *Midas*, that the *Romans* pretended ſhe was one of the dryads and married to *Faunus*, and that the *Greeks* affirmed, ſhe was mother to *Bacchus*.

but

but being ſummoned as a witneſs againſt *Clodius*, he ſaid, that he had nothing to charge him with. As this looked like a paradox, the accuſers aſked him, why then he had parted with his wife? *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *I cannot bear that my wife ſhould be ſo much as ſuſpected.* He declined appearing againſt *Clodius*, to gratify the populace, who, he ſaw, were very earneſt to ſave him [q].

THE next year *M. Pupius Piſo*, one of *Pompey*'s lieutenants, was, upon his recommendation, raiſed to the conſulate, and with him *M. Valerius Meſſala*. Soon after their election, news was brought, that *Pompey*, after having reduced ſeveral kingdoms in the eaſt, was preparing to return to *Rome*. Some, fearing he ſhould turn his victorious arms againſt his country, were for raiſing troops, and guarding againſt any attempt of that nature; but he reſolved on a conduct very different from what was dreaded. He was very deſirous of making himſelf abſolute in the republic; but at the ſame time ſo weak as to imagine that he could attain and preſerve a kind of arbitrary power by ſuch gentle methods, as would carry no violence with them. Agreeable to this falſe notion, he diſbanded his troops, as ſoon as he landed at *Brunduſium*, and proceeded to *Rome* with as ſmall a train as if he had been returning from a journey of pleaſure. The whole city went out to meet him, and received him with loud acclamations. He demanded a triumph, which, as he well deſerved it, was readily granted him. The proceſſion laſted two days, and was by far the moſt magnificent that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*. Before his chariot marched three hundred and twenty four captives of great diſtinction, among whom were *Ariſtobulus* king of *Judæa* and his ſon *Antigonus*; *Oithaces* king of *Colchis*; *Tigranes*, the ſon of *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, with his wife and daughter; five ſons and two daughters of *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*; a queen of *Scythia*, &c. The ſpoils that were carried before him were valued at above three millions ſterling; and the gold and ſilver coin, which he delivered to the quæſtors, amounted to three times that ſum, not reckoning the large donatives which he beſtowed on his ſoldiers; for he ordered one thouſand five hundred drachmas to each ſoldier of his army, that is, near fifty pounds ſterling, and rewarded all the officers in proportion. He did not put any of the captives to death, as other generals had done, neither did he keep them in priſon; but ſent them all, except *Ariſtobulus* and *Tigranes*, back to their reſpective

Pompey's idle ſcheme of power.

His triumph.

[q] Plutarch. in Catone

countries,

countries, at the expence of the public[r]. The solemnity was no sooner over, than *Pompey* betook himself to a private life, disdaining, from a pretended modesty, even the use of those titles and privileges with which he had been honoured. His aim was to assume a sovereign authority in the state, without appearing to desire it; but he soon found, that it was easier to give law to subalterns in a camp, than to govern his equals in a free state without force. There were many, who made as great a figure in *Rome* as himself, and were ready to oppose the sovereignty at which he aspired. *Lucullus*, who had paved the way for his conquests in the east, did not think himself at all inferior to this celebrated conqueror. *Crassus* had been *Pompey*'s rival ever since he robbed him of the honour of a triumph, by assuming to himself the glory of having put an end to the war with the slaves, as we have related above. *Pompey* indeed outshined *Crassus* in glory; but the immense riches of the latter put him at least upon a level with his adversary; for he is said to have been worth seven thousand talents, that is one million three hundred fifty-six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling. *Cato* was too zealous for the public good to let *Pompey* give any wound to the liberty of his country. *Cicero* was not so disinterested in his views as *Cato*; but was at bottom a good republican, and his eloquence made him formidable. *Cæsar*, who, we may say, was at this time only beginning to shew himself, was too ambitious to submit to any superior. However, *Pompey* had interest enough to get *L. Afranius* and *Q. Metellus*, who had served under him, promoted to the consulate. They no sooner entered upon their office, than he made two attempts, which turned both to his confusion, *viz.* that lands should be given to his veterans, and that all his acts in the east should be approved by one decree. He made the motion himself; but it was almost unanimously rejected by the fathers, and nobody opposed it with more warmth than the consul *Metellus*, who had indeed made his court to *Pompey*, in order to raise himself, but heated him in his heart, for having divorced his sister *Mutia* (P), which he looked upon

Is convinced of the folly of his scheme.

[r] PLUT. in Pomp. APPIAN in Mithridatic DIO. l. xxxvii. PLIN. l. vii. c. 26. & l. xxxvii c. 3.

(P) *Mutia* was the third daughter of *Q. Mutius Scævola*. While her husband was making war in *Asia*, she took advantage of his absence, and carried on an intrigue with *Cæsar*, which was the common talk of *Rome*; insomuch, that *Pompey* did not think pro-

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upon as an affront offered to the *Cæcilian* family. As for the other conſul, he was a man of no weight, and intirely incapable of buſineſs. *Pompey*, inraged at the refuſal of the ſenate, had recourſe to the tribunes, and prevailed upon *Flavius Nepos*, one of that college, to propoſe his requeſt to the people; but *Lucullus*, *Cato*, and *Metellus* oppoſed the tribune with great ſteadineſs and reſolution. Their oppoſition occaſioned a tumult in the forum, and the furious tribune went ſo far as to ſend the conſul *Metellus* to priſon; but *Pompey*, who was the author of the tumult, not caring to incur the hatred of the ſenate, ordered the conſul to be ſet at liberty, under pretence that the conſul had deſired it. He was now fully convinced, that to pretend to reign in a republic, otherwiſe than by force of arms, was a chimerical project; but as he could not conquer his boundleſs ambition, he made it his whole buſineſs to gain over to his intereſt the ſeditious *Clodius*, a man of a moſt abandoned character, but greatly favoured by the populace, and a declared enemy to the ſenate. The illuſtrious conqueror of the eaſt demeaned himſelf ſo far as to join this profligate patrician, and to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to get him raiſed to the tribuneſhip, tho' he knew, that *Clodius*'s only aim in aſpiring at that office was, to revenge himſelf on *Cicero*, who had appeared as a witneſs againſt him, when he was accuſed of having profaned the myſteries of the *Good Goddeſs*. Hence the bitter complaints which *Cicero* made of him in ſeveral of his letters. This conduct greatly leſſened the high opinion, which both the people and the nobility had entertained of him before his return[f].

Sinks in his reputation.

[f] Plut. ibid. Cic. in epiſt. 13. l. i. ad. Atticum, & alib. paſſ.

per to wait till he returned to *Rome* to divorce her; but ſent orders to her to leave his houſe before he returned to *Italy*. She was ſiſter to the two *Metelli*, *Celer* and *Nepos*; and he could not but foreſee, that he ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of thoſe two patricians, who made a conſiderable figure in the republic; but her life was ſo ſcandalous, that *Pompey* thought himſelf obliged in honour to part with her, though he had three children by her. He never forgot the injury *Cæſar* had done him; but complained ſeveral times, in the heat of the civil war, that the debaucher of *Mutia* was his *Ægiſthus*, ſince he was not content with having diſhonoured him, but at the ſame time wanted to take away his life, as *Ægiſthus* was *Clytemneſtra*'s lover, and the murderer of her huſband *Agamemnon*.

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IN the mean time the government of *Farther Spain*, which comprehended *Luſitania* and *Bætica*, that is *Portugal* and *Andaluſia*, falling by lot to *Cæſar*, after his prætorſhip, he was preparing to ſet out for his new province; but being ſtopped by ſome of his creditors, *Craſſus*, to whom he applied, took upon him to ſatisfy thoſe creditors, who would be put off no longer, and became his ſecurity for eight hundred and thirty talents, that is, one hundred ſixty thouſand eight hundred and twelve pounds ſterling. Upon this *Cæſar*, being at liberty to go to his government, ſet out without delay. In his journey, as he was croſſing the *Alps*, he paſſed by a ſmall village, which had but few inhabitants, and thoſe wretchedly poor, which gave occaſion to ſome of his friends to aſk him by way of raillery, Whether there was any canvaſſing there for offices, or any contention among the barbarians who ſhould be uppermoſt? To this queſtion *Cæſar* anſwered very ſeriouſly, *That he had rather be firſt man among thoſe poor* Barbarians, *than the ſecond in* Rome (Q). It is eaſy to imagine, that *Cæſar*, with theſe ſentiments, could not continue idle in his province. To find himſelf work there, he made war on the innocent *Spaniards*, and, advancing as far as the ocean, ſubdued ſeveral nations, which had never before been ſubject to *Rome*. Having ſettled his province in peace, he returned to *Rome*, carrying with him ſufficient ſums to diſcharge his debts, which amounted to one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, ſo great was his extravagance and profuſion. His heart was ſet on a triumph and the conſulate; but chiefly on the latter, which he could not obtain, without appearing perſonally in the comitium. On the other hand, thoſe who demanded a triumph were obliged to halt in the ſuburbs, and there wait for the anſwer of the ſenate. Being therefore reduced to the dilemma either of laying aſide the thoughts of a triumph by going into the city, or to give up the conſulſhip by ſtaying in the ſuburbs, he readily renounced the former, and purſued the latter, leaving nothing unattempted in order to ſucceed. His management on this occaſion was a maſter-piece of policy, and the foundation of his future grandeur. The two citizens, who at this time made the greateſt figure in the republic, were, without diſpute, *Pompey* and *Craſſus*; but theſe two powerful citizens were

Cæſar *ſent into* Spain.

His ambition.

Aſpires to the conſulate.

(Q) *Plutarch* adds to this, that while he was one day reading the hiſtory of *Alexander the Great*, he appeared very thoughtful, and at laſt burſt out into tears, anſwering his friends, who aſked him the reaſon of his grief, *Do you think I have not juſt cauſe to weep, when I conſider, that Alexander, at my age, had conquered ſo many nations, while I have yet done nothing that is memorable?*

declared enemies, and, all things conſidered, much upon a level. As they had both great intereſt, *Cæſar* plainly ſaw, that he could never obtain the conſulſhip, without gaining one or other of them to his cauſe; but the difficulty was which to chooſe. If he cloſed with *Pompey*, he would meet with a ſtrong oppoſition from *Craſſus*'s friends; and if he joined *Craſſus*, he was ſure to have all *Pompey*'s party againſt him. He therefore undertook to reconcile the two rivals, and, by propoſing to them a triumvirate, in which ſhould be lodged all the authority of the ſenate and people, he prevailed upon them to make up their differences, and to enter into a ſtrict friendſhip with each other. In order to make their confederacy the more indiſſoluble, they ſolemnly bound themſelves by mutual oaths and promiſes to aſſiſt each other, and to ſuffer nothing to be undertaken or executed, without the unanimous conſent of all three. Thus was the firſt great triumvirate formed, by which *Rome* became a prey to three men, who, by the intereſt of their united parties, arbitrarily diſpoſed of all the dignities and employments in the commonwealth. The public were long ſtrangers to the myſteries of this new cabal. Nothing more appeared to the ſenate than the reconciliation of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, and *Cæſar* was congratulated by all ranks of men for having brought it about. *Cato* alone foreſaw the evil conſequences of this new alliance, and exclaimed againſt it, ſaying, That *Rome* had loſt her liberty; but no-body hearkened to him, till it was too late to follow his prudent counſel [t]. This aſſociation ſubſiſted to the death of *Craſſus*, and was followed by the intire ſubverſion of the republican ſtate.

The firſt triumvirate.

Year after the flood 2944. Before Chriſt 55. Of *Rome* 693.

[t] Plut. in Pomp. Cæſ. & Catone. Dio. Cass. l. xxxvii. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Suet. in Julio.

CHAP

CHAP. XI.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the firſt triumvirate to the death of* Craſſus.

THE firſt benefit *Cæſar* reaped from this aſſociation was, his promotion to the conſulate, *Pompey* and *Craſſus* employing all their intereſt in his favour. He had but two competitors, *L. Luccius Hirrus* and *M. Calpurnius Bibulus*. The former, a man of great learning (R), was but little verſed in public affairs; and therefore *Cæſar*, well appriſed that if he had him for his colleague, he ſhould reign alone, did his utmoſt to get him elected. He was not aſhamed openly to purchaſe the ſuffrages of the people with large ſums; but the ſenators, being reſolved to have him excluded and *Bibulus* choſen, agreed among themſelves to defeat *Cæſar*'s meaſures in his own way, and to offer the people greater ſums than he had done. *Cato* himſelf, tho' a rigid ſtoic, was of opinion, that the laws, forbidding all ſort of bribery, ought to be diſpenſed with on this occaſion; ſo that it was reſolved, that *Bibulus* ſhould buy the ſuffrages of the people, and that each ſenator ſhould pay his ſhare towards raiſing the promiſed ſums. By this means *Lucceius* was excluded, and *Bibulus* appointed to be *Cæſar*'s collegue. The firſt thing *Cæſar* did, after entering upon his office, was, to confirm all *Pompey*'s acts, purſuant to his promiſe. After this he made it his whole buſineſs to gain the affections of the people. Cæſar *and* Bibulus *conſuls.*

(R) If we may judge of his learning from the account *Cicero* gives of him, he was one of the beſt hiſtorians of *Rome*. Beſides the hiſtory of the war of the allies, he wrote that of *Cicero*'s conſulſhip, at the requeſt of the conſul, who had himſelf already publiſhed one of his own in *Greek* and *Latin*.

With

Cæſar draws up an agrarian law.

With this view he drew up an agrarian law, with ſuch wiſe reſtrictions and proviſoes, that the ſenators themſelves could not juſtly find fault with it; for it enacted only, *that certain lands in* Campania, *belonging to the public, ſhould be divided among ſuch of the poor citizens, as had three children, or more.* *Cæſar* declared in the ſenate, that he would do nothing without the conſent of the conſcript fathers, nor propoſe any of his friends for commiſſioners, nor any perſon elſe, who might be liable to ſuſpicions; but that they ſhould be all men of unblemiſhed characters and known abilities. The fathers had nothing to object againſt the law itſelf; but, as they were well appriſed of the legiſlator's ambitious views, they put off from day to day giving their aſſent to it. *Cæſar* complained of theſe delays; and then *Cato* told him in plain terms, that he did not diſapprove of the diſtribution of the lands as propoſed, but dreaded the conſequences of it: *We do not care*, ſaid he, *that you ſhould purchaſe the favour and affections of the people at the expence of the public treaſury.* This open declaration piqued *Cæſar*, who ordered his lictors to carry *Cato* to priſon; but he ſoon after privately ordered the tribunes to releaſe him. The example of *Cato* was followed by the conſul *Bibulus* and moſt of the ſenators, who declared, that they had nothing to object againſt the law; but that they would *ſuffer no innovations.* Hereupon *Cæſar* had recourſe to the people, and having ſummoned them to aſſemble, appeared in the comitium, attended by *Pompey* and *Craſſus*. He mounted the roſtra, and directing his ſpeech to his two aſſociates, aſked them, whether they did not approve of the law? It is eaſy to imagine, that two men of his own cabal would ſpeak the ſame language as he. They both anſwered, That they would ſupport his motion, with all their power, againſt the enemies of the people, who oppoſed it. *Pompey* went farther, adding, with more warmth than prudence, *If any one oppoſes this law with the ſword, I will reſiſt him with ſword and buckler.* *Pompey*, by this raſh anſwer, which was no way ſuitable to his dignity, and was contrary to his true intereſt, made himſelf odious to the ſenate, and at the ſame time gained no credit among the people, who thought themſelves indebted to *Cæſar* only for ſo beneficial a law. However, *Bibulus* oppoſed it with great courage; but the people loſing all regard for the conſular dignity, treated him with the utmoſt indignity, drove him out of the aſſembly, broke his faſces, wounded his lictors, *&c.* The ſenators dreading the fury of the populace, held their peace; ſo that the law paſſed without any farther diſturbance [u].

Which is rejected by the ſenate

Put paſſed by the people.

[u] Plut. in Cæſ. Suet. in Jul. Dio. l. xxx.

This

THIS victory over the ſenate and *Bibulus* made *Cæſar* in great meaſure abſolute in *Rome*. His collegue was ſcarce ever mentioned; no deference was paid to his orders; they all looked upon *Cæſar* as the only conſul, and called this year ironically the year of the conſulate of *Julius* and *Cæſar*. And now the ſuſpicions entertained of the confederacy between the triumvirs being confirmed by *Cæſar*'s marrying his daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*, *Cato*, who was a ſincere friend to his country, loudly exclaimed againſt the arbitrary power uſurped by the triumvirs; and when the agrarian law was brought before the ſenate to be confirmed by them, he continued inflexible, oppoſing it with great warmth, tho' threatened with baniſhment; but at length *Cicero* telling him, *That if* Cato *did not want* Rome, Rome *wanted* Cato, upon this conſideration he acquieſced, and the law was eſtabliſhed in full force. And now *Cæſar* reſolved to gain the favour of the knights, as he had done that of the people. With this view he abated a third part of the rents which they paid annually into the public treaſury, and by this means attached them unalterably to his intereſt. Having thus ſecured to himſelf both the people and knights, he governed *Rome* with an abſolute ſway. *Cicero* exclaimed againſt the triumvirate, and, by ſome ſevere jeſts (S), provoked them to ſuch a decree, that they reſolved upon his ruin; and, in order to compaſs it the more effectually, they got his mortal enemy, *P. Clodius*, promoted to the tribuneſhip. We ſhall ſoon ſee the ſeditious *Clodius* vent his rage againſt this great orator, and forward the ruin of the republic, by the baniſhment of one of the chief ſupporters of the public liberty [w]. *Cæſar*, having thus eſtab-

And at laſt approved by the ſenate.

P. Clodius *promoted to the tribunate.*

[w] PLUT. in CIC. DIO. CASS. l. xxxviii. CIC. ad Attic. l. ii. epiſt. 19.

(S) *Cicero*, who was naturally ſevere and loved raillery, ſeized every opportunity that offered of ſhewing his wit, without regard either to decency or friendſhip. He was one of thoſe, who would rather loſe their friend than their jeſt. If this ſatyrical turn was not one of the chief cauſes of his misfortunes, it contributed at leaſt to ſtir up againſt him ſeveral powerful enemies. Though ſome of his jeſts were lively and poignant, yet he often brought himſelf into contempt by the low conceits and ſtale alluſions, which he put off for wit. He has dropt ſeveral things of this nature, even in his moſt eloquent diſcourſes. *Macrobius* tells us, that one of *Cicero*'s freed-men was at the pains of collecting all his maſter's witticiſms, under the title of *Ineptiæ*. It is ſurpriſing, that a man of ſo much ſagacity ſhould not think ſuch puns and ridiculous conceits unbecoming the gravity of a magiſtrate.

liſhed

liſhed the power of the triumvirate, applied himſelf to his own private intereſt. *Pompey* had got two conſuls elected for the next year, who were perſonally devoted to him, *viz. L. Calpurnius Piſo* and *A. Gabinius*. *Cæſar*, fearing *Pompey* might attempt a ſuperiority over him during their adminiſtration, attached *Piſo* to himſelf, by marrying his daughter *Calpurnia*. Having thus ſecured his intereſt at *Rome* during the next conſulſhip, he applied himſelf both to the ſenate and people, and, with the aſſiſtance of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, procured the government of *Tranſalpine* and *Ciſalpine Gaul*, contrary to all law, for five years together, with the command of four legions.

Under the next conſulſhip of *Calpurnius Piſo* and *A. Gabinius Nepos*, the triumvirate ſtill continued to govern *Rome* by the conſuls themſelves, who were their creatures.

Clodius reſolves on the ruin of Cicero.

As *Cicero* adhered ſteadily to the intereſts of the republic, the conſuls gave *Clodius* full liberty to vent on him all his fury. *Cicero* was looked on as the father and defender of his country, and the ſervice he had done the republic was yet freſh in every one's memory; the tribune therefore was obliged to have recourſe to craft and cunning to compaſs his ruin. His firſt ſtep was to gain the affections of the people, by paſſing ſeveral laws favourable to them; then he obliged both the knights and ſenators, by leſſening the power which the cenſors had of degrading them; and in the laſt place he paid his court to the conſuls, by aſſigning them provinces of a very great extent. The conſuls had hitherto choſen their provinces by lot; but *Clodius* pretended, that the right of aſſigning them was lodged in the people, who accordingly gave to *Piſo*, *Macedon*, *Achaia*, *Theſſaly*, and *Bœotia*; and to *Gabinius*, *Syria* and moſt of the eaſtern kingdoms. *Cicero*, who had too much ſagacity not to ſee through the tribune's deſign, ſecured to himſelf a faithful friend in *L. Nimnius Quadratus*, another of the tribunes, who ſo effectually oppoſed all the attempts of *Clodius*, that he could not proceed. Hereupon *Clodius*, fearing *Nimnius*, or, as others call him, *Mummius*, might by his oppoſition overturn all his ſchemes, had recourſe to artifice, and aſſured *Cicero*, that he would undertake nothing to his prejudice, provided he would perſuade *Nimnius* not to oppoſe his meaſures. We are told, that both *Cæſar* and *Pompey* baſely demeaned themſelves to aſſure the orator, that the tribune had no deſign to hurt him; and that *Cicero*, deceived by theſe falſe aſſurances, deſired *Nimnius* to wave his oppoſition, and ſlept in ſecurity. In the mean time, *Clodius* got another law paſſed, enacting, That when a tribune of the people

What ſteps he took to compaſs it.

people ſhould propoſe any law in the comitia, no regard ſhould be had to the denunciations of the augurs. As moſt of that college favoured *Cicero*, the tribune was afraid, leſt they ſhould, under pretence of religion, prevail upon the people to reject the decree, which he had already drawn up againſt *Cicero*. And now the tribune thinking himſelf in a condition to carry his point, mounted the roſtra, and propoſed the following law, at which all theſe preparations aimed, viz. *That whoever had been concerned in the death of a* Roman *citizen, before the people had paſſed ſentence on him, ſhould be deemed guilty of treaſon and puniſhed as a ſtate criminal.* *Cicero*, well apprized that he was the perſon aimed at by this law, and ſeeing himſelf in ſo great danger, changed his habit, and, letting his beard grow, went about in deep mourning, ſoliciting the aſſiſtance of his friends. Many of the knights teſtified their regard for him, by changing their habits, and in a negligent dreſs, ſupplicating in his behalf. Among theſe was the ſon of *Craſſus* the triumvir, who had been taught by *Cicero* the rules of eloquence, and had made an extraordinary proficiency under ſo great a maſter. This young patrician, at the head of twenty thouſand young *Romans* of his age, attended *Cicero* where-ever he went. *Clodius*, on the other hand, attended by a numerous body of armed men, inſulted *Cicero*, where-ever he met him, reproached him with want of courage, and, interrupting him in his humble addreſſes to the people, encouraged his enemies, who were the dregs of the populace, to throw ſtones and dirt at the orator and his company, who dared not return the like treatment, for fear of violating the ſacred perſon of a tribune. The ſenate, affected with the unjuſt proſecution of a man, whom they looked upon as the chief ornament of their body, aſſembled, in order to decree, that the people ſhould put on mourning, as in a public calamity; but the conſuls, whom *Clodius* had gained over, oppoſed it, while he himſelf with a band of armed ſlaves beſet the place where the ſenate met, and with menaces deterred them from coming to any reſolution. It muſt be owned, that *Cicero* on this occaſion acted a part unworthy of his former conſtancy. He ran from houſe to houſe with ſorrow and conſternation in his face, imploring the protection of his friends, and cringing, with a ſhameful meanneſs of ſpirit, even to his enemies. The advice his friends gave him ſerved only to embarraſs him the more. *Lucullus* was for having recourſe to arms and repelling force by force. The knights declared for him, and with them the better part of the citizens; but *Cato* and *Hortenſius* adviſed him not to tarniſh his paſt glory, by

Propoſes a law aimed at Cicero.

Regard paid by the knights and ſenators to Cicero.

filling *Rome* with ſlaughter, and exerciſing the ſame cruelties on his fellow citizens, which he had ſo ſeverely condemned in *Catiline*. *Cicero*, greatly perplexed and not knowing how to eſcape the fury of the mad tribune, had at length recourſe to *Cæſar*, intreating him, that he would take him with him into *Gaul* as one of his lieutenants. This was, all things conſidered, the ſafeſt method he could have taken; and *Cæſar*, who wanted nothing elſe but to get him out of *Rome*, where he might, by his eloquence, raiſe great diſturbances, readily conſented to his requeſt. *Clodius* was well appriſed, that, by this means, his prey would eſcape him; and therefore, in order to divert him from accepting the new employment, he feigned himſelf diſpoſed to a reconciliation, and ſent him word by ſome common friends, that he had been informed, that his wife *Terentia* had been the chief cauſe of his giving evidence againſt him in the affair of *Pompeia*, and that now he was determined to drop the proſecution, and live again in amity with him. *Cicero*, tho' a man in other reſpects of uncommon ſagacity, was ſo far impoſed upon by his enemy's fair words and promiſes, that he changed his mind, and refuſed to attend *Cæſar* into *Gaul*. This ſo provoked *Cæſar*, that he joined *Clodius* againſt him, and engaged *Pompey* not to intermeddle in his behalf. Hereupon *Clodius* reſumed his impeachment, and accuſed *Cicero* before the tribes, of having put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and other *Roman* citizens to death, without a lawful trial. *Cicero*, ſeeing himſelf thus expoſed anew to the rage of the furious tribune, had recourſe to *Pompey*, who was indebted to him for moſt of his employments, and had ever profeſſed a great friendſhip for him; but *Pompey* was retired to one of his country-houſes, for fear of being reproached with his unfaithfulneſs, if he did not ſtir in behalf of his friend. *Cicero* immediately diſpatched *Piſo* his ſon-in-law to him, and, upon his delaying to return, went himſelf; but *Pompey*, not able to bear the ſight of his old friend, who had done him ſo many good offices, and whom he had engaged his word with *Cæſar* not to aſſiſt, went out at a back door, ordering his ſervants to tell *Cicero*, that he was returned to *Rome*. *Cicero*, no longer doubting but he was abandoned by him, having called together his true friends, aſked their advice, when *Lucullus*, who was an old experienced commander, was for taking up arms; but the reſt of his friends adviſed him to give way to the ſtorm and retire from *Rome*. As he could not bear the thoughts of ſhedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he followed their advice, left *Rome* at midnight, and reſolved to retire to *Sicily*, where *Vigilius* was prætor, who owed

Cæſar becomes his enemy.

He is abandoned by Pompey.

He retires into baniſhment.

owed his fortune to him; but the ungrateful governor refusing him admittance into the island, he imbarqued at *Brundusium*, and sailed to *Dyrrachium*, where he discovered so much dejection and meanness of spirit, as were a reproach to his great abilities and the philosophy he professed. He himself acknowledges, that, in the height of his grief, he was going to lay violent hands on himself; but was prevented by his friend *Atticus* [a] (S).

In

[a] PLUT. in Cic. & Pomp. CIC. pro Sestio, domo sua, & alib. pass. DIO. CASS. l. XXXVIII.

(S) *Cicero* came first to *Vibo*, called also *Hipponium*, which stood on the coast of *Brutium*, and had chosen *Cicero* for its patron or protector; but one *Vibius*, on whom *Cicero* had conferred many favours, not only refused to admit him into his house, but would not even suffer him to come into the city. However, one *Sica*, who held a farm near *Hipponium*, received and entertained him, till he set out for *Brundusium*. Thither the people of the country guarded him, the neighbouring country being infested by a troop of exiles of the *Catilinarian* faction, under the command of *Antronius*, whose resentment *Cicero* had reason to fear. Before he imbarqued at the port of *Brundusium*, he spent some days with his friend *M. Lænius Flaccus*, who had a country house near that city. He was then in a most deplorable condition, not knowing what place to chuse for his residence during his exile. *Greece* and *Epirus* were beset by a troop of robbers in the pay of *Antronius*, his sworn enemy. The government of *Macedon* had been given to the consul *Piso*, an avowed friend to *Clodius*. *Asia* only offered him a secure retreat; and therefore he imbarqued at *Brundusium*, resolving to sail to *Cyzicus*, a city of *Mysia*. This he himself declares in a letter, which he wrote before he imbarqued, to his wife *Terentia*, and to his children *Tullia* and *Cicero*. *I have spent thirteen days*, says he, *at* Brundusium, *in the house of* M. Lænius Flaccus. *This faithful friend is affected with my misfortunes, and, in spite of the furious* Clodius, *entertains me with great civility. I am going to leave him and imbarque for* Macedon, *whence I intend to proceed to* Cyzicus, *and there finish my course.* Accordingly on the thirteenth of *April*, he took leave of his friend *Flaccus*, who, with his father and children, attended him to the port, where these illustrious friends parted, after having giving each other reciprocal assurances of the most sincere friendship. *Cicero* had at first a favourable wind; but a few hours after a violent storm obliged the pilot to return to the same port. When the storm was appeased, he put to sea again, and landed at *Dyrrachium*, now *Duraxzo*. There the inhabitants received him in such a manner, as might have allayed his grief if he had been capable of any comfort; but he discovered a weakness on

Clodius *gets the decree of his baniſhment paſſed.*

In the mean time, *Clodius* got the decree of his baniſhment paſſed, confiſcated his effects, which, to the immortal honour of the exile, no body would buy when expoſed to ſale, burnt to the ground his houſes in the country and his fine palace in *Rome*, and ordered the pontifices to conſecrate the ground, on which his city-houſe ſtood, to the goddeſſes *Peace* and *Liberty*, to make the reſtitution of it in a manner impoſſible. Thus *Clodius* triumphed at *Rome*; but as *Cato* ſtill thwarted him in his pernicious attempts, he prevailed on the people to paſs the moſt unjuſt decree poſſible, purely to gratify a private reſentment of his own, and then, by another decree, obliged *Cato* to put the firſt in execution. *Clodius* had been taken in his youth by the pirates, while he was ſerving in the eaſt; and *Ptolemy*, king of *Cyprus*, a covetous prince, had refuſed to pay his ranſom. This *Clodius* took greatly amiſs, and now that he was the reigning tribune, he reſolved to be revenged on the king of *Cyprus*; and accordingly got a decree paſſed, depriving him of his dominions, under pretence that he had forfeited them by his ill conduct. *Cato* was charged with the execution of this ſcandalous decree; and that he might be kept the longer from *Rome*, he was ordered at the ſame time to reſtore ſome citizens of diſtinction in *Byzantium*, who had been driven from thence by the populace. When *Cicero* and *Cato* were gone, the furious tribune, and the triumvirs, whoſe tool he was, reigned without controul; but in the mean time, news being brought to *Rome*, that the *Helvetians*, having abandoned their country, and burnt down their towns and houſes, were preparing to enter *Gaul* by way of *Geneva*, *Cæſar*, whoſe province *Gaul* was, found himſelf obliged to leave *Rome*, and haſten to the defence of the country committed to his care. Accordingly he repaired thither in ſuch haſte, that he reached the banks of the *Rhone* in eight days. Upon his arrival, he broke down the bridge of *Geneva*; and as he found but one legion in the province, he deferred giving anſwer to the *Helvetians*, who deſired leave to paſs through the

Cæſar *goes into* Gaul.

this occaſion, which could not have been expected from a man bred up in the ſtudy of philoſophy. He grew melancholy, was ever ſighing, and turning his eyes towards *Italy*. The *Greeks* who came to viſit him, being quite tired with his complaints, were forced to invent dreams, and draw good preſages of his ſpeedy return from the moſt trifling events, in order to pacify him. So very different are ſometimes the greateſt men from themſelves in times of adverſity! *Cicero*, after a ſhort ſtay at *Dyrrachium*, repaired to *Theſſalonica*, and there reſided, till he was recalled from baniſhment.

country

country of the *Allobroges*, till he had covered the frontiers of his province, by carrying on a wall from the lake *Lemanus*, or lake of *Geneva*, to mount *Jura*, now *Mont S. Glaude*. This wall was nineteen miles in extent, ſixteen foot high, and defended by a deep ditch and caſtles at proper diſtances. As *Cæſar* did not ſet out from *Rome* till about the beginning of *April*, and this work was completed before the ides, or the thirteenth, of the ſame month, it is manifeſt, that, beſides the *Roman* legion, great numbers of the inhabitants were employed in it. When the deputies of the *Helvetii* returned at the time appointed for an anſwer, *Cæſar* told them, that the *Romans* never ſuffered foreign armies to march through their countries; and that, if they attempted to force a paſſage, he would repel force with force. Upon this, the whole nation of the *Helvetians* appeared in a body; and then *Cæſar*, perſuaded that he could not reſiſt them with the few troops he had, left *Labienus*, one of his lieutenants, to defend his lines, and haſtening back into *Italy*, brought from thence in a very ſhort time five legions. With theſe he fell upon the *Helvetians*, while they were embarraſſed in paſſing the *Arar*, now the *Saone*, cut in pieces thoſe who had not yet croſſed the river, and, throwing a bridge over it, advanced againſt the reſt. The *Helvetians*, ſomewhat diſheartened at the loſs they had ſuſtained, ſent deputies to the *Roman* camp to treat of an accommodation; but as they refuſed to give hoſtages, *Cæſar* detached his cavalry, with orders to harraſs them on their march. The *Roman* horſe, having attacked them in narrow roads, were repulſed with no ſmall loſs, which raiſed the courage of the *Helvetians*, while the *Romans* began to be ſomewhat diſheartened for want of proviſions. *Cæſar* had none but the *Ædui*, the faithful allies of *Rome*, to depend on for a ſpeedy ſupply of corn. Their country lay between the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Saone*, was extremely fruitful, and capable of ſupporting an army far more numerous than that of *Cæſar*'s; but the *Roman* general, to his great ſurpriſe, found the corn fail when he moſt wanted it. The *Ædui* indeed had promiſed to ſupply his troops with proviſions; but they poſtponed from day to day the ſending of the convoys which they had promiſed; ſo that the army was reduced to great ſtraits. *Cæſar* therefore ſuſpecting the fidelity of the *Edui*, reſolved to find out the true cauſe of theſe artful delays. In order to this he examined *Liſcus*, the chief magiſtrate of the *Ædui*, and a lord of the country named *Diviciacus*, who ſerved both in the *Roman* army. The former told him, that *Dumnorix*, younger brother to *Diviciacus*, deſign-

Refuſes the Helvetians *a paſſage through the* Roman *province, and defeats them.*

Treachery of Dumnorix *the* Æduan.

ing to uſurp the ſovereign power, and depending on the aſſiſtance of the *Helvetians*, had, to gratify them, privately conveyed the corn out of the province, and raiſed the price of it, hoping by that means to make the *Roman* army periſh with famine. *Divitiacus* owned the ſame thing, but without naming his brother. *Cæſar* was inclined to puniſh *Dumnorix* with ſeverity; but pardoned him at the intreaty of his brother *Divitiacus*[r].

The Helvetians, defeated anew, return to their own country.

And now *Cæſar* drew near *Bibracte* (T), the capital of the *Ædui*, to facilitate the conveyance of the corn, which thoſe faithful allies had promiſed. When the enemy ſaw him retreat they purſued and attacked him; whereupon a bloody battle enſued, which laſted from noon till night. The *Helvetians* behaved with incredible bravery; but at length were forced to give way, and retire to a hill, where they had placed their baggage and their women, and ſurrounded them with their waggons as with a rampart. Thither *Cæſar* purſued them, made himſelf maſter of their baggage, and took a great many priſoners, among whom were the wife and daughter of the famous *Orgetorix*, the firſt author of the tranſmigration. After this overthrow, the *Helvetians*, diſheartened at the loſs they had ſuſtained, which amounted to one hundred and thirty thouſand of their people, had recourſe to the clemency of the conqueror; who, having obliged them to lay down their arms and give him hoſtages, ſent them back to their own country, with orders to rebuild their cities and villages. Only the *Boii* were allowed, at the requeſt of the *Ædui*, to ſettle in *Gaul*, whence they formerly came. This victory made the *Roman* name formidable throughout all

[r] Cæs. bell. Gall. l. i. c. 1——18.

(T) The modern geographers are divided in their opinions as to the ſituation of *Bibracte*, as *Cæſar* and *Strabo* call it. They all agree, that it was the moſt conſiderable of all the cities of the *Ædui*, from the *Doux* to the *Saone*; but moſt of them pretend, that it ſtood where the city of *Autun* now ſtands. It was called firſt, according to them, *Bibracte*, and afterwards *Auguſtodunum*, from the emperor *Auguſtus*. The latter name it retained, ſay they, till the time of the emperors *Conſtans* and *Conſtantine*, by whom it was rebuilt, and from them took the name of *Flavia*, both theſe princes being deſcended from the *Flavian* family. M. *Valois* places the antient city of *Bibracte* near a village called *Beauvray* about two leagues from *Autun*; and others take the town of *Pebrac*, on the borders of *Auvergne* and *Gevaudan*, to be the antient capital of the *Ædui*.

Gaul;

Gaul; congratulations were brought to *Cæſar* from all parts, and the *Ædui* implored his protection againſt *Arioviſtus* king of the *Germans*, who, taking advantage of the differences which had long ſubſiſted between them and the *Arverni* (U), had joined the latter, made himſelf maſter of great part of the country of the *Sequani* (W), and obliged the *Ædui* to give him their children as hoſtages. *Cæſar*, pleaſed with this new opportunity of acquiring glory, promiſed them his aſſiſtance; and accordingly diſpatced embaſſadors to *Arioviſtus* inviting him to an interview; which he declining, *Cæſar* ſent other deputies, deſiring him to reſtore to the *Ædui* their hoſtages, and to bring no more troops over the *Rhine* into *Gaul*. At the ſame time he put him in mind of the favour he had ſhewn him during his conſulate, ſince, by his means, he had been declared a friend and ally of the *Roman* people. *Arioviſtus* anſwered, That he had a right to make war when and where he pleaſed: that he was not obliged to give any perſon an account, either of the victories he gained, or of the terms he preſcribed to the conquered; that he would not reſtore to the *Ædui* their hoſtages, *&c.* *Cæſar* no ſooner received this anſwer, than he marched to *Veſontio* now *Beſançon*, the capital of the *Sequani*, to prevent its being ſurpriſed by *Arioviſtus*. There the *Romans* received ſuch accounts of the formidable ſtature and looks of the *Germans*, as alarmed them. *Cæſar* therefore having called a council of war, reproached them in ſuch ſtrong terms with their fears, that they were aſhamed of the weakneſs they had diſcovered. He then led them againſt the enemy; but when they came within five miles of their camp, *Arioviſtus* ſent to deſire an interview with the *Roman* general; which was readily granted. Both commanders repaired to the place agreed on, which was a riſing ground in the midſt of a large plain. During the conference, in which they treated each other with great haughtineſs, the horſe that attended the king drew near to thoſe of *Cæſar*, and diſcharged a ſhower of darts and

Cæſar *invites* Arioviſtus *to an interview.*

Treachery of Arioviſtus.

(U) The country of the *Arverni* lay, according to *Strabo*, between the ocean, the *Pyrenees*, and the *Rhine*. *Lucan* tells us, that the *Arverni* pretended to derive their origin from a colony of *Trojans*, who ſettled among the *Gauls*, under the conduct of *Antenor*. This fable *Sidonius*, to do honour to his nation, adopts for a certain truth. The *Arverni*, in antient times, were one of the moſt powerful nations of *Gaul*.

(W) The *Sequani* inhabited the country now called the *Franche Comte*, which reaches from the canton of *Baſle* to the neighbourhood of *Stralſund*.

ſtones

ſtones at them. *Cæſar* reſtrained the ardour of his men; but immediately broke off the conference and retired to his camp, whither he was followed by deputies from the king, deſiring, that embaſſadors might be ſent him to treat in an amicable manner. *Cæſar* readily complied with his requeſt; but *Arioviſtus*, as ſoon as they arrived in his camp, treated them as ſpies, put them in irons, and decamping the ſame day, poſted himſelf ſo as to intercept the *Roman* convoys. *Cæſar* followed him, and, drawing up his men for five days together in a neighbouring plain, bid the enemy defiance; but *Arioviſtus* kept cloſe in his camp, and *Cæſar* was informed, that the women in the enemy's camp, who pretended to propheſy, had foretold, that they could not be victorious till after the new-moon. Upon this intelligence, the proconſul marched all his legions up to the *German* trenches, which forced *Arioviſtus* to come to a battle, in which he was intirely defeated, and moſt of his troops cut in pieces. The king, with much difficulty, eſcaped croſs the *Rhine*; but two of his wives and one of his daughters periſhed in the flight. Another of his daughters was taken priſoner, with many *Germans* of diſtinction. After this victory, *Cæſar* put his troops into winter-quarters, and, croſſing the *Alps*, returned into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which was a part of his government, to make there the neceſſary preparations for the next year[z].

Arioviſtus intirely defeated.

Clodius *inſults* Pompey.

At *Rome* the tribune *Clodius*, who was intirely devoted to *Cæſar*, being ſenſible of the ſuperiority that general was gaining over *Pompey*, whoſe glory he had almoſt eclipſed in one campaign, began to inſult him, and even talked of diſannulling all his acts. He had already taken young *Tigranes* out of the hands of *L. Flavius* the prætor, to whoſe cuſtody *Pompey* had committed him, and ſent him back into *Armenia*, where it was feared, he would raiſe new troubles. This treatment rouſed *Pompey*, who now began to think of recalling his old friend *Cicero*, whom he had ſo baſely deſerted. As this could no otherwiſe be done, than by a decree of the ſenate, or of the people, and the latter was impracticable during the tribuneſhip of *Clodius*, he made it his buſineſs to engage the conſcript fathers in his behalf; but the conſuls, *Piſo* and *Gabinius*, rendered all their attempts abortive, ſo that nothing could be done this year in favour of the illuſtrious exile. The next year, the firſt thing the new conſuls, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Cæcilius Metellus*, propoſed in

[z] *Caes.* ibid. c. 18--55.

the

the ſenate, was the recalling of *Cicero*, which met with a general approbation; but when the affair was brought before the people, *Clodius* appeared armed in the comitium, at the head of a company of gladiators, to oppoſe it with open violence. Then *Milo*, who was at the head of the tribunes, hired another company of gladiators to repel force with force. The conſcript fathers, depending on the protection of *Milo*, paſſed the decree in the moſt ſolemn and pompous manner; as did alſo the people when it was brought before them, notwithſtanding the warm oppoſition of *Clodius*. In the mean time, *Cicero*, informed of what paſſed at *Rome*, left *Theſſalonica*, where he reſided, and came to *Dyrrachium*, and from thence ſet ſail for *Brunduſium*, where his reception was a kind of triumph. From *Bruduſium* he ſet out for *Rome*, and had the pleaſure to ſee all *Italy* take part in his joy. Every colony and municipium ſent deputies to congratulate him; and the nearer he came to *Rome*, the more the crowds increaſed. As he was juſt ready to enter the city at the gate *Capena*, the whole ſenate met him in a body and conducted him, amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, to the capitol, from whence he was carried to his habitation, as he himſelf expreſſes it, *on the ſhoulders of all* Rome. After his return, he ſoon began to reaſſume his former aſcendant over the ſenate, and as corn was become exceeding dear at *Rome*, he procured for *Pompey*, his benefactor, the honourable commiſſion of ſupplying the city, with an unlimited power in all the ports of the *Mediterranean* for five years. After this he prevailed on the pontifices to put him again in poſſeſſion of the ground, on which his houſe had ſtood, and on the conſcript fathers to rebuild, at the expence of the public, his houſes both in the city and country [a].

Cicero *recalled.*

Returns to Rome *with great honour.*

DURING theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, *Cæſar*, being informed by *Labienus*, whom he had left in *Gaul*, that all the nations of *Belgium* had conſpired againſt the republic, and had entered into an alliance againſt the *Romans* as a common enemy, raiſed two new legions in *Inſubria*, repaſſed the *Alps* early in the ſpring, and joining *Labienus*, immediately began his march, and in fifteen days arrived on the confines of the *Belgæ* (X). Upon his approach the *Rhemi* ſubmitted;

Cæſar *marches againſt the* Belgæ.

[a] DIO. CASS. l. xxxvi. PLUT. in Cic. CIC. pro domo ſua pro Sextio in Piſ. & alib. paſſ.

(X) *Belgic Gaul* comprehended that great country, which is bounded by the *Britiſh* ocean on one ſide, and the river *Seine* on the other.

but the reſt of the *Belgæ* appointing *Galba*, king of the *Sueſſones*, now the *Soiſonnois*, commander in chief of their united forces, which amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand men, marched againſt the *Rhemi*, who had declared for the *Romans*, and laid ſiege to one of their cities called *Bibrax*, which ſome modern writers take to be *Braine*, a little city in the *Soiſonnois*, others to be *Laon*, called by the antients *Mons Bibrax*. *Cæſar*, upon this news, ſent a ſtrong detachment to the relief of the beſieged city. Whereupon *Galba*, leaving *Bibrax*, marched directly to *Cæſar* and incamped about three miles from the *Romans*. After both armies had continued ſome days in ſight of each other, *Galba* attempted to paſs the *Axona*, now the *Aiſne*; which *Cæſar* no ſooner knew, than he marched his horſe and light-armed infantry over the bridge, which he had ſeized, and attacking the enemy while they were embarraſſed in croſſing the river, made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter of them, that the bed of the river was filled up with dead bodies; inſomuch, that the *Belgæ*, who eſcaped the ſlaughter, marched over them to the oppoſite bank. The *Belgæ* were ſo diſheartened with this defeat, that they reſolved to diſperſe, and return every one to his own country. The next day *Cæſar* appeared before *Noviodunum*, now *Noyon*, a city of the *Sueſſones*, and ſo terrified the inhabitants with his machines, that they opened their gates to him. The *Bellovaci*, who inhabited the preſent *Beauvaiſis*, alſo gave way to the ſtorm, and implored the clemency of the conqueror, as ſoon as he appeared before their capital. The *Ambiani*, now the people of *Amiens*, followed the example of the *Bellovaci*; but the *Nervii*, a fierce nation, who poſſeſſed the country now known by the name of *Cambreſis*, joined the *Atrebates* and *Veromandui*, that is, the inhabitants of the territory of *Arras* and of the *Vermandois*, and, having ſecured their wives and children in inacceſſible places, ſtood on their defence. In the mean time, *Cæſar* advanced, and arrived in the enemy's country; but while his legions were buſy in pitching their camp, the *Nervii*, who lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, ſallying out of their ambuſcade, attacked the *Roman* cavalry, put them to flight, and then fell on the legionaries with a fury not to be expreſſed. As this attack was unexpected, *Cæſar* had in a manner every thing to do at the ſame inſtant. The banner was to be erected, the charge ſounded, the ſoldiers at a diſtance recalled, the army drawn up, and the ſignal given. In this ſurpriſe *Cæſar* ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour, and having drawn them up in the beſt manner he

And defeats them.

Reduces the Sueſſones, *the* Bellovaci, *the* Ambiani, *&c.*

Is attacked by the Nervii.

he could, cauſed the ſignal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous reſiſtance; but as the enemy ſeemed determined either to conquer or die, the ſucceſs was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and tenth legions did wonders, drove the *Atrebates* into a neighbouring river, and made a great ſlaughter of them. In another place the eighth and eleventh legions repulſed the *Veromandui*, and drove them before them. But in the right wing the ſeventh and twelfth legions ſuffered extremely. They were intirely ſurrounded by the *Nervii*, all the centurions in the fourth cohort being ſlain, and moſt of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, *Cæſar*, ſeizing the buckler of one of the private men, put himſelf at the head of his broken wing, renewed the attack, and being joined by the two legions, which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the *Nervii*, already fatigued, with freſh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them. However, that warlike nation did not give ground; as ſoon as one fell, another ſtood upon his body, and ſupplied his place. In ſhort they were almoſt all cut in pieces; and then their old men, with their women and children, ſurrendered to the conqueror, who left them in poſſeſſion of their cities and liberty. Then *Cæſar* advanced againſt the *Aduatici* (Y), who, upon his approach, pretended to give up their arms, and ſubmit; but treacherouſly concealed a third part of them, and made an attack on the *Romans* in the night. This ſo provoked the *Roman* general, that he broke down the gates of their city the next day, put a great number of them to the ſword, and ſold the reſt, to the number of fifty-three thouſand, for ſlaves. At the ſame time *P. Craſſus*, the ſon of the triumvir, and one of *Cæſar*'s lieutenants, ſubdued ſeven other nations (Z), and took poſſeſſion of their cities. The fame of theſe exploits brought the proconſul embaſſadors with offers of ſubmiſſion from ſeveral nations beyond the *Rhine*; but as the ſeaſon was far advanced, he put his troops into winter-quarters in the territories of the *Andes*, *Taurones*, and *Carnutes*, now the *Angevins*, the *Tourangeaux*, and thoſe of *Char-*

Whom he defeats.

And likewiſe the Aduatici.

Several other nations ſubdued.

(Y) The *Aduatici* were the remains of thoſe *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, whom *Marius* had defeated in *Italy*. They had been left on the banks of the *Rhine* to guard the baggage and booty of their countrymen, and had ſettled there, after the intire defeat of the *Cimbri*.

(Z) Theſe ſeven nations were the *Veneti*, *Unelli*, *Oſiſmi*, *Curiofolitæ*, *Seſuvii*, *Aulerci*, and *Rhedones*, that is, according to the modern geographers, the inhabitants of *Vannes*, *Coutances*, *Treguier*, *Cornouaille*, *Sees*, *Maine*, and *Rennes*.

train, and, repaſſing the *Alps*, ſpent the winter in *Inſubria* [b].
By theſe conqueſts *Cæſar* effaced the remembrance of *Pompey*'s victories in the eaſt, and at the ſame time by the prodigious ſums he heaped up in *Gaul*, chiefly by robbing the temples of their treaſures, he purchaſed himſelf many friends in *Italy*.

THE following year *Marcius Philippus* and *Cornelius Lentulus* were raiſed to the conſulate. During their adminiſtration *Ptolemy Auletes*, king of *Egypt*, who had been driven from the throne by the *Alexandrians*, was reſtored to it by *Gabinius* proconſul of *Syria*, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of *Egypt*. In *Gaul Galba*, one of *Cæſar*'s lieutenants, was attacked in his winter-quarters at *Octodurus*, now *Martaignaic* in *Lower Valais*, by a great body of *Gauls*, whom he defeated, killed above ten thouſand of them, and then, after having burnt *Octodurus*, marched into the country of the *Allobroges*, to ſpend the reſt of the winter there in more peaceable quarters. In the mean time *Cæſar*, who was in *Illyricum*, which was part of his province, being informed that the *Veneti*, that is, the antient inhabitants of *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, with ſome other nations near them, had endeavoured to recover their hoſtages, and were making great preparations for war, ſent orders for building a fleet on the *Loire*, and made all haſte to the army. Upon his arrival he appointed *Brutus* admiral of the fleet, which he found ready equipped; and the new admiral, putting to ſea, engaged the enemy's fleet, and gained a complete victory over them. Hereupon the *Veneti* immediately ſubmitted; but *Cæſar* put their chief men to death, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves. At the ſame time *Titurius Sabinus*, whom he had detached againſt the *Unelli*, defeated *Viridorix* their chief, and ſubdued them, with the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii* (A). *Craſſus*, whom he had ſent into *Aquitaine*, beſieged the capital of the *Sociates*, and reduced it; but the reſt of the *Aquitani* ſtill refuſing to ſubmit, *Craſſus* marched againſt them, and killed near thirty thouſand of them in one battle. The conſequence of this victory was the reduction of all *Aquitaine*. And now all the nations in *Gaul* being diſarmed, except the *Morini* and *Menapii*, that is, the antient inhabitants of the

Galba *defeats a great body of* Gauls.

The Veneti, Unelli, Aulerci, &c. *ſubdued.*

[b] Cæs. l. ii. c. 1—33.

(A) Some take the *Unelli* for the people of *Coutance*: others place them in *Perche*; and ſome bring them nearer *Bretagne*. The countries of the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii* comprehended *Evreux* and *Liſieux*.

territory

territory of *Teroüenne*, of *Guelders*, *Juliers*, and *Cleves*, *Cæsar* himself marched against them; but, as they retired to inaccessible fastnesses, all he could do was to burn and ravage their country; after which he put his troops into winter-quarters in the countries of the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii*, and, repassing the *Alps* as usual, spent some months in *Cisalpine Gaul*. From thence he influenced all affairs at *Rome*, and encouraged his chief agent *Clodius* to pull down *Cicero*'s new house; but *Milo* opposed the furious tribune, and prevented the execution of his design. And now *Pompey* began to be extremely jealous of *Cæsar*, whose victories in *Gaul* entirely eclipsed the glory he had acquired in the east. *Cæsar* likewise took umbrage at *Pompey*'s joining *Cicero*; however, they both kept up the appearance at least of friendship, being apprehensive that *Crassus* would leave them, if they came to a quarrel. Besides, *Cæsar* stood in great need of *Pompey*'s assistance, to get *Domitius Ahenobarbus* excluded from the consulate, who had declared, that he would, if raised to that dignity, shorten the time of *Cæsar*'s proconsulate. To exclude *Ahenobarbus* was no easy matter, he being supported by *Cato*, who was returned from *Cyprus*, and by all the enemies of the triumvirate, who were very numerous. Among all the well-wishers of the republic, *Cicero* was the only person who kept measures with the triumvirs, the remembrance of his banishment having made him more circumspect. As it was the common interest of the triumvirate, that *Ahenobarbus*, a sincere friend to his country, should be set aside at the next election, *Pompey* and *Crassus* agreed to stand in competition with him; but as they despaired of success without the concurrence of *Cæsar*, they both went to *Luca*, where he spent the winter, to propose their scheme to him, and engage his interest. There they found so many prætors and proconsuls making their court to him, that one hundred and twenty bundles of rods were seen at a time. *Pompey* and *Crassus* no sooner informed him of their design, than he came heartily into their measures. He was indeed sensible, that a second consulate would increase the power of *Pompey* and *Crassus*; but it was more for his interest, that they should succeed, than that the consulship should be conferred on *Ahenobarbus*, who was entirely under the influence of *Cato*. *Cæsar* therefore closed with the proposal, and ordered his agents and emissaries at *Rome* to spare no expence in purchasing the suffrages of the tribes. As all this was kept secret, *Ahenobarbus*, not suspecting that the two triumvirs would be his competitors, went very early on the day appointed for the election to solicit the suffrages of the people. He was attended by *Cato*, who

Cæsar excites Clodius to commit violences in Rome.

Pompey and Crassus agree to stand for a second consulate.

was to preſent him to the tribes, and by a ſlave, who, as it was yet dark, carried a flambeau before him; but he had not gone far, before ſome aſſaſſins, who lay in wait for him, killed the ſlave, and, falling on the candidate and his friend, would have diſpatched them likewiſe, had they not ſaved themſelves by flight. *Ahenobarbus* eſcaped unhurt; but *Cato* was wounded in the arm. This notorious act of violence rouſed the zeal of the ſenate; but the furious *Clodius*, at the head of an armed mob, oppoſed all their meaſures; and at the ſame time *Caius Cato*, another tribune, proteſted againſt holding the comitia; ſo that the conſular year being expired, the republic fell into an inter-regnum; which ſo grieved the ſenators, that they went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. As the fathers were well appriſed, that theſe diſturbances were occaſioned by *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, they aſked them in full ſenate, Whether they aſpired to the conſular dignity? They owned they did; and then the other candidates deſiſting, though fear of the triumvirs, the comitia were held without the leaſt diſturbance, and *Pompey* and *Craſſus* unanimouſly choſen [c].

They are choſen.

Cæſar, now under no apprehenſion of being recalled from *Gaul*, haſtened thither to oppoſe the *Uſipetes* and *Tenchtheri* (B), who, being driven out of their own country by the *Suevi*, had croſſed the *Rhine*, with a deſign to ſettle in *Belgic Gaul*. As ſoon as he appeared, the *Germans* ſent him a deputation, offering to join him, if he would aſſign them lands. *Cæſar* anſwered, That there was no room in *Gaul* for new-comers; but that he would deſire the *Ubii*, the people of *Cologne*, to give them leave to ſettle in their territories. Then they deſired time to treat with the *Ubii*; and, in the mean while, falling treacherouſly upon ſome *Roman* ſquadrons, killed about ſeventy men. *Cæſar*, exaſperated at this perfidiouſneſs, immediately marched after them, and, coming up with them when leaſt expected, made a dreadful ſlaughter of the unhappy wretches, who were but indifferent-

Cæſar *defeats the* Uſipetes *and* Tenchtheri.

[c] Dio. Cass. l. xxxix. Plut. in Pomp. Cic. de provin. conſular.

(B) Some modern geographers place theſe people in the territory of *Kettuchgau* in *Germany*; others in the neighbourhood of *Zutphen*. It is certain, that they had no fixed ſettlement; for, in *Tacitus*'s time, they inhabited the country bordering on the territory of *Baſile* (26).

(26) *Tacit de morib. German.*

ly

ly armed. They fled in the utmoſt confuſion; but *Cæſar* purſued them to the conflux of the *Rhine* and the *Maeſe*, where the ſlaughter was renewed with ſuch fury, that, of four hundred thouſand ſouls, very few eſcaped. After this, being reſolved to break into *Germany*, and ſpread the terror of the *Roman* name among thoſe barbarous nations, he ordered a bridge to be built over the *Rhine*; which wonderful undertaking being completed in ten days, he entered *Germany*, plundered and ſacked the country of the *Sicambri* (C), terrified the *Suevi* (D), and having made them ſenſible, that there was a more formidable nation in the world than themſelves, he returned into *Gaul*, and broke down the bridge he had built. This expedition into *Germany* was finiſhed in eighteen days [d].

Paſſes the Rhine.

AND now *Cæſar*, having reduced all *Gaul*, and ſtruck terror into the *German* nations, bordering on the countries which he had ſubdued, reſolved to paſs over into *Britain*, and puniſh thoſe iſlanders for ſending continual ſupplies to the *Gauls* againſt the *Romans*. This was a dangerous enterprize; and therefore, before he embarqued in it, he carefully enquired of the merchants, who traded to the *Britiſh* iſlands, what ſort of people they were; in what manner they made war; under what laws they lived, and which were their beſt ports. After this he ſent *Voluſenus* over into *Britain*, to view the coaſt, while he himſelf, croſſing the country of the *Morini*, came to the place where the paſſage from the continent to the iſland is narroweſt. Thither he ordered all the ſhips to repair, which he had made uſe of againſt the *Veneti*. In the mean time the *Britains*, informed of theſe preparations, diſpatched deputies to him, offering to ſubmit to the republic, and to give hoſtages. *Cæſar* ſent the embaſſadors back with fair promiſes, and with them one *Comius* of *Atrebatum*, a man well known in *Britain*, charging him to gain over to the *Roman* intereſt as many cities as he could, and to perſuade them to ſend him hoſtages; but *Comius*, not caring to truſt the inhabitants, continued five days on the coaſt; and then,

His expedition into Britain.

[d] Cæs. bell. Gal. l. iv. c. 1 --- 19.

(C) We cannot give any account of the country of the *Sicambri*. All that we know of them is, that they lived near the rivers *Lippe* and *Iſel*, and that they poſſeſſed a pretty large territory in *Germany*.

(D) The *Suevi* inhabited that part of *Germany*, which is now the ducchy of *Mecklenburg*, the marquiſate of *Brandenburg*, *Turingen*, and a part of *Upper Saxony*.

without

without ſo much as landing, returned to make his report to *Cæſar* of what he had obſerved. *Cæſar*, leaving *Sulpicius Ruſus* in *Gaul* to guard the ports, put to ſea with two legions, and made the *Britiſh* coaſt the next morning, which he found lined with men to oppoſe his landing. As he could not conveniently make a deſcent in that place, the eminences, which the inhabitants had ſeized, being ſo near the ſhore, that they could from thence harraſs the *Romans* with their darts, without being expoſed themſelves to any danger, he ſailed eight miles farther, and there met with ſuch a vigorous oppoſition, that he was in danger of being obliged to return to ſea, till the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, leaping boldly into the water, encouraged, by his example, the others to follow him. They all leaped out of their ſhips, through fear of leaving a *Roman* eagle in the hands of the enemy, and advancing through a ſhower of darts, gained the ſhore, engaged the *Britains* on firm ground, and put them to flight. The *Britains* were ſo terrified with the ſucceſs of the *Romans*, that they deſired a peace; which was granted them, upon their delivering ſome hoſtages; but in the mean time, *Cæſar*'s tranſports being, for the moſt part, ſhattered by a violent ſtorm, and proviſions growing ſcarce in his camp, the *Britains*, inſtead of ſending him the reſt of the hoſtages, drew together what troops they could, and falling on the ſeventh legion, which *Cæſar* had ſent to get proviſions, would have cut them all off, had not the general come very ſeaſonably to their aſſiſtance and diſengaged them. In this extremity *Cæſar* oft no time in refitting his ſhips, procuring proviſions, and ſecuring his camp. However, the *Britains* attacked him anew, and fought with great bravery and intrepidity; but, being defeated a third time, they had recourſe to the clemency of the conqueror, who was glad to grant them a peace, upon their delivering up to him double the number of hoſtages which he had required before. With theſe hoſtages, as the ſeaſon was far advanced, he put to ſea, and returned to *Gaul* without the loſs of one ſhip. There he put his troops into winter-quarters, and repaſſing the *Alps* returned to *Inſubria*[c].

Land in Britain.

Defeats the inhabitants in ſeveral battles.

And returns to Gaul.

WHILE *Cæſar* was thus employed in *Gaul*, *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, governed *Rome* very arbitrarily, without any regard either to the ſenate or people. *C. Trebonius*, tribune of the people, in order to put the conſuls upon a level with *Cæſar*, propoſed a law, appointing *Craſſus* governor of *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Macedon*, and *Pompey* of the two *Spains*, for five years.

The Trebonian *law.*

[c] Idem ibid. c. 7—37.

Cato

Cato oppoſed this dangerous propoſal, till he was ſeized by the tribune's orders and ſent to priſon. As *Cæſar*'s commiſſion was near expiring, and by this law all power would be veſted in *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, *Cæſar*'s friends oppoſed it, till the tribes agreed to continue him in his government of *Gaul* for five years longer. Then the *Trebonian* law paſſed by a great majority, enacting, That they ſhould have the above-mentioned governments; that it ſhould not be in any one's power to recal either from his province, till five years were expired; that they might raiſe as many troops as they judged neceſſary; and laſtly, that they might draw what ſupplies of men and money they thought proper from the kings and ſtates in alliance with *Rome*. This law plainly tended to the total deſtruction of the republican ſtate, and made the triumvirs ſole maſters of the government. *Pompey* choſe to ſtay in *Rome*; but *Craſſus*, extremely deſirous of making war upon the *Parthians*, embarqued at *Brundſium*, before his conſulate expired, and ſet ſail for *Aſia*. *Pompey*, the more to engage the people in his intereſt, built a ſtone theatre at a vaſt expence, and diverted the multitude with moſt magnificent ſhows, in which five hundred lions, and eighteen elephants appeared in the arena.

THE next year *Domitius Abenobarbus* and *Claudius Pulcher* were raiſed to the conſulate. The former was an avowed enemy to the triumvirate; and *Cato*, now prætor was in a condition to aſſiſt him; but as the triumvirs were at the head of three great armies, they feared nothing either from the conſul or the prætor. *Cæſar* and *Craſſus* were indeed at a great diſtance from *Rome*; but *Pompey*, without any regard to law or precedents, having raiſed an army, to put himſelf, as he ſaid, upon a level with the other two, kept it at the very gates of *Rome*; ſo that the moſt zealous republicans durſt not attempt any thing againſt the triumvirs, or in favour of the public liberty. While *Pompey* was thus keeping the capital in awe, *Cæſar* was intent on another expedition to the *Britiſh* iſlands. This was firſt retarded by *Induciomarus*, a chief of the *Treviri*, who raiſed an inſurrection among his countrymen, but ſubmitted as ſoon as *Cæſar* drew near him; and afterwards by the revolt of *Dumnorix* the *Æduan*, who was killed by the *Roman* cavalry, whom *Cæſar*, ſent againſt him. Theſe obſtacles being removed, *Cæſar* embarqued with five legions and two thouſand horſe, and landing in *Britain* without oppoſition, forced one of the enemy's intrenchments, and afterwards defeated *Caſſivelaunus*, general of all the *Britiſh* forces; which ſo terrified the enemy, that they never after appeared in the field with any conſiderable

Cæſar's ſecond expedition into Britain.

ſiderable body. Whereupon *Cæſar* advanced farther into the country, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, paſſed the *Thames*, his men wading up to the neck in the water. However, *Caſſivelaunus*, with only four thouſand of his charioteers, harraſſed the *Romans* to ſuch a degree, that *Cæſar* would probably have found it very difficult to have reduced him, had he not been aſſiſted by *Mandrabatius*, prince of the *Trinobantes*, who out of hatred to *Caſſivelaunus*, by whom his father *Inmanuentius* had been killed, prevailed on his countrymen to join *Cæſar*. Then *Caſſivelaunus*, after ſome unſucceſsful attempts in *Cantium*, or *Kent*, ſubmitted to the conqueror, and gave hoſtages. Whereupon *Cæſar*, fearing ſome new tumults in *Gaul*, embarqued his troops, and returned to the continent before the autumnal equinox [t] (E).

The death of Julia.

On his return, he received letters from *Rome*, acquainting him with the death of his daughter *Julia*, who was, we may ſay, the great cement of peace between her father and husband, and had, by her good offices, hitherto prevented them from coming to an open rupture. Her virtue and extraordinary qualities had ſo endeared her to all ranks of men in the republic, that ſhe was honoured after her death, with a mark of diſtinction never before beſtowed on any of her ſex. She was buried in the *Field of Mars*, an honour allowed only to the greateſt heroes of the republic [s].

A general inſurrection in Gaul.

Cæſar on his return to *Gaul*, found a famine in the country, which obliged him to divide his troops, and put them into different quarters, for their better ſubſiſtence. This gave the *Eburones*, now the people of *Liege*, an opportunity of taking arms againſt *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, whom *Cæſar* had poſted in their country with only one legion and five cohorts.

[t] Idem, l. v. c. 1——23. [s] Plut. in Pomp.

(E) *Cæſar*, notwithſtanding the great advantages he gained, according to his account, in *Britain*, abandoned the iſland, without leaving any troops in it, or fortifying any ſingle place; which inclines us to believe, that the reputation he acquired in theſe two expeditions, was not near ſo great as it is repreſented in his commentaries. The poet *Lucan* tells us in expreſs terms, that he turned his back to the *Britains*: *Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis*, ſays he. *Dion* writes, that, in one action, the *Britains* entirely routed the *Roman* infantry; but were afterwards put in diſorder by the cavalry. *Horace* and *Tibullus* inſinuate, in ſeveral places of their works, that, in their time, the *Britains* were not looked upon as a conquered nation. Whence it is pretty plain, that his expedition into *Britain* was not ſo ſucceſsful, as he repreſents it to have been

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At the ſame time *Ambiorix*, a leading man among the *Gauls*, pretending friendſhip, told *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, while they were beſieged in their camp, that all the *Gauliſh* nations were marching againſt them, and offered to conduct them ſafe through his dominions to *Cæſar* or *Labienus*. The *Romans* in this diſtreſs accepted the offer, but were by the treacherous *Ambiorix* led into an ambuſcade, and moſt of them cut in pieces. *Ambiorix* elated with this ſucceſs, proclaimed it in the neighbouring nations; and then the *Aduatici*, falling unexpectedly upon *Quintus Cicero*, whom *Cæſar* had poſted among them with one legion, reduced him to great ſtraits; but the brave *Roman* defended himſelf with great gallantry, till *Cæſar*, whom he found means to acquaint with his danger, came to his relief and defeated the enemy. The news of this victory ſoon reached *Labienus*, who was likewiſe attacked by the *Rheni*, among whom *Cæſar* had quartered him with one legion. *Indutiomarus*, being joined by the *Senones*, came and inſulted him in his camp; but the *Roman*, after pretending fear for ſome time, made a vigorous ſally, put the enemy to flight, and killed *Indutiomarus*, the chief author of the revolt. This victory gave *Cæſar* a little more quiet during the reſtof the campaign, which was the moſt difficult, as well as the moſt glorious, of any he had made in *Gaul*; but, after all, he loſt ſo many men this ſummer, that he was forced to have recourſe to *Pompey*, who was weak enough to ſpare him two legions out of the army, which he kept for oſtentation only near *Rome*. *Pompey* was blind to *Cæſar*'s deſigns; but *Cato* foreſaw the evils he was bringing on the republic, tho' it was out of his power to prevent them. All he could do was, to attempt the rooting out of bribery and corruption. In order to this, he enacted a law, forbidding the buying of votes at elections; and thereby incurred the hatred both of the rich, whom he endeavoured to deprive of a ſure way of obtaining honours, and of the poor, whom he would have excluded from a means of living without labour; neither did the law put a ſtop to the evil. When the election of new conſuls came on, the candidates bought no more ſingle votes of the people, but with large ſums purchaſed the protection of the triumvirs, or of the preſent conſuls; and thoſe who offered moſt would have been choſen, had not *Q. Mutius Scævola*, one of the tribunes and a true republican, by raiſing difficulty upon difficulty, got the aſſembly diſſolved as often as it was called, till at length the conſular year expired before

Pompey ſends Cæſar two legions.

Cato endeavours in vain to prevent bribery.

the

the election was made, and then a long inter-regnum enſued [h].

Great diſorders occaſioned in Rome *by* Pompey.

Pompey, who commanded an army in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, fomented diſcord in the capital, and, by his private intrigues, got the election of conſuls put off for ſeven months; during which time his friends, to ſound the diſpoſition of the people, ſaid in all places, that it was neceſſary, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, that *Rome* ſhould be governed by one man; nay, the tribune *C. Luceius* went ſo far, as to propoſe to the people the raiſing of *Pompey* to the dictatorſhip; but *Cato* oppoſed the motion with ſuch eloquence and reſolution, that he had like to have got the tribune deprived of his office. Then *Pompey*, fearing to diſguſt the people, whoſe favour he courted; and, in order to remove all ſuſpicions, ſuffered *Domitius Calvinus* and *Valerius Meſſala* to be choſen conſuls; but this did not reſtore peace to the city. The five remaining months of the conſular year were ſpent in factions and maſſacres. Thoſe who ſtood candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where it was without ſhame diſtributed among the heads of the factions; and thoſe who received it employed force and violence in favour of the perſons who paid them: ſo that ſcarce any office was diſpoſed of, but what had been diſputed ſword in hand, and had coſt the lives of many citizens [i].

The death of Craſſus.

During theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, *Craſſus*, whoſe unſucceſsful expedition againſt the *Parthians* we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of *Parthia* [k], after having loſt his ſon in that war, was himſelf killed, and his whole army, except five hundred horſe, either cut in pieces, or taken priſoners. His death gave riſe to the civil war, which ſoon after broke out between the two ſurviving triumvirs; for, while he lived, he was a check to them both, and balanced their intereſts: but he being taken off, an open field was left for their ambition and emulation to contend in. *Pompey* would bear no rival, and *Cæſar* no ſuperior; and hence thoſe diſturbances, which ended at length in the ruin of *Pompey*, and the utter deſtruction of the republican ſtate, as we ſhall ſee in the following chapter.

[h] Dio. Cass l. xl. Cic. ad Q fratrem, l. iii. & ad Attic. l. iv. epiſt. 15, 16. [i] Appian bell. civil. l. ii. Cic. ad Q fratrem, l. viii. epiſt. ult. [k] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. X. p. 512, & ſeq.

CHAP

CHAP. XII.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the death of* Craſſus *to the death of* Pompey.

ONE of the triumvirs being dead, and another at a great diſtance from *Rome*, *Pompey*, who continued in the capital, raiſed great diſturbances there, hoping by that means to get himſelf promoted to the dictatorſhip. The city was now, in a manner, a ſeat of war between the candidates for offices; inſomuch, that the people being afraid to meet in the *Campus Martius*, the comitia were deferred, and another inter-regnum enſued. Theſe diſturbances were greatly increaſed by the death of *Clodius*, who was killed by his mortal enemy *Milo*. This event, which *Cicero* endeavours to diſguiſe with all the art of eloquence, is thus related by hiſtorians: As *Milo* was going from *Rome* to *Lanuvium*, with his uſual guard of domeſtics, he met *Clodius* on the road, who was returning from his country-houſe. *Milo* was in a chariot, with his wife and other women; but *Clodius* on horſeback, and well attended. They met near *Bovillæ*, and, though their looks were not very cordial, they paſſed each other without any inſult. But the maſters were ſcarce paſſed, when their ſlaves began to quarrel, and exchanged ſeveral blows with each other. Hereupon *Milo*, alighting out of his chariot, fell upon *Clodius*'s ſlaves ſword in hand; and his attendants, encouraged by the example of their maſter, wounded many of *Clodius*'s retinue. In this ſcuffle *Clodius* himſelf being dangerouſly wounded with a blow on the head, one of his ſlaves carried him to a neighbouring inn, or, as ſome ſay, to his own houſe. Thither *Milo* followed him, and, thinking it more eaſy to eſcape condemnation by killing

Clodius *is killed by* Milo.

his enemy, than by ſuffering him to live after he had been wounded, completed the work, which one of his ſlaves had begun. Some writers tell us, that *Milo*, finding his rival ready to expire of the wound he had received before, left him in that condition, and returned with all ſpeed to *Rome*, to prevent what might be related, and exaggerated there to his prejudice. However that be, the bloody body of *Clodius* was brought to the city by his brother *Appius*, which raiſed a general commotion among the people, who looked upon the deceaſed tribune as their boldeſt protector, and the moſt reſolute enemy of the ſenate and nobility. They ran to *Milo*'s houſe to ſet fire to it; but he repulſed them at the head of his ſlaves, and killed ſeveral of the mutinous multitude in the fray. Then they carried the dead body to the ſenate-houſe, and there pulling to pieces all the ſeats of the ſenators, they made a funeral pile of them, on which they placed the body, and then ſet fire to it, which burnt with ſo much fury, that the ſtately building, where the ſenate uſed to aſſemble, was ſoon reduced to aſhes. In the mean time, *Milo*, having ſent for a great number of his ſlaves out of the country to guard his perſon, made uſe of an artifice with reſpect to the murder, which he imagined muſt be effectual. He gained *M. Cæcilius*, one of the tribunes, who, having called an aſſembly of his own creatures, ordered *Milo* to appear at his tribunal with a deſign to acquit him. But the people, more tranſported than ever, fell upon *Milo* and his tribune, who narrowly eſcaped being killed, diſperſed the aſſembly, and, under pretence of ſeeking for *Milo*'s friends, committed all ſorts of violences; inſomuch, that no body durſt appear in the ſtreets, unarmed and unguarded. During theſe diſturbances, *Pompey*'s friends revived the old propoſal of nominating him dictator. The ſenate aſſembled, but while they were conſulting about raiſing him to that dignity, *Cato*, who was always watchful over the public liberty, inſinuated, that it would be more proper to chuſe him ſole conſul, ſince a conſul was bound, when called upon, to give an account of his adminiſtration to the ſenate and people, whereas a dictator was accountable to no body for his conduct. *Cato*'s expedient was approved of, and *Pompey* declared ſole conſul, a thing never known in *Rome* before. At the ſame time new troops were allotted to him, a thouſand talents, that is, 193750 *l.* ſterling allowed him yearly for their maintenance, and he continued in the government of *Spain* for four years longer, with a power to govern that province by his deputies. *Pompey* no ſooner entered upon his new office, than he ordered *Milo* to be tried

Great diſturbances occaſioned by his death.

Pompey ſole conſul.

Milo tried and condemned.

for

for the murder of *Clodius*. On the day appointed for the trial, *Appius Claudius*, brother of the deceaſed, appeared againſt him, and was heard with great attention. *Cicero* undertook the defence of the accuſed, but was ſo terrified by *Pompey*'s preſence and the ſoldiers about him, that he could ſcarce open his mouth; ſo that *Milo* was condemned to baniſhment. He choſe *Marſeilles* for the place of his abode, whither *Cicero* ſent him the ſpeech, which he had compoſed in his defence. We are told, that *Milo*, in reading it, cried out, *It is lucky for me that* Cicero *could not pronounce this harangue; for if he had, I ſhould not have eat ſo good fiſh as now I do.*

The progreſs of the Roman *arms in* Gaul.

WHILE *Pompey* was ruling arbitrarily at *Rome*, *Cæſar* was ſecuring his conqueſts in *Tranſalpine Gaul*. *Ambiorix*, the *Nervii*, *Aduatici*, and *Menapii*, had revolted at the inſtigation of the *Treviri*, and the revolt had ſpread to other nations. He therefore firſt reduced the *Menapii*, and then marched againſt the *Treviri*, and *Eburones*. The former he found already ſubdued by *Labienus*, and the latter at his approach retired, under the conduct of *Ambiorix*, to the woods and marſhes, whither no army could follow them. In the mean time, winter approaching, *Cæſar* retired to *Inſubria*, that he might be within reach of the capital. He was afraid leſt *Pompey*, who was no longer attached to him by ties of blood, or by the regard he had for *Craſſus*, ſhould gain ſuch a ſuperiority over him, as it would not be eaſy for him to conquer. To prevent this, he ſent immenſe ſums to *Rome* to be diſtributed by his agents among the populace, paid the debts of ſome, lent money to others without intereſt; and in ſhort, after having conquered the *Gauls*, as one of the antients expreſſes it, with the *Roman* ſteel, ſubdued the *Romans* with the *Gauliſh* gold.

The Gauls *revolt.*

But he had not been long in *Inſubria*, when news was brought him, that the *Gauls* had taken up arms in his abſence, that they had made *Vercingetorix*, a young and brave prince, their generaliſſimo, and that almoſt all the nations bordering on the ocean had joined in the revolt. Hereupon the proconſul repaſſed the *Alps*, flew with incredible expedition to *Narbonne*, from thence through deep ſnows to the country of the *Nervii*, where he gathered together his ſcattered troops, and then laid ſiege to *Noviodunum*, a city of the *Bituriges*, which brought *Vercingetorix* to its defence. But he was defeated and obliged to retire. *Cæſar*, having made himſelf maſter of *Noviodunum*, led his troops againſt *Avaricum*, now *Bourges*, one of the ſtrongeſt cities in *Gaul*; took it by ſtorm, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the garriſon, and made ſuch

Cæſar takes Avaricum from Vercingetorix

a ſlaughter

a ſlaughter of the *Gauliſh* troops, that of forty thouſand men ſcarce eight hundred eſcaped. His next attempt was on *Gergovia*, the capital of the *Arverni*, which he beſieged in ſight of *Vercingetorix*. But, while he was purſuing the ſiege, he received advice, that the *Nitiobriges*, now the people of *Agenois*, had revolted, and that ſome of the chief men among the *Ædui* had formed a treacherous ſcheme of carrying off to *Vercingetorix* ten thouſand men, whom they were to ſend to the *Romans*. Upon this advice, *Cæſar*, leaving, *Fabius* to guard his camp before *Gergovia*, went to meet the *Ædui*, who begged for mercy, and were incorporated among the *Roman* auxiliaries. But ſoon after the whole nation of the *Ædui* ſhook of the *Roman* yoke, and murdered all the *Italians* in their capital. This made *Cæſar* uncertain what meaſures to purſue. At length he reſolved to attack the enemy's camp, which he did with good ſucceſs, till his men, contrary to his orders, abandoning the attack of the camp, fell unexpectedly on the town in hopes of ſurpriſing it. But *Vercingetorix* defended it ſo effectually, that *Cæſar*, after the loſs of ſeven hundred men, was forced to raiſe the ſiege. From thence he haſtened to *Noviodunum*, where he had left his military cheſt, baggage, and proviſions; but the revolted *Ædui* had ſeized all and ſet fire to the city. Then *Cæſar*, reſolving to join, if poſſible, his lieutenant *Labienus*, marched to *Agendicum*, now *Sens*, and at the ſame time *Labienus*, upon a report of *Cæſar*'s diſtreſs, haſtened to the ſame place; and conducted his march through the enemy's country with great ſkill and dexterity. *Camulogenus*, a *Gauliſh* general, attacked him with great courage; but the *Roman* defeated him, reached *Agendicum*, where he had left his heavy baggage, and from thence went to meet *Cæſar*. Notwithſtanding this defeat, almoſt all the nations of *Celtic Gaul* joined in the revolt; and, having appointed *Vercingetorix* their generaliſſimo, had the reſolution to come and attack *Cæſar*, who defeated them, and obliged them to retreat to *Aleſia*, a town of the *Mandubii*, now, as is commonly believed, *Aliſe* in *Burgundy*. Thither *Cæſar* purſued them, and laid ſiege to the place. As it was very advantageouſly ſituated, *Vercingetorix*, after he had ſent meſſengers into all parts to raiſe new forces, ſhut himſelf up in it with eighty thouſand men. *Cæſar* immediately inveſted the place, ſurrounded it with a double circumvallation, and fortified his camp with all poſſible art and care, intending to reduce the enemy by famine. As the gariſon was very numerous, they were ſoon reduced to great diſtreſs for want of proviſions; and then *Vercingetorix* drove out of the city all the uſeleſs mouths;

Is forced to raiſe the ſiege of Gergovia.

Camulogenus *defeated by* Labienus.

Cæſar *beſieges* Aleſia.

bu

but *Cæsar*, refusing to accept of their surrender, inhumanly suffered them to perish within the circumvallation. At length the desired succours arrived to the number of a hundred and sixty thousand men, under four *Gaulish* generals, the chief of whom was *Comius*, prince of the *Atrebates*, on whom *Cæsar* had bestowed many favours. They made several attacks on *Cæsar*'s trenches, and fought three battles; but being always defeated and repulsed with great loss, *Vercingetorix*, despairing of success, surrendered at discretion. *Cæsar* reduced all the *Gauls* in the place to slavery, except the *Arverni* and the *Ædui*, whom he spared, hoping to gain over the two chief nations of *Celtic Gaul* by the distinction he shewed them. His expectations were not frustrated; the *Arverni* immediately submitted, and the *Ædui* received him into their capital, where he spent the winter in tranquillity, after he had placed his army in different quarters to keep the provinces in awe. Thus ended a campaign, in which *Cæsar* gained more glory, for his conduct as general and his bravery as a soldier, than any *Roman* commander had ever done before him [1]. At *Rome* twenty days of public prayers were ordered, to return thanks to the gods for this extraordinary success.

Defeats the united forces of the Gauls, and takes the place.

AT *Rome*, *Pompey*, to strengthen himself with a new alliance, married *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Cæcilius Metellus*, a senator of great interest, and highly esteemed by the patricians. As *Cæsar* was greatly beloved by the people, *Pompey* now made it his whole business to establish his interest among the nobility. With this view he associated his father-in-law with him in the consulate, though that dignity had been conferred on him without a collegue; which moderation gained him the affection of the senate. When the time came for the electing of new consuls, *Cato*, actuated only by a zeal for the public good, appeared among the candidates; but the tribes preferred to him *Claudius Marcellus* and *Sulpitius Rufus*, who were both in *Pompey*'s interest. During their administration, *Cicero* was obliged to exchange the robe for the sword, in virtue of a law made by *Pompey* during his late consulship, which required all those who had been consuls or praetors for some years, to repair to such provinces as should fall to their lot, and exercise there their respective offices of proconsuls and propraetors. *Cilicia* and the island of *Cyprus* fell to *Cicero*'s lot, who immediately imbarqued at *Brundusium* with two capitation legions, and arriving in *Cilicia*, incamped near *Iconium*, [illegible] where he was informed by *Antiochus*, king of *Comagene*, that en-

Pompey *courts the favour of the senate.*

Cicero's

[1] CÆSAR ibid. l. vii. c. 1—89.

the *Parthians* had paſſed the *Euphrates.* Upon this, *Cicero*, croſſing *Cappadocia*, came to *Cybiſtra*, in the ſtraights of mount *Taurus*, in order to prevent the enemy from making incurſions into his province. Upon his arrival he received certain advice, that the *Parthians* were aſſembling about mount *Amanus.* Hereupon he haſtened thither, ſurpriſed the enemy, made a great ſlaughter of them, and recovered many caſtles which they had ſeized. But what gained him moſt glory was, the taking of *Pindeniſſum*, a ſtrong town in *Ilicia*, which he reduced after a ſiege of fifty ſeven days. In ſhort, though he was more of an orator than a ſoldier, he ſupported his character in this new employment with great dignity, and performed ſuch military exploits as induced his ſoldiers to ſalute him imperator [m]. His brother *Quintus Cicero*, who attended him in this expedition, and had ſerved in *Gaul* under *Cæſar* with great reputation, had, no doubt, his ſhare in the glory of this campaign.

In the mean time, *Cæſar* ſpent the winter at *Bibracte*, the capital of the *Ædui*, his cares being divided between the important buſineſs he had to tranſact at *Rome*, and the neceſſary preparations for finiſhing the war with the *Gauls* the next campaign. At *Rome* his party prevailed in the comitium, and the people, whom he had artfully gained by his bounties, openly declared for him. But the ſenate ſeemed to favour *Pompey*'s intereſt more than his. The conſul *Marcellus*, who was intirely and blindly devoted to *Pompey*, propoſed in the ſenate the recalling of *Cæſar*, before his time expired; and becauſe this motion was rejected, he did all that lay in his power to diſgrace and expoſe the proconſul of *Gaul.* Among other things, he ordered a ſenator of *Novocomum*, which *Cæſar* had declared a *Roman* colony, and preſented with the freedom of *Rome*, to be whipt, telling him, that he laid that mark upon him to let him know he was no citizen of *Rome*, and bidding him, when he went back, ſhew his ſhoulders to *Cæſar.* Soon after *Cæſar* moved the ſenate for the prolongation of his proconſulate; but, as *Pompey* and his agent *Marcellus* had a much greater aſcendant over the conſcript fathers, his requeſt was rejected. When news of this refuſal was brought him into *Gaul*, he is ſaid to have clapt his hand on his ſword, crying out in the preſence of his officers, *What Pompey refuſes me, this ſhall give me.* *Plutarch* puts theſe words in the mouth of an officer, whom *Cæſar* had ſent to

Cæſar refuſed a prolongation of his proconſulate.

[m] Plut. in Cic. Cic. l. v. ad Attic. ep. 15, 18, 20. & alib. paſſim

Rome,

Rome, and who waited for the reſult of the debate at the door of the ſenate-houſe [n].

THE proceedings of the *Roman* ſenate engaged *Cæſar* to uſe all poſſible expedition in putting the laſt hand to his conqueſts. The *Gauls*, after the battle of *Aleſia*, reſolved to act ſeparately, and raiſe, in defence of the poor remains of their liberty, as many different armies as they had provinces. This *Cæſar* knew, and notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, he marched againſt, and ſucceſſively ſubdued, the *Bituriges*, *Carnutes*, and *Rhemi*. He then turned towards the country of the *Bellovaci*, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, killed *Correus*, one of their chief commanders, and by this ſingle victory quieted all *Belgic*, and the provi ces bordering on *Celtic*, *Gaul*. After this he entered the country of the *Eburones* and laid it waſte, while *Labienus* did the ſame in the country of the *Treviri*. In the mean time *Dumnacus*, general of the revolted *Andes*, beſieged *Limonum*, now *Poictiers*, in the country of the *Pictones*; but *Caninius* and *Fabius*, two of *Cæſar*'s lieutenants, advancing to the relief of the place, *Dumnacus* raiſed the ſiege in order to return into his own country. *Fabius* purſued him, and, coming up with him, defeated his army, killed twelve thouſand of them on the ſpot, and, having diſperſed the reſt, entered the territories of the *Carnutes*, and ſubdued both them and the nations bordering on the ocean, whom *Cæſar* calls *Armorici*. And now the only *Gauliſh* generals, who kept the field, were *Drapes* the *Senonian* and *Luterius* the *Cadurcean*, who retired to a ſtrong place called *Uxellodunum* (E). Thither *Caninius* followed them, and defeated the two generals; but as the place was well garriſoned and ſtored with proviſions, he could not reduce it. As it was the only city which now held out, *Cæſar* haſtened thither from the fartheſt parts of *Belgic Gaul*; and having ſoon reduced the place by depriving it of water, he cut off the right hands of all thoſe who were fit to bear arms, to terrify other cities

Subdues the Bituriges, Carnutes, &c.

[n] APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i. PLUT. in Cæſare.

(E) *Sanſon* takes *Uxellodunum* for *Cahors* in *Quercy*; wherein he ſeems to be miſtaken, ſince the antients give *Cahors* the name of *Devona*, *Dibona*, and *Divona*. Beſides, *Hirtius*, in his continuation of *Cæſar*'s commentaries, places *Uxellodunum* on the confines of *Quercy*, whereas *Cahors* was, according to all the modern geographers, in the centre of that province. Whence father *Briet* and *Cellarius* are of opinion, that the antient city of *Uxellodunum* ſtood near *Uſſeldan*, or, as others call it, *Uſſelon*, near the borders of *Limouſin*.

All Gaul ſubdued and reduced to a Roman *province.*

from the like revolt. And now *Cæſar*, having ſubdued all *Gaul* from the *Pyrenees* and *Alps* to the *Rhine*, reduced his conqueſts to a *Roman* province under the government of a prætor. During his ſeveral expeditions into *Gaul*, he is ſaid to have taken eight hundred cities, to have ſubdued three hundred different nations, and to have defeated in ſeveral battles three millions of men, of which one million were killed and another taken priſoners; circumſtances which would ſeem greatly magnified, were they not vouched by *Plutarch* and other unexceptionable hiſtorians, both *Greek* and *Roman*.

Pompey gets Cæſar's enemies raiſed to the chief magiſtracies.

AFTER *Cæſar* had put his troops into different quarters, in order to preſerve peace in all parts of *Gaul*, he went to ſpend the winter at *Nemetocenna* in the centre of *Belgium*. There he governed the vaſt continent he had ſubdued, with ſuch mildneſs and prudence, as ſhewed him equally qualified to preſide over nations and to command armies. In the mean time *Pompey* got two of *Cæſar*'s moſt avowed enemies, *Claudius Marcellus* and *Æmilius Paulus*, promoted to the conſulſhip, and *Scribonius Curio*, another of his creatures, put at the head of the tribunes. *Curio* was a young patrician of extraordinary talents and great eloquence, but one of the moſt vicious and debauched young men in *Rome*. His father, who had been diſtinguiſhed by a conſulate and a triumph, had given him a great example; but the ſon only abuſed the gifts of nature and fortune. We are told, that young as he was, he had contracted debts to the amount of ſix hundred thouſand great ſeſterces, that is, 4,843,750*l.* ſterling. *Appius Clodius Pulcher*, who was generally thought an enemy to *Cæſar*, and *Calpurnius Piſo*, were choſen cenſors. So that of all the chief magiſtrates, *Calpurnius*, *Cæſar*'s father-in-law, was the only one on whom he could depend; but neither his character nor his office were ſuch at preſent as gave him any great weight. His collegue was indeed more bold; he degraded ſeveral of the *Roman* knights and ſenators, and among the reſt *Salluſt* the hiſtorian, whoſe enormous debauchery was branded with infamy [o]. The two cenſors took the laſt cenſus under the republic, in which they computed three hundred and twenty thouſand citizens fit to bear arms, and ended it with a luſtrum.

SUCH was the ſtate of affairs at *Rome* when *Cæſar*, after having ſpent the winter in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, repaſſed the mountains,

[o] DIO. CASS. l. xl. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 1.

in

in order to obſerve more narrowly the ſteps which *Pompey* and his enemies were taking againſt him at *Rome*. During his ſtay in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, he was informed, that the two conſuls had ſworn his deſtruction; and that, to compaſs it with more eaſe, the tribune *Curio* was preparing a law, depriving him of his government and of the command of the army in *Gaul*. But, in a few days, he overturned all the ſchemes, which his competitor had been forming againſt him for ſeveral years. The riches he had heaped up in *Gaul* were immenſe. He had indeed diſtributed vaſt ſums among perſons of all ranks, and even among the ſlaves at *Rome*; but he had ſtill reſerved vaſt treaſures for himſelf. With theſe he endeavoured to draw off from *Pompey* thoſe very friends whom he had raiſed to the magiſtracy. *Marcellus* was proof againſt all temptation; but his colleague *Æmilius Paulus* was bought at the price of fifteen hundred talents, that is, 310625*l.* ſterling. With this money he built that ſtately edifice, which was afterwards called the *Baſilica of Paulus*. As the tribune *Curio* was over-run with debts and devoted to his pleaſures, *Cæſar*, by enabling him to ſatisfy his creditors and plentifully ſupplying him with money for his debaucheries, ſecured him in his intereſt. Nevertheleſs *Curio* did not diſcover at once the change which *Cæſar*'s money had wrought in him, but gradually and with circumſpection. *Pompey* continued to repoſe an intire confidence in him, and was continually preſſing him to propoſe his law for the recalling of *Cæſar*. But the crafty tribune poſtponed it, from month to month, under frivolous pretences; and when he was at length forced to act, *Cæſar*'s laſt year being near expired, he found means to do *Cæſar* the moſt important ſervice without declaring for him. He made a motion both to the ſenate and people, that they would either continue both generals in their commands, or reduce both, and left it to them to take their choice. The tribune foreſaw, that *Pompey* would never conſent to lay down the government of *Spain*, or part with the command of the army; and therefore made this motion, that *Cæſar* might draw from *Pompey*'s refuſal a pretence for continuing himſelf in his province at the head of his troops. *Cornelius Scipio*, one of *Pompey*'s friends, remonſtrated, that in the preſent caſe a great difference was to be made between the proconſul of *Spain* and the proconſul of *Gaul*, ſince the term of the former was not yet expired, whereas that of the latter was. To this *Curio* replied, that in the preſent criſis, when the republic was in a manner ſubject to two abſolute ſovereigns, there was no medium. Both ought to be diſcharged,

Cæſar buys off one of the conſuls and one of the tribunes.

Curio moves that both generals ſhould be recalled.

ed, ſaid he, or both continued in their office. Whoever continues alone in arms, will become the tyrant of *Rome*. If they continue both armed, the power of the one will balance that of the other, and we ſhall be ſecured by their mutual fears. The ſenate were for recalling *Cæſar* and continuing *Pompey* in his office; but the people were inclined to favour *Curio*'s motion. *Pompey* himſelf, being greatly embarraſſed, left *Rome*, under pretence of going to his government; but went no farther than to a country houſe at a ſmall diſtance from *Rome*, whence he wrote a very artful letter to the ſenate, acquainting them, that he was ready to reſign all his employments and diſband his army, provided *Cæſar* did the ſame. *Curio*, well appriſed that *Pompey*'s view was to induce the ſenate to recall *Cæſar*, told *Pompey*, on his return to *Rome*, that it was his duty to begin what he propoſed, and aſſured him, that his example would be followed by *Cæſar*. *Pompey* inſiſted upon *Cæſar*'s reſigning the firſt, ſince his term was expired. Whereupon *Curio* propoſed, that both ſhould be ordered to lay down their commiſſions, and declared enemies to the republic, if they refuſed to comply with the order. The fathers all inclined to recall both rivals; but were for obliging *Cæſar* to reſign the command of his army before *Pompey* gave up his. Whereupon *Curio*, who repreſented the people at the head of the tribunes, would not ſuffer them to deliberate any longer about the diſmiſſion of either. Then they only decreed, that one legion out of each army ſhould be ſent into *Syria*, where *Bibulus* wanted a reinforcement againſt the *Parthians*. *Pompey* at the ſame time demanded of *Cæſar* the legion which he had formerly lent him. *Cæſar* knew the reaſon of this order and of *Pompey*'s deſign, which was to weaken his army; but nevertheleſs he delivered up the two legions to *Appius Clodius*, whom the ſenate had ſent to receive them and conduct them into *Italy*. *Cæſar*, on their quitting his army, loaded the officers with preſents, and gave each private man two hundred and fifty drachmas, that is, about five pounds of our money. When the two legions arrived in *Italy*, inſtead of being ſent into the eaſt, they were both, by an order from the conſul *Marcellus*, added to *Pompey*'s troops. *Cicero* at this time returned to *Rome* from his government of *Cilicia*, and demanded a triumph for his victory over the *Parthians*. His abſence had prevented him from joining either party, and his preſent pretenſions obliged him to ſtand neuter. He therefore took upon him the office of mediator; but *Pompey* would now hearken to no terms of accommodation, *Appius* having, on his return from *Gaul*,

Two legions drawn out of Cæſar's army.

Pompey will hear ken to no terms of accommodation

to

to flatter *Pompey*'s ambition, ſpread abroad, that *Cæſar*'s troops were diſſatisfied with their general, for having engaged them in ſo many dangerous expeditions; that they ſuſpected him of aiming at abſolute authority; and therefore, on their firſt entering *Italy*, would all to a man declare for him and the ſenate. This falſe repreſentation gave *Pompey* great confidence, and made him neglect the neceſſary preparations to oppoſe ſo powerful a rival. *Cicero*, amazed to find him deaf to all terms of accommodation, and at the ſame time neglecting to ſtrengthen his army with new levies, aſked him, with what forces he deſigned to make head againſt *Cæſar*? To this *Pompey* proudly anſwered, *that he needed but ſtamp with his foot, and an army would ſtart out of the ground.* He ſpoke with ſo much confidence, becauſe he flattered himſelf, that, in caſe of an open rupture, *Cæſar*'s army would abandon him. In the mean time, *Pompey* having got two of his friends, *Clodius Marcellus* and *Cornelius Lentulus*, choſen to the conſulate, *Cæſar*, before they entered upon their offices, wrote to the ſenate, deſiring them to continue him in his government, as they had continued *Pompey*. But his requeſt being rejected, he repaſſed the *Alps* with the third legion, and advanced to *Ravenna*, whence he wrote a letter to the new conſuls, wherein, after an honourable mention of his conqueſts and exploits, he declared, that he was willing to reſign all his power, provided *Pompey* did the ſame. Hereupon warm debates aroſe in the ſenate; but it was at length almoſt unanimouſly decreed, that *Cæſar* ſhould give up his government and the command of the army; and that he ſhould be treated as an enemy to his country, if he did not, within a limited time, comply with this decree. *Caſſius Longinus*, *Marc Antony*, and *Curio*, three of the tribunes, proteſted againſt the proceedings of the ſenate. But the conſuls, having firſt attempted in vain to make them deſiſt from their oppoſition, drove them out of the ſenate with diſgrace. *Cæſar*, informed of all theſe tranſactions, that he might have the appearance of juſtice on his ſide, wrote again to the ſenate with a great deal of temper, deſiring, that ſince they were determined to deprive him of his government of *Gaul* and the command of the army, they would at leaſt continue him in the government of *Illyricum*, and allow him two legions. It is probable, he would never have made theſe propoſals, if he had believed the ſenate would have complied with them. But he was well apprized, that the oppoſite faction had reſolved to reduce him to the

Cæſar's requeſt rejected.

ſtate

ſtate of a private perſon. He therefore affected a great deal of moderation, though he was all the while determined, neither to part with the command of the army, nor his government. At length the three tribunes, his friends, not thinking themſelves any longer ſafe in *Rome*, where the conſuls threatened to degrade them, retired in the night in the diſguiſe of ſlaves to take ſhelter in *Cæſar's* camp at *Ravenna*. Upon their departure, the fatal decree was iſſued, which put the republic in a flame, and brought it to its deſtruction:

The fatal decree for a civil war.

Let the conſuls for the year, the proconſul Pompey, *the prætors, and all thoſe in or near* Rome, *who have been conſuls, provide for the public ſafety by the moſt proper means.* This was proclaiming war. So that two powerful parties were ſeen to take up arms, both pretending to have nothing in view but the defence of their common laws and liberty, while their chiefs aimed only at eſtabliſhing their own power and authority on the ruins of that liberty, which they affected to defend. *Pompey's* party had a more ſpecious outſide: he covered his deſigns with the awful name of the commonwealth, which acknowledged him for her general, and the whole ſenate with the conſuls followed his enſigns. On the other hand, the people and their tribunes were with *Cæſar*; ſo that in reality the two legiſlative powers were divided between theſe two mighty rivals. The above-mentioned decree was no ſooner paſſed, than the conſul *Marcellus* went with his collegue *Lentulus* a little way out of town to a houſe, where *Pompey* then was; and preſenting him with a ſword, *We require you*, ſaid he, ſpeaking in the name of both, *to take upon you with this the defence of the republic and the command of her troops.* *Pompey* declared he would obey their orders; adding with a feigned modeſty, *Unleſs a more happy expedient be firſt found out.* By the ſame decree, which deprived *Cæſar* of his government and the command of the army, *Lucius Domitius* was appointed to ſucceed him, and impowered to raiſe four thouſand new levies to enable him to take poſſeſſion of his government [p].

Year after the Flood, 2955. Before Chriſt, 44. *Of* Rome 704.

After the ſenate had taken this fatal reſolution againſt *Cæſar*, they met daily to conſult about the moſt proper meaſures for carrying on the war, in caſe *Cæſar* refuſed to comply with their decree. *Pompey* lodged in the ſuburbs, not being allowed as general to enter the city; and there the ſenate aſſembled to hold their conſultations. They firſt conſidered

Pompey and the ſenate prepare for war

[p] Plut. in Cæſare Appian bell. civil l. ii. Dio. Caſſ. l. xl. Hirt. comment. l. viii. c. 50. Sueton in Julio

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what name they ſhould give the enterpriſe, and determined to call it a *tumult*, which was ranking it among thoſe ſudden commotions which are raiſed and ſuppreſſed in an inſtant. So that *Rome* either did not know, or did not dread, the enemy ſhe was bringing on herſelf. In the next place, they ordered *Pompey* to aſſemble thirty thouſand *Roman* troops, and take into the ſervice as many foreign forces as he ſhould think proper. Levies were made accordingly in all haſte, and money taken out of the public treaſury to defray the expences of one campaign. As for *Pompey*, he was wholly intent on appointing ſuch governors for the provinces as were moſt firmly attached to him. He gave *Syria* to *Cæcilius Metellus Scipio*, his father-in-law, who immediately ſet out with young *Pompey* to aſſemble a fleet on the coaſt of *Aſia*. *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* was nominated to ſucceed *Cæſar*, purſuant to the decree of the ſenate in the government of *Tranſalpine Gaul*; but he imprudently ſhut himſelf up in *Corfinium* before he left *Italy*. *Cato* was appointed proprætor of *Sicily*, *Cotta* of *Sardinia*, and *L. Ælius Tubero* of *Africa*. *M. Calpurnius Bibulus* and *Cicero* were charged to guard the coaſts of *Italy*. The other provinces, viz. *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cyprus*, *Cilicia*, *Macedon*, &c. were all beſtowed on *Pompey*'s friends, who from this time aſſumed the character of *generaliſſimo of the republic*, and governed with as abſolute a ſway as if he had been king of *Rome* [q].

Cæſar exhorts his ſoldiers to ſtand by him.

IN the mean time, the three tribunes, *Curio*, *Antony*, and *Longinus* who had been driven from *Rome*, arriving in *Cæſar*'s camp, diſguiſed like ſlaves, he ſhewed them in that condition to the legion he had then with him, exaggerating the violence which had been offered them by the ſenate, and the unwarrantable ſteps the patricians had taken againſt himſelf; in the cloſe of his ſpeech, he exhorted his men to defend the honour and character of their general, under whom they had made war with ſucceſs for nine years together. When he had done ſpeaking, they all cried out, that they were ready to maintain the rights of their general and of the tribunes of the people, and revenge the injuries which had been done them. When he found he could depend on his ſoldiers, he reſolved to begin hoſtilities without delay, and, entering *Italy* properly ſo called, to make himſelf maſter of *Ariminum*, a city bordering on *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which was part of his province. As this was a bold ſtep,

[q] PLUT. in Pomp.

and an open declaration of war, he carefully concealed his deſign, and ſent a detachment towards the *Rubicon*, ordering the officer who commanded it, to wait for him on the banks of that river. The next day he aſſiſted at a ſhow of gladiators, and made a great entertainment. Towards the cloſe of the day he roſe from table, deſiring his gueſts to ſtay till he came back, which he ſaid, would be very ſoon. But, inſtead of returning to the company, he immediately left *Ravenna*, where he then was, after he had ordered ſome of his moſt intimate friends to follow him, through different roads, to avoid being obſerved. He himſelf travelled in a hired chariot, and drove firſt another way, but at ſome diſtance from the town turned towards *Ariminum*. When he reached the banks of the *Rubicon*, which parted *Ciſalpine Gaul*, his province, from *Italy*, all the misfortunes of the ſucceeding war offered themſelves to his mind, and kept him ſome time in ſuſpence. He often changed his opinion without ſpeaking a word, being one minute determined to croſs the river, and another to go back, computing with himſelf how many calamities his paſſing it would bring upon the republic, and what an account of it would be tranſmitted to poſterity. As he had been brought up in the boſom of a commonwealth, he could not look on the approaching ruin of his country without concern; and therefore turning to *Aſinius Pollio*, *If I do not croſs the river*, ſaid he, *I am undone; and if I do croſs it, how many calamities ſhall I by this ſtep bring upon* Rome! Having thus ſpoke he muſed a few minutes on the hatred and inveteracy of his enemies, and then crying out, *the die is caſt*, he threw himſelf into the river, and, croſſing it, marched with all poſſible expedition towards *Ariminum*, which he reached and ſurpriſed before day-break (F). From thence as he had but one legion with him, he immediately diſpatched orders to

Paſſes the Rubicon.

(F) Some authors, and among the reſt *Suetonius* (27), tell us, that while *Cæſar* was yet in ſuſpence and undetermined, there appeared all on ſudden a man of an extraordinary ſtature, playing on a flute of reeds; which uncommon ſight drew many of the leſſonaries to him, and among the reſt a trumpet, from whom the unknown man ſnatched his inſtrument, and ſounding the charge, threw himſelf into the river, and croſſed it. Hereupon *Cæſar*, without further conſideration, followed him, crying aloud, *Let us go whither the gods call us, and the fury of our enemies drives us; the die is caſt.*

(27) *Suet. in Julio.*

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the great army he had left in *Gaul* to croſs the mountains, and join him [r].

IT is impoſſible to expreſs the terror and fear all *Italy* and *Rome* herſelf was in, upon the unexpected news of this enterpriſe. They imagined this renowned commander already at the gates of the city, with the formidable army he commanded in *Gaul*. Nothing was ſeen but terror and confuſion, the country-people crouding into the city for ſafety, and the citizens flying into the country. The ſenate met ſeveral times without coming to any reſolution. Several ſenators, without propoſing any thing themſelves, only contradicted the advice of others. *Pompey* himſelf was no leſs alarmed than the other ſenators; as he had not yet drawn together his troops, who were quartered in different provinces at ſome diſtance from the capital, he was no-ways in a condition to make head againſt *Cæſar*. But nothing gave him greater uneaſineſs, than the reproaches which many of his own party threw out againſt him, ſome charging him with indiſcretion in arming *Cæſar* againſt himſelf and the government, and others blaming him for having neglected the neceſſary preparations. *M. Favonius*, alluding to the rhodomontade mentioned above, deſired him *to ſtamp with his foot, and make armies ſtart up, as he had promiſed.* Every ſenator thought himſelf privileged to reproach and adviſe him. In this confuſion *Pompey*, ſeeing himſelf in *Rome* without troops, and fearing, if he ſhould arm the people, they would declare againſt him, reſolved to retire to *Capua*, where the two legions were encamped which *Cæſar* had ſurendered to *Appius*. He communicated his deſign to the ſenate, and at the ſame time declared, that if any ſenator or magiſtrate refuſed to follow him, he ſhould be treated as a friend to *Cæſar*, and an enemy to his country. Upon this declaration the conſuls, the ſenators, and all the magiſtrates, left *Rome* in great haſte, and attended *Pompey* into *Campania* [s].

Rome *in the utmoſt conſternation.*

Pompey abandons Rome.

IN the mean time, *Cæſar*, having raiſed new troops in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, ſent *Marc Antony* with a detachment to ſeize *Aretium*, and other officers to ſecure *Piſaurum* and *Fanum*, while he himſelf marched at the head of the thirteenth legion to *Auximum*, which opened its gates to him. From *Auximum* he advanced into *Picenum*, where he was joined by the twelfth legion from *Tranſalpine Gaul*. As *Picenum* readily ſubmitted to him, he led his forces againſt *Corfinium*, the ca-

Cæſar ſeizes Aretium, *Piſaurum*, *&c.*

[r] Plut. in Cæſare Dio. Caſs. l. xli Epit. Liv. [s] Dio. Cass. & Plut. ibid. Cæs. bell. civil. l. i. c. 8. Liv. l. cix. c. 46.

Takes Corfinium.

pital of the *Peligni*, which *Domitius Ahenobarbus* defended with thirty Cohorts. But *Cæsar* no sooner invested it, than the garison betrayed their commander, and delivered him up with many senators, who had taken refuge in the place, to *Cæsar*, who, to shew his great moderation in the midst of victory, granted them their lives and liberty (G). *Domitius*, fearing the resentment of the conqueror, had ordered one of his slaves, whom he used as a physician, to give him a dose of poison. When he came to experience the humanity of the

(G) *Domitius*, as soon as *Corfinium* was invested, found means to convey a letter to *Pompey*, wherein he pressed him to march directly to the defence of a place of such importance. *Lose no time*, said he, *but lay hold of the favourable opportunity which fortune now offers you of surrounding* Cæsar. *If you make haste, the war will be at an end. Consider, your credit is at stake You cannot in honour reject the request of the many senators and* Roman *knights, who are shut up in this place. They have recourse to you, as to their deliverer, and take it for granted, that you will not abandon thirty three coborts of the best of your troops to the mercy of the enemy, who hastens to his own destruction.* But *Pompey*'s answer was very different from what *Domitius* expected. He told him, that he could not in his present situation hazard a battle, the loss of which would infallibly bring with it the ruin of the republic. He reproached him with having undertaken the defence of *Corfinium*, and shut himself up in that place contrary to his opinion. He advised him to abandon the place, and join the consular army, with all possible expedition. But as this was not now in his power, he prepared to sustain a siege, provided his machines, assigned his troops their posts, and in order to encourage them, promised each soldier four acres of land. *Cæsar*, on the other hand, provided his camp with all things necessary for a siege; and in the mean time, the eighth legion joined him with twenty cohorts of *Gauls* and three hundred *German* horse. For these he formed a new camp, and appointed *Curio* to command in it. *Domitius*, though he expected no succours, did all that lay in his power to persuade his men, that all the forces of the republic were marching to his relief. But a report being spread, that he designed to escape privately, they mutinied, ran to his quarters, and, having seized him, opened the gates to the enemy. As this tumult happened in the night, *Cæsar*, lest the darkness should encourage his men to plunder and commit violences, deferred entering the town till the next morning. At break of day *Lentulus Spinther*, one of the senators who were shut up in the place, waited on *Cæsar*, who received him with great marks of friendship, which induced the others to submit and surrender the place at discretion. *Cæsar* not only gave *Domitius* his liberty, but restored to him the money which he had taken out of the treasury for the paying of his troops, and was lodged in the hands of the magistrates of *Corfinium*.

conqueror,

conqueror, he lamented his misfortune, and blamed the haſtineſs of his own reſolution. But his phyſician, who had only given him a ſleeping draught, comforted him, and received his liberty, as a reward for his affection[t]. *Pompey*, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe at *Capua*, after the reduction of *Corfinium*, retired to *Brunduſium*, with a deſign to carry the war into the eaſt, where all the governors were his creatures. *Cæſar* followed him cloſe croſs *Apulia*, and arriving with his army before *Brunduſium*, inveſted the place on the land-ſide, and undertook to ſhut up the port by a *ſtaccado* of his own invention. But before the work was completed, the fleet, which had conveyed the two conſuls with thirty cohorts to *Dyrrhachium*, now *Durazzo*, being returned, *Pompey* reſolved to make his eſcape, which he conducted with all the experience and dexterity of a great officer. He kept his departure very ſecret; but at the ſame time made all neceſſary preparations for the facilitating of it. In the firſt place he walled up the gates, then dug deep and wide ditches croſs all the ſtreets, except only thoſe two that led to the port; in the ditches, he planted ſharp-pointed ſtakes, covering them with hurdles and earth. After theſe precautions, he gave expreſs orders that all the citizens ſhould keep within doors, leſt they ſhould betray his deſign to the enemy, and then in the ſpace of three days embarqued all his troops, except the light-armed infantry, whom he had placed on the walls; and theſe likewiſe, on a ſignal given, abandoning their poſts, repaired with great expedition to the ſhips. *Cæſar* perceiving the walls unguarded, ordered his men to ſcale them and make what haſte they could after the enemy. In the heat of the purſuit, they would have fallen into the ditches, which *Pompey* had prepared for them, had not the *Brunduſians* warned them of the danger, and by many windings and turnings led them to the haven, where they found all the fleet under ſail, except two veſſels, which had run a-ground in going out of the harbour. Theſe *Cæſar* ſeized, took the ſoldiers on board priſoners, and brought them a-ſhore. *Cæſar*, ſeeing himſelf by the flight of his rival maſter of all *Italy* from the *Alps* to the ſea, was deſirous to follow and attack him, before he was joined by the ſupplies which he expected from *Aſia*. But being deſtitute of ſhipping, he reſolved to go firſt to *Rome* and ſettle ſome ſort of government there, and then paſs into *Spain* to drive from thence *Pompey*'s troops, who had taken poſſeſſion of that great continent under the command of *Afranius* and *Petreius*. Before he left *Brunduſium* he ſent *Scribonius Curio* with three legions into *Sicily*, and ordered *Q. Valerius*, one of his lieutenants to get together what

Beſieges Pompey in Brunduſium.

Pompey abandons Italy to the mercy of his rival.

Cæſar's lieutenants make themſelves maſters of Sicily and Sardinia.

[t] PLUT APPIAN. CÆSAR. ibid.

what ſhips he could, and croſs over with one legion into *Sardinia*. *Cato*, who commanded in *Sicily*, upon the firſt news of *Curio*'s landing there, abandoned the iſland, and retired to the camp of the conſuls at *Dyrrhachium*: and *Q. Valerius* no ſooner appeared with his ſmall fleet off *Sardinia*, than the *Caralitani*, now the inhabitants of *Cagliari*, drove out *Aurelius Cotta*, who commanded there for the ſenate, and put *Cæſar*'s lieutenant in poſſeſſion both of their city and iſland.

Cæſar goes to Rome.

In the mean time, the general himſelf advanced towards *Rome*, and that, with the more confidence, becauſe he had made himſelf maſter of all *Italy*, without ſhedding one drop of blood. On his march he wrote to all the ſenators then in *Italy*, deſiring them to repair to the capital, and aſſiſt him there with their counſel. Above all, he was deſirous to ſee *Cicero*; and therefore, after having preſſed him in vain by *Oppius* and *Cælius*, their common friends, to come and meet him, he turned out of the road, and went to his country houſe, where he had a long conference with him, but could not prevail upon him to return to *Rome* (H). As *Cæſar* drew near the capital, he quartered his troops in the neighbouring municipia; and then advancing to the city, out of a pretended reſpect to the ancient cuſtoms, he took up his quarters in the ſuburbs, whither the whole city crouded to ſee the famous conqueror of *Gaul*, who had been abſent from *Rome* near ten years. And now ſuch of the tribunes of the people as had fled to him for refuge, reaſſumed their functions, mounted the roſtra, and endeavoured by their ſpeeches to reconcile the people to the head of their party. *Marc Antony* particularly and *Caſſius*

(H) In this conference *Cæſar* earneſtly preſſed *Cicero* to return to the capital. *I have ſeen* Cæſar, ſays he, in one of his letters to *Atticus* 28). *who earneſtly preſſed me to return to* Rome; *but I withſtood his deſire. He looked upon my abſence as a tacit condemnation of his proceedings againſt* Pompey, *and is perſuaded that moſt of the ſenators are induced to retire into the country by my example* Cæſar, in order to prevail upon *Cicero* to come to *Rome*, told him, that he had nothing elſe in view, but to employ him in bringing about a laſting accommodation between him and *Pompey* To this *Cicero* replyed, that he would readily attend him to the capital, upon condition, that he ſhould be at full liberty to declare his opinion concerning the preſent ſtate of affairs But *Cæſar* not liking this condition, *You muſt not then take it amiſs*, replyed *Cicero*, *that I perſiſt, in my reſolution of not going to* Rome; *if I am not allowed to ſpeak my mind, I ought not to appear in the ſenate.* *Cæſar*, little ſatisfied with this anſwer, took his leave of *Cicero*, after having intreated him in a friendly manner not to take any ſtep in ſo nice an affair, without mature deliberation.

(28) *Epiſt.* 10.

Longinus,

Longinus, two of *Cæſar*'s moſt zealous partizans, moved, that the ſenate ſhould meet in the ſuburbs, that the general might give them an account of his conduct. Accordingly, ſuch of the ſenators as were at *Rome* aſſembled, when *Cæſar*, with that dignity and eloquence, which were natural to him, made a ſpeech in juſtification of all his proceedings, encouraged the timorous, gave great hopes to the wavering, and concluded his harangue with propoſing a deputation to *Pompey*, with offers of an accommodation in an amicable manner. He even deſired the conſcript fathers, to whom in appearance he paid great deference, to nominate ſome of their venerable body to carry propoſals of peace to the conſuls and the general of the conſular army. But not one of the ſenators would take upon him that commiſſion, ſome being afraid of *Pompey*, who had declared all thoſe enemies who ſhould ſtand neuter, and others plainly ſeeing that *Cæſar* did not mean what he ſaid (I). He then began to think of providing himſelf with the neceſſary ſums for the carrying on of the war, and had recourſe to the public treaſury. But *Metellus*, one of the tribunes, oppoſed him, alledging a law, forbidding any one to open the treaſury, but in the preſence, and with the conſent of the conſuls. To which *Cæſar* replied, *Arms and laws do not well agree; when I ſhall have laid down my arms, then I will hearken to laws, and let you make as long harangues as you pleaſe; but at preſent I adviſe you to retire.* Having thus ſpoke, he went directly to the temple of *Saturn*, where the public money was kept. But the keys of the treaſury having

The ſenate aſſembles.

(I) *Cæſar* tells us, that he attempted ſeveral times to make up matters with *Pompey* in an amicable manner. On his march to *Brundiſium* he ſent *Cn. Magius*, one of *Pompey*'s chief officers, whom he had taken priſoner, to invite his rival to an interview. But, as the conſuls had already ſet ſail for *Dyrrachium*, *Pompey* anſwered, that he could do nothing in their abſence. In the firſt days of the ſiege he attempted once more to draw *Pompey* to a conference, and with this view ſent *Caninius Rebelius*, one of the chief officers of his army, to mediate an accommodation, together with *P. Scribonius Libo*, *Pompey*'s particular friend. But he returned the ſame anſwer, *viz.* that he could not come to an agreement in the abſence of the conſuls *Cæſar* in his firſt ſpeech to the ſenate ſhewed a great inclination to compoſe matters in an amicable manner, and deſired the conſcript fathers to depute ſome of their body, with propoſals of an accommodation, both to *Pompey* and the conſuls. But men of penetration plainly ſaw, that *Cæſar* was more averſe to any ſort of accommodation than *Pompey* himſelf, and that he talked of it only to leſſen the odium of his proceedings, and throw the whole blame of the war on *Pompey* and his party.

been

been carried away by the conſul *Lentulus*, he ordered the doors to be broke open. This *Metellus* oppoſed, and then *Cæſar*, in a paſſion laying his hand on his ſword, threatened to kill him, if he gave him any further diſturbance, adding, *This you know, young man, is harder for me to ſay than to do.* Theſe words ſo terrified *Metellus*, that he withdrew; and then *Cæſar* took out of the treaſury; which was ever after at his command, an immenſe ſum, ſome ſay three hundred thouſand pounds weight of gold. With this ſupply of money he raiſed troops all over *Italy*, and ſent governors into all the provinces ſubject to the republic. He made *Marc Antony* commander in chief of the armies in *Italy*, ſent his brother *C. Antonius* to govern *Illyricum*, aſſigned *Ciſalpine Gaul* to *Licinius Craſſus*, appointed *M. Æmilius Lepidus* governor of the capital, and, having got together ſome ſhips to cruiſe in the *Adriatic* and *Mediterranean* ſeas, he gave the command of one of his fleets to *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, and of the other to young *Hortenſius*, the ſon of the famous orator. As *Pompey* had ſent governors into the ſame provinces, by this means a general war was kindled in all the parts of the known world. However, *Cæſar* would not truſt any of his lieutenants with the conduct of the war in *Spain*, which was *Pompey*'s favourite province, but took it upon himſelf; and having ſettled his affairs in great haſte at *Rome*, returned to *Ariminum*, aſſembled his legions there, and, paſſing the *Alps*, entered *Tranſalpine Gaul*. There he was informed, that the inhabitants of *Marſeilles* had reſolved to refuſe him entrance into their city, and that *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, whom he had generouſly pardoned and ſet at liberty after the reduction of *Corfinium*, had ſet ſail for *Marſeilles* with ſeven gallies, having on board a great number of his clients and ſlaves, with a deſign to raiſe the city in favour of *Pompey*. *Cæſar*, thinking it dangerous to let the enemy take poſſeſſion of ſuch an important place, ſent for the fifteen chief magiſtrates of the city, and adviſed them not to begin a war with him, but rather follow the example of *Italy* and ſubmit. The magiſtrates returned to the city, and ſoon after ſent *Cæſar* the following anſwer: ſince the *Roman* people are divided into two parties, we will not take upon us to determine on which ſide the right lies. We have great obligations, and an equal affection for both competitors; they are both our patrons, both our benefactors; and therefore that we may not help one againſt the other, our port and the gates of our city ſhall be ſhut to both. In the mean time, *Domitius* arriving with his ſmall ſquadron was received into the city, and declared general of all their forces. Hereupon *Cæſar* juſtly provoked at ſuch unfair dealings, immediately

Breaks open the treaſury.

mediately inveſted the town with three legions, and ordered twelve gallies to be built at *Arelas*, now *Arles*, in order to block up the port. But as the ſiege was like to detain him too long, he left *C. Trebonius* to carry it on, and *D. Brutus* to command the fleet, while he continued his march into *Spain*, where he began the war with all the valour, ability, and ſucceſs of a great hero. *Pompey* had three generals in this great continent, which was divided into two *Roman* provinces. *Varro* commanded in *Further Spain*; and *Petreius* and *Afranius*, with equal power and two conſiderable armies, in *Hither Spain*. *Cæſar*, while he was yet at *Marſeilles*, ſent *Q. Fabius*, one of his lieutenants, with three legions, to take poſſeſſion of the paſſes of the *Pyrenees*, which *Afranius* had ſeized. *Fabius* executed his commiſſion with great bravery, entered *Spain*, and left the way open to *Cæſar*, who ſoon followed him. As ſoon as he had croſſed the mountains, he ſent out ſcouts to obſerve the ſituation of the enemy; by whom he was informed, that *Afranius* and *Petreius*, having joined their forces, conſiſting of five legions, twenty cohorts of the natives, and five thouſand horſe, were advantageouſly poſted on a hill of an eaſy aſcent in the neighbourhood of *Ilerda*, now *Lerida* in *Catalonia*. Upon this advice he advanced within ſight of the enemy, and incamped in a plain between the *Sicoris* and the *Cinga*, now the *Segro* and the *Cinca*. Between the eminence, on which *Afranius* had poſted himſelf, and the city of *Ilerda*, was a ſmall plain, and in the middle of it a riſing ground, which *Cæſar* attempted to ſeize, in order to cut off by that means the communication between the enemy's camp and the city, from whence they had all their proviſions. This occaſioned a ſharp diſpute between three of *Cæſar*'s legions and an equal number of the enemy, which laſted five hours with equal ſucceſs, both parties claiming the victory. But after all, *Afranius*'s men, who had firſt ſeized the poſt, maintained themſelves in poſſeſſion of it in ſpite of *Cæſar*'s utmoſt efforts. Two days after this battle continual rains, with the melting of the ſnow on the mountains, ſo ſwelled the two rivers, between which *Cæſar* was incamped, that they overflowed, broke down his bridges, and laid under water the neighbouring country to a great diſtance. This cut off the communication between his camp and the cities that had declared for him, and reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that his army was ready to periſh for famine, wheat being ſold in his camp at fifty *Roman denarii per* buſhel, that is, 1*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* ſterling. He tried to rebuild his bridges,

Marſeilles *beſieged.*

Cæſar *enters* Spain.

Is in great danger.

but in vain, the violence of the ſtream rendering all his endeavours fruitleſs [u].

Upon the news of *Cæſar*'s diſtreſs, *Pompey*'s party at *Rome* began to take courage. Several perſons of diſtinction went to congratulate *Afranius*'s wife on the ſucceſs of her huſband's arms in *Spain*. Many of the ſenators, who had hitherto ſtood neuter, haſtened to join *Pompey*, taking it for granted, that *Cæſar* was reduced to the laſt extremity, and all the hopes of his party loſt. Of this number was *Cicero*: who, without any regard to the remonſtrances of *Atticus*, or the letters *Cæſar* himſelf wrote to him (K), deſiring him to join neither party, left *Italy* and landed at *Dyrrhachium*, where *Pompey* received him with great marks of joy and friendſhip. But *Cicero* ſoon repented of the little regard he had paid to the advice of his friends, and could not forgive himſelf his having too eaſily given credit to the reports that were brought from *Spain*. He ever appeared gloomy, thoughtful and uneaſy, and even vented his ill humour in ſevere jeſts on *Pompey* (L). The offenſive things he threw out on all occaſions, and his unſeaſonable jeſts, led ſome to ſuſpect, that he kept a correſpondence with *Cæſar*. However that be, *Pompey* would neither truſt him with any command, nor impart to him his deſigns; nay, he went ſo far as to bid him be gone to *Cæſar*'s camp, where he would have leſs reaſon to jeſt, and more to be afraid. Neither did his old friend *Cato* give him a very favourable reception. He was diſpleaſed at his having ſo unſeaſonably declared for a party, which he might have ſerved more effectually, by keeping an exact neutrality. *Cicero* was ſo ſtrongly

Cicero *repairs to* Pompey's *camp.*

[u] Cæsar bell. civil l. i. c. 14. ---- 46. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. c. 14, & ſeq. Dio. Cass. l. 41.

(K) In one of theſe letters he expreſſes himſelf thus: *It will not be believed, that the juſtice of my enemy's cauſe has induced you to declare againſt me. Every one will think that you have been diſpleaſed at ſome action of mine, which would moſt ſenſibly grieve me. A man of honour, who loves the peace and welfare of his country, ought to avoid taking any ſide in a civil war. You cannot do better, nor more for your reputation, than to avoid engaging yourſelf upon any account whatſoever in theſe broils.*

(L) *Pompey* having told him one day, that he had joined the army at *Dyrrhachium* a little too late; *how too late?* replied *Cicero*; *I do not find your affairs in ſuch forwardneſs.* Another time, when he was told, that ſeven eagles had been taken in *Pompey*'s camp, and that the augurs looked upon this as a happy omen; *it would be very lucky indeed*, ſaid he, *if we were at war with the magpies.*

ſtrongly affected with theſe reproaches, that he left the camp, and did not appear even at the battle of *Pharſalia*.

BUT the joy of *Pompey*'s party was not long-lived. For *Cæſar*, after having attempted ſeveral times in vain to rebuild his bridges, cauſed boats to be made with all poſſible expedition; and while the enemy were diverted by endeavouring to intercept the ſuccours that were ſent him from *Gaul*, he laid hold of that opportunity to convey his boats in the night on carriages twenty-two miles from his camp; where with wonderful quickneſs a great detachment paſſed the *Sicoris*, and, incamping on the oppoſite bank unknown to the enemy, built a bridge in two days, opened a communication with the neighbouring country, received the ſupplies from *Gaul*, and relieved the wants of his ſoldiers. *Cæſar*, being thus delivered from all danger, purſued the armies of *Afranius* and *Petreius* with ſuch ſuperior addreſs and conduct, that he forced them to ſubmit without coming to a battle, and by that means became maſter of all *Hither Spain*. The two generals diſbanded their troops, ſent them out of the province, and returned themſelves to *Italy*, after having ſolemnly promiſed never to aſſemble forces again, or make war upon *Cæſar* [x]. Upon the news of the reduction of *Hither Spain*, the *Spaniards* in *Further Spain*, and one *Roman* legion deſerted from *Varro*, *Pompey*'s governor in that province, which obliged him to ſurrender his other legion, and all his money. *Cæſar* having thus reduced all *Spain* in a few months, appointed *Caſſius Longinus* to govern the two provinces with four legions, and then returned to *Marſeilles*, which city was then juſt upon the point of ſurrendering, after a moſt vigorous reſiſtance. Though the inhabitants had, by their late treachery, deſerved a ſevere puniſhment, yet he granted them their lives and liberty, but ſtripped their arſenals of their arms, and obliged them to deliver up all their ſhips. From *Marſeilles Cæſar* marched into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and from thence haſtened to *Rome*, where he laid the foundations of his future grandeur. He found the city in a very different ſtate from that in which he had left it. Moſt of the ſenators and magiſtrates were fled to *Pompey* at *Dyrrhachium*. However, there were ſtill prætors there, and, among them, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who was afterwards one of the triumvirs with *Octavius*, and *Mark Antony*. The prætor, to ingratiate himſelf with *Cæſar*, nominated him dictator of his own authority, and againſt the inclination of the ſenate. *Cæſar* accepted the new dignity, but neither abuſed his power, as *Sylla* had done, nor retained

Reduces all Spain.

Marſeilles *ſurrenders*.

Cæſar nominated dictator.

[x] Idem ibid. c. [illegible].

it so long. During the eleven days he held the dictatorship, he governed with great moderation, and gained the affections both of the people and patricians. He recalled all the exiles, except *Milo*, who had murdered *Clodius*. He granted the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens to all the *Gauls* beyond the *Po*, and, as pontifex maximus, filled up the vacancies of the sacerdotal colleges with his own friends. Though it was expected, that he would have absolutely cancelled all debts contracted since the beginning of the troubles, he only reduced the interest to one fourth. But the chief use he made of his dictatorship was, to preside at the election of consuls for the next year, when he got himself and *Servilius Isauricus*, one of his most zealous partisans, promoted to that dignity. And now, being resolved to follow *Pompey*, and carry the war into the east, he set out for *Brundusium*, whither he had ordered twelve legions to repair with all possible expedition. But, on his arrival, he found only five there. The rest, being afraid of the dangers of the sea, and unwilling to engage in a new war, had marched leisurely, complaining of their general for allowing no respite, but hurrying them continually from one country to another. *When at last*, said they, *and where will this* Cæsar *suffer us to enjoy some quiet? He carries us from place to place, and uses us as if we were not to be tired out, or had no sense of labour. Even our swords, our bucklers, and our breast-plates, are worn out. Does not* Cæsar *gather from our wounds, that we are mortal men, and subject to the same calamities and diseases as other mortals are?* Such was their discourse as they marched from their quarters to *Brundusium*; and as their march was slow, they did not arrive at the time appointed. However, *Cæsar* did not wait for them, but set sail with only five legions and six hundred horse, in the beginning of *January*. When the legions found he had imbarqued without them, they changed their sentiments, and, looking upon themselves as traytors to their general, blamed their officers for marching so slowly. While they were waiting at *Brundusium* for ships to transport them over into *Epirus*, *Cæsar* arrived safe with his five legions in *Chaonia*, the northern part of *Epirus*, near the *Ceraunian* mountains. There he landed his troops, and sent the ships back to *Brundusium* to bring over the legions that were left behind. The war he was now entering upon was the most difficult he had yet undertaken. *Pompey* had for a whole year been assembling troops from all the eastern countries. When he left *Italy* he had only five legions; but, since his arrival at *Dyrrhachium*, he had been reinforced with one from *Sicily*, another from *Crete*, and two from *Syria*.

Is chosen consul.

Cæsar *goes into the east.*

Three

Three thouſand archers, ſix cohorts of ſlingers, and ſeven thouſand horſe had been ſent him by princes in alliance with *Rome.* All the free cities of *Aſia* had reinforced his army with their beſt troops; nay, if we give credit to an hiſtorical poet, ſuccours were brought him from the *Indus* and the *Ganges* to the eaſt, and from *Arabia* and *Æthiopia* to the ſouth; at leaſt it is certain, that *Greece*, *Aſia Minor*, *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, *Egypt*, and all the nations from the *Mediterranean* to the *Euphrates* took up arms in his favour. He had almoſt all the *Roman* knights, that is, the flower of the young nobility, in his ſquadrons, and his legions conſiſted moſtly of veterans inured to dangers and the toils of war. *Pompey* himſelf was a general of great experience and addreſs, and had under him ſome of the beſt commanders of the republic, who had formerly conducted armies themſelves. As for his navy, he had above five hundred ſhips of war, beſides a far greater number of ſmall veſſels, which were continually cruiſing on the coaſts, and intercepting ſuch ſhips as carried arms or proviſions to the enemy. He had likewiſe with him above two hundred ſenators, who formed a more numerous ſenate than that at *Rome*. *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Claudius Marcellus*, the laſt year's conſuls, preſided in it, but under the direction of *Pompey* their protector, who ordered them to aſſemble at *Theſſalonica*, where he built a ſtately hall for that purpoſe. There, in one of their aſſemblies, at the motion of *Cato*, it was decreed, That no *Roman* citizen ſhould be put to death but in battle, and that no city, ſubject to the republic, ſhould be ſacked. At the ſame time the conſcript fathers aſſembled at *Theſſalonica* decreed, that they alone repreſented the *Roman* ſenate, and that thoſe, who reſided at *Rome*, were encouragers of tyranny, and friends to the tyrant. And indeed, as the flower of the nobility was with *Pompey*, and the moſt virtuous men in the republic had taken refuge in his camp, he was generally looked upon as the only hope and ſupport of the public liberty. Hence many perſons of eminent probity, who had hitherto ſtood neuter, flocked to him from all parts. Among theſe were young *Brutus*, who afterwards conſpired againſt *Cæſar*, *Tullius Sextius*, and *Labienus*. *Brutus*, whoſe father had been put to death in *Galatia* by *Pompey*'s orders, had never ſpoke to him, or ſo much as ſaluted him ſince that time. But, as he now looked upon him as the defender of the public liberty, he joined him, ſacrificing therein his private reſentment to the intereſt of the public. *Pompey* received him with great joy, and was willing to confer upon him ſome command; but he declined the offer, deſiring *Pompey* to beſtow ſuch marks of diſtinction on others, who better deſerved them,

Pompey *draws together numerous forces.*

Several perſons of diſtinction flock to his camp.

them, both in conſideration of their age and employments. *Tidius Sextius*, though extremely old and lame, yet left *Rome*, and went as far as *Macedonia* to join *Pompey* there. *Labienus* likewiſe forſook his old benefactor, under whom he had ſerved during the whole courſe of the *Gauliſh* war, and went over to his rival, though *Cæſar* had appointed him commander in chief of all the forces on the other ſide of the *Alps* (M). In ſhort, *Pompey*'s party grew into ſuch reputation, that his cauſe was generally called *the good cauſe*, while *Cæſar*'s adherents were looked upon as enemies to their country, and abetters of tyranny [y].

Cæſar takes Oricum and Apollonia.

BUT to return to *Cæſar*, as ſoon as he landed he marched to *Oricum*, the neareſt city to him in *Epirus*, and made himſelf maſter of it without oppoſition, *L. Torquatus*, who was governor of the place for *Pompey*, having abandoned it at his approach. From thence he advanced to *Apollonia*, which ſtood on the confines of *Macedon*. This important place likewiſe ſurrendered, as ſoon as *Cæſar* appeared before it, *Staberius*, *Pompey*'s governor, not being in a condition to ſtand a ſiege. By theſe two conqueſts, *Cæſar* opened himſelf a way to *Dyrrachium*, a city on the confines of *Macedon*, where *Pompey* had fixed his magazines of arms and proviſions. In the mean time news was brought to *Cæſar*, that his fleet, which he had ſent back to *Brunduſium*, to tranſport the reſt of his troops, had been attacked by a ſquadron of *Pompey*'s fleet under the command of *Bibulus*, who had taken thirty of them, and inhumanly burnt them with the ſeamen on board. This gave *Cæſar* great uneaſineſs, the more becauſe he was at the ſame time informed, that *Bibulus*, with a hundred and ten ſhips of war, had taken poſſeſſion of all the ports and harbours between *Salonium* and *Oricum*; ſo that the legions at *Brunduſium* could not venture to croſs the ſea, without manifeſt danger of falling into the enemy's hands. Hereupon *Cæſar*, being greatly embarraſſed, made new propoſals of an accommodation, ſending *Vibullius Rufus*, an intimate friend of

Makes new propoſals of an accommodation.

[y] PLUT. in Pomp.

(M) It ſeemed very ſtrange, ſays *Dion*, that *Labienus* ſhould abandon *Cæſar*, who had loaded him with honours, and diſtinguiſhed him above all others. But he gives this reaſon for it *Labienus*, ſays he, *elated with his immenſe wealth, and proud of his preferments, forgot himſelf to ſuch a degree, as to aſſume a character very unbecoming a perſon in his circumſtances. He was even for putting himſelf upon an equal foot with* Cæſar, *who thereupon grew cool towards him, and treated him with ſome reſerve, which* Labienus *reſented and went over to* Pompey.

Pompey's,

Pompey's, whom he had twice taken priſoner, *viz.* at *Corfinium* and in *Spain*, to propoſe to him the following terms; *viz.* that they ſhould both diſband their armies in three days, renew their former friendſhip with ſolemn oaths, and return together to *Italy*. With theſe propoſals *Rufus*, who was in pain for *Dyrrhachium*, haſtened to *Pompey*'s camp, travelling night and day, without allowing himſelf any reſt, till he reached it. Upon his arrival he found, that *Pompey* had not yet received advice of *Cæſar*'s arrival; but he no ſooner informed him of the taking of *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, than he immediately decamped, and, by long marches, reached *Dyrrhachium* before *Cæſar*, and encamped under the walls of the city. In the mean time, *Cæſar* was likewiſe advancing towards *Dyrrhachium*, in hopes of ſurpriſing that important place; but, upon the unexpected news of *Pompey*'s arrival, he halted on the other ſide of the river *Apſus*, and intrenched himſelf there, having but a ſmall number of troops with him, if compared with *Pompey*'s formidable army. However, as *Pompey* durſt not croſs the river in *Cæſar*'s ſight, the two armies continued ſome time quiet in their reſpective poſts. As to the propoſals of an amicable accommodation, *Pompey*, ſuſpecting *Cæſar*'s ſincerity, anſwered, that he would not hearken to any terms, leſt it ſhould be ſaid, that he owed his life and return to *Italy* to *Cæſar*'s favour. Nevertheleſs, *Cæſar*, either to gain time, his troops not being yet arrived, or to caſt all the blame of a civil war on his rival, ſent *Vatinius* to treat with *Pompey* in his name. *Labienus* was deputed to receive his propoſals. But while they were conferring together, a party of *Pompey*'s men coming up to them, diſcharged a ſhower of darts at *Vatinius* and thoſe who attended him. Some of the centurions of his guard were wounded, and *Vatinius* himſelf narrowly eſcaped with his life [z].

As *Cæſar* had not a ſufficient force with him to engage the enemy, he wrote letter after letter to *Marc Antony*, who commanded the legions he had left in *Italy*, preſſing him to haſten their embarkation. But *Antony*, either becauſe he wanted tranſports, or was afraid of the enemy's numerous ſquadrons, which almoſt covered the ſea, ſtill continued at *Brundiſium*, which filled *Cæſar* with many uneaſy reflections. Sometimes he accuſed *Antony* of cowardice, and ſometimes ſuſpected him of treachery, as if he deſigned to revolt from him and make a third party in the republic. At length his

[z] CÆSAR. bell. civil. l. iii. c. 19.

impatience

impatience and uneaſineſs put him upon a bold attempt, which nothing could excuſe, but the extraordinary confidence he always had in his good fortune (N). He diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a ſlave, and with all imaginable ſecrecy went on board a fiſherman's bark, which lay in the river *Anius*, or, as *Strabo* calls it, *Aous*, with a deſign to go over to *Brundusium*, though the enemy's fleet was cruiſing on the coaſts both of *Greece* and *Italy*. The veſſel weighed anchor in the beginning of the night, and fell down the river without any difficulty. But it happened unluckily, that a ſtrong wind from the ſea ſprung up all on a ſudden, ſo that the rowers, after having ſtruggled a long time in vain with the waves and winds, which continually drove them back into the river, began to deſpair of getting out to ſea. Then *Cæſar*, who had hitherto never opened his mouth, ſtarting up, diſcovered himſelf to the maſter of the veſſel, who was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee him, and taking him by the hand, *Go on boldly, my friend*, ſaid he, *and fear nothing; thou carrieſt* Cæſar *and his fortune along with thee.* The mariners, encouraged by *Cæſar*'s preſence, uſed extraordinary efforts, and got out to ſea; but the ſtorm was ſo violent, that *Cæſar* himſelf, deſpairing of being able to get to *Italy*, ſuffered the pilot to return to the coaſt, where his ſoldiers met him, and expreſſed, with a great deal of tenderneſs and reſpect, their concern to ſee him ſo uneaſy for want of more troops, as if he could not gain a victory with them alone [a].

Cæſar *tries to croſs the ſea in a bark.*

Cæſar was no ſooner landed, than he diſpatched *Poſthumius*, one of his lieutenants, with moſt preſſing orders to *Marc Antony*, *Gabinius*, and *Calenus*, to bring the troops to him at all adventures. *Gabinius*, unwilling to expoſe all the hopes of his general to the hazards of the ſea, thought it ſafer to march a great way about by *Illyricum*, and therefore engaged all the legionaries he could to follow him by land. But the *Illyrians*, who had, unknown to him, declared for *Pompey*, fell unexpectedly upon him, and killed him and his men, not one eſcaping. *Marc Antony* and *Calenus*, who went by ſea,

Part of Cæſar's *troops cut off in* Illyricum.

[a] Plut. in Cæſare.

(N) Moſt hiſtorians blame this as a raſh action; and he himſelf in his commentaries makes no mention of this, or of another as dangerous an attempt, which is related by *Suetonius*. While he was making war in *Gaul*, upon advice that the *Gauls* had ſurrounded his army in his abſence, he dreſſed himſelf like a native of the country, and in that diſguiſe paſſed through the enemy's centinels and troops to his own camp

were

were in the greateſt danger from one of *Pompey*'s admirals; but had the good luck to bring their troops ſafe to ſhore at *Nymphæum*, in the neighbourhood of *Apollonia*. As ſoon as it was known that *Antony* was landed, *Pompey* marched to prevent his joining *Cæſar*. On the other hand, *Cæſar* inſtantly decamped, and haſtening to the relief of his lieutenant, joined him before *Pompey* came up. Then *Pompey*, not caring to engage them when united, retired to an advantageous poſt in the neighbourhood of *Dyrrhachium*, known by the name of *Aſparagium*, and there incamped. *Cæſar*, having thus at length got all his troops together, reſolved to finiſh the war by one general action, and determine the fate of the world, either by his own death, or by that of his rival. To this end he offered *Pompey* battle, and kept his army a great while drawn up in ſight of the enemy. But *Pompey* declining an engagement, he decamped and turned towards *Dyrrhachium*, as if he deſigned to ſurpriſe it, hoping by this means to draw *Pompey* into the plain. But *Pompey*, looking upon the taking of *Dyrrhachium* as a chimerical project, followed *Cæſar* at ſome diſtance, and letting him draw near to the city, incamped himſelf on a hill called *Petra*, which commanded the ſea, whence he could be ſupplied with proviſions from *Greece* and *Aſia*, while *Cæſar* was forced to bring corn by land from *Epirus*, at a vaſt expence and through many dangers. This inconvenience put *Cæſar* upon a new deſign, which was to ſurround an army far more numerous than his own, and by ſhutting them up within a narrow tract of ground, diſtreſs them as much for want of forage, as his troops were diſtreſs'd for want of corn. Purſuant to this deſign, he drew a line of circumvallation from the ſea quite round *Pompey*'s camp, and kept him ſo cloſely blocked up, that though his men were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions by ſea, yet the horſes of his army began ſoon to die in great numbers for want of forage. *Cæſar*'s men, though in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of corn, yet bore all with incredible chearfulneſs, proteſting that they would rather live upon the bark of trees, than ſuffer *Pompey* to eſcape, now they had him in their power (O). At length *Pompey*, alarm-

Cæſar beſieges Pompey in his camp.

ed

(O) *Cæſar* tells us, that in this extremity ſuch of the army as had been in *Sardinia*, found out the way of making bread of a certain root called *Chara*, which they ſteeped in milk: and that when the enemy inſulted them on account of the ſtarving condition which they were in, they threw ſeveral of theſe loaves among them, to put them out of all hopes of ſubduing them by famine. *So long*

ed at the diſtempers which began to reign in his army, made ſeveral attempts to break through the barriers that incloſed him, but was always repulſed with loſs. One day *Pompey* himſelf attacked one of the enemy's caſtles; on which occaſion *M. Caſſius Scæva*, a ſoldier of fortune, at that time centurion, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the defence of the caſtle in a very eminent manner. He withſtood the efforts of the enemy almoſt alone, made a great ſlaughter of them, and though he was wounded on the head, had loſt an eye, and was run quite through the body, yet he maintained the fight, till *Sylla*, one of *Cæſar*'s lieutenants, brought two legions from the camp to his relief, and then *Pompey* was forced to retire. This caſtle was defended by one cohort only of the ſixth legion, which held out againſt the utmoſt efforts of *Pompey* at the head of four complete legions. Every ſoldier of the cohort was wounded, *Pompey*'s men having diſcharged at them, during the attack, above thirty thouſand arrows, of which the brave *Caſſius* received two hundred and thirty on his ſhield. *Cæſar*, therefore, made him a preſent of two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, raiſed him to the poſt of primipilus, or *firſt centurion* of the legion, and allotted the whole cohort double pay, and double allowance of proviſions ever after [b].

The gallant behaviour of Caſſius Scæva.

And now *Pompey*, being reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of forage, and in great danger of loſing all his horſes, which for ſome time had had no other provender but leaves of trees, reſolved at all events to force the enemy's lines and eſcape. With the aſſiſtance, therefore, and by the advice of two deſerters (P), he embarked his archers, ſlingers,

[b] Cæsar. ibid. l. iii. c. 53. Lucan. l. vi. Suet. in Julio.

as the earth produces ſuch roots, ſaid they, *we will not let* Pompey *eſcape*.

(P) Theſe were two brothers *Roſcillus* and *Ægus*, *Allobroges* and men of great diſtinction in their own country. They commanded the auxiliaries, whom they had brought to the aſſiſtance of *Cæſar*, but defrauded them of their pay, and uſed them with great rigour, which obliged them to carry their complaints to *Cæſar*, who thereupon privately reprimanded them. The two chiefs, offended at this diſgrace, took what money and horſes they could with them, and deſerted to *Pompey*. As they had narrowly obſerved all *Cæſar*'s circumvallation, and knew the weak parts of it, they directed *Pompey* in this enterprize, and proved very ſerviceable to him (29).

(29) *Dio. Caſſ. l. xli. Cæſar ibid. l. iii. c.* 60.

and

and light-armed infantry, and, marching himſelf by land at the head of ſixty cohorts, went to attack that part of *Cæſar*'s lines which was next to the ſea, and not yet quite finiſhed. He ſet out from his camp in the dead of the night, and arriving at the poſt he deſigned to force by break of day, he began the attack by ſea and land at the ſame time. The ninth legion, which defended that part of the lines, made for ſome time a vigorous reſiſtance; but being attacked in the rear by *Pompey*'s men, who came by ſea and landed between *Cæſar*'s two lines, they fled with ſuch precipitation, that the ſuccours *Marcellinus* ſent them from a neighbouring poſt could not ſtop them. The enſign who carried the *Roman* eagle at the head of the routed legion, was mortally wounded; but nevertheleſs, before he died, had preſence of mind enough to conſign the eagle to the cavalry of his party, deſiring them to deliver it to *Cæſar*. *Pompey*'s men purſued the fugitives, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of them, that all the centurions of the firſt cohort were cut off except one. And now *Pompey*'s army broke in upon the poſts *Cæſar* had fortified, like a torrent, and were advancing to attack *Marcellinus*, who guarded a neighbouring fort; but *Marc Antony* coming very ſeaſonably to his relief with twelve cohorts, they thought it adviſeable to retire. Soon after *Cæſar* himſelf arrived with a ſtrong reinforcement, and poſted himſelf on the ſhore in order to prevent ſuch-like attempts for the future. From this poſt he obſerved an old camp, which he had made within the place where *Pompey* was incloſed, but afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it *Pompey* had taken poſſeſſion of it, and left a legion to guard it. This poſt *Cæſar* reſolved to reduce, hoping to repair the loſs he had ſuſtained on this unfortunate day, by taking the legion which *Pompey* had poſted there. Accordingly, he advanced ſecretly at the head of thirty three cohorts in two lines, and arriving at the old camp, before *Pompey* could have notice of his march, attacked it with great vigour, forced the firſt intrenchment, notwithſtanding the brave reſiſtance of *Titus Pulcio*, and penetrated to the ſecond, whither the legion had retired. But here his fortune changed on a ſudden. His right wing, in looking for an entrance into the camp, marched along the outſide of a trench, which *Cæſar* had formerly carried on from the left angle of his camp about four hundred paces to a neighbouring river. This trench they miſtook for the rampart of the camp, and being led away, by that miſtake, from their left wing, they were ſoon after prevented from rejoining it by the arrival of *Pompey*, who came

Pompey *forces* Cæſar's *lines*.

Cæſar *defeated.*

up at the head of a legion and a large body of horſe. Then the legion, which *Cæſar* had attacked, taking courage, made a briſk ſally, drove his men back to the firſt intrenchment, which they had ſeized, and there put them in great diſorder, while they were attempting to paſs the ditch. *Pompey*, in the mean time falling upon them with his cavalry in flank, compleated their defeat; and then flying to the enemy's right wing, which had paſſed the trench mentioned above, and was ſhut up between that and the ramparts of the old camp, made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter of them. The trench was filled with dead bodies, many falling into it in that diſorder, and others paſſing over them and preſſing them to death. In this diſtreſs *Cæſar* did all he could to ſtop the flight of his legionaries, but to no purpoſe; the ſtandard-bearers themſelves threw down the *Roman* eagles, when *Cæſar* endeavoured to ſtop them, and left them in the hands of the enemy, who on this occaſion took thirty two ſtandards; a diſgrace which *Cæſar* had never ſuffered before. He was himſelf in no ſmall danger of falling by the hand of one of his own men, whom he took hold of when flying, bidding him, ſtand and face about; but the man, apprehenſive of the the danger he was in, drew his ſword and would have killed him, had not one of his guards prevented the blow by cutting off his arm. *Cæſar* loſt on this occaſion nine hundred and ſixty of his foot, four hundred of his horſe, five tribunes, and thirty two centurions. Had *Pompey* attacked *Cæſar*'s camp, during this panic, he might have eaſily made himſelf maſter of it, and put an end to the war at one blow. But, being afraid of ſome ambuſcade, he purſued the enemy to the gates of their camp, and then marched back without making any further attempts; which made *Cæſar* ſay, that *he had been loſt without redreſs, had* Pompey *known how to make uſe of his victory.* Thus loſs and diſgrace greatly mortified *Cæſar*, but did not diſcourage him. After he had by his lenity and eloquent ſpeeches, ſuited to his preſent circumſtances, recovered the ſpirits of his troops, he decamped, and retired in good order to *Apollonia*, where he paid his troops, and left his ſick and wounded. From thence he marched into *Macedon*, where *Scipio Metellus*, *Pompey*'s father-in-law, was incamped. He hoped either to draw his rival into ſome plain, or to overpower *Scipio*, if not aſſiſted. He met with great difficulties on his march, the countries through which he paſſed refuſing to ſupply his army with proviſions; to ſuch a degree was his reputation ſunk ſince his laſt defeat. On his entering *Theſſaly* he was met by *Domitius*, one of his lieutenants, whom he

He retires into Macedon.

he had ſent with three legions to reduce *Epirus*. Having now got all his forces together, he marched directly to *Gomphi*, the firſt town of *Theſſaly*, which had been formerly in his intereſt, but now declared againſt him. Whereupon he attacked it with ſo much vigour, that, though the gariſon was very numerous and the walls of an uncommon height, he made himſelf maſter of it in a few hours. From thence he marched to *Metropolis*, another conſiderable town of *Theſſaly*, which immediately ſurrendered; as did all the other cities of the country, except *Lariſſa*, which *Scipio* had made himſelf maſter of.

Pompey purſues him.

ON the other hand, *Pompey*, being continually importuned by the ſenators and officers of his army, left his camp at *Dyrrhachium*, and followed *Cæſar*, firmly reſolved not to give him battle, but rather to diſtreſs him by keeping cloſe at his heels, ſtraightening his quarters, and cutting off his convoys. As he had frequent opportunities of coming to an engagement, but always declined it, his friends and ſubalterns began to put ill conſtructions on his dilatorineſs, to his face. Some reproached him with ſpinning out the war, in order to continue his authority over the *Roman* ſenate and the foreign kings under his command. *Domitius Ahenobarbus* was continually calling him, in deriſion, *Agamemnon*, and *king of kings*, inſinuating thereby, that he had no mind to lay down his ſovereign authority, but was pleaſed to ſee ſo many kings and great commanders paying their attendance at his tent. *Favonius*, who affected *Cato*'s free way of ſpeaking, complained in a ſcoffing manner, that by reaſon of *Pompey*'s ambition they ſhould eat no figs that year at *Tuſculum*. Theſe reflections, together with the complaints of his ſoldiers, made him at length reſolve to venture a general action. With this deſign he marched into a large plain near the cities of *Pharſalia* and *Thebes*, which latter was alſo called *Philippi*, from *Philip*, king of *Macedon* and the father of *Perſes*, who, having reduced the *Thebans*, placed a colony of *Macedonians* in their city. This plain was watered by the *Enipeus*, and ſurrounded on all ſides by high mountains; and *Pompey*, who was ſtill averſe from venturing an engagement, pitched his camp on the declivity of a ſteep mountain, in a place altogether inacceſſible. There he was joined by *Scipio*, his father-in-law, at the head of the legions which he had brought with him from *Syria* and *Cilicia*. But, notwithſtanding this reinforcement, he was ſtill irreſolute, and unwilling to put all to the iſſue of a ſingle action, being ſtill convinced of the wiſdom of his maxim, that it was better

Murmurs in his army.

Pompey unwilling to engage.

to

to deſtroy the enemy by fatigues and want, than to engage an army of brave veterans, who were, in a manner, reduced to deſpair. As he put off from day to day, under various pretences, deſcending into the plain, where *Cæſar* was incamped, his officers forced him to call a council of war, when all to a man were for venturing a general action the very next day. Thus was *Pompey* obliged to ſacrifice his own judgment to the blind ardor of the multitude; and the neceſſary meaſures were taken for a general engagement. *Plutarch* and *Cæſar* tell us, that *Pompey*'s officers were ſo confident of victory, that *Domitius Spinther* and *Scipio* quarrelled, as if they had already conquered, which of them ſhould ſucceed *Cæſar* in the office of pontifex maximus. Others ſent to *Rome* to hire ſuch houſes as were ſuitable to the ranks of conſuls and prætors, as being ſure of entering upon thoſe offices as ſoon as the battle was over. Some put in for the forfeited eſtates of thoſe who followed *Cæſar*. *Spinther* reſerved for his ſhare *Cæſar*'s gardens and houſe at *Baiæ*, and the houſe of *Hortenſius*. The conſuls were ſettled for ſeveral years; but a warm diſpute aroſe about the choice of prætors. The relations of *Hirtius*, whom *Pompey* had ſent againſt the *Parthians*, inſiſted, that regard ſhould be had for him, though abſent. In ſhort, their thoughts ran not ſo much on conquering, as in what manner they ſhould ſhare and enjoy the fruits of their conqueſt, as if they were to engage, ſays *Plutarch*, *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, or ſome petty king of *Nabathæa*, and not that *Cæſar*, who had ſtormed a thouſand towns, ſubdued above three hundred different nations, gained innumerable victories, taken a million of men priſoners, and ſlain as many upon the ſpot in pitched battles. This preſumption was founded on the number of their forces; for *Pompey*'s army conſiſted of forty five thouſand foot, ſeven thouſand horſe well mounted and armed, and a great number of dart-men and ſlingers; whereas *Cæſar* had at moſt but twenty two thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe [c].

The confidence of Pompey's officers.

When the day came, on which the fate of the world was to be decided, *Pompey*, having aſſembled his troops, made them the following ſpeech, which is recorded by ſeveral writers. "As I have been induced by your ardor to venture "a battle, contrary to my own judgment, let me ſee you be- "have in it with bravery. As you ſurpaſs the enemy in num- "bers, ſtrive to do ſo in courage and reſolution. Look back "with pleaſure on the glorious battle of *Dyrrhachium*; main- "tain the glory you there acquired, and ſuffer not the beſt cauſe

Pompey's *ſpeech to his men.*

[c] Appian. Plut. Cæsar. ibid.

"to

" to ſink under the deſperate attempts of one, whoſe main aim is " to deprive you of your liberty, and change the republic " into a monarchy. Remember, that *Pompey* leads you, that " the authority of the ſenate ſupports you, and the gods " protect you". Having thus ſpoke he cauſed the gates of the camp to be opened, and marched out at the head of his army. *Cæſar* was ſo far from expecting to engage that day, that he had already given the ſignal for decamping, with a deſign to march towards *Scotuſſa*, his army being reduced to great ſtraights for want of forage and proviſions. But while his ſoldiers were buſy in taking down their tents and ſending away their cattle, ſervants, and baggage before them, word was brought him by his ſcouts that they had ſeen arms carried to and fro in the enemy's camp, and that they had heard a noiſe and buſtle as of men preparing for battle. Not long after other ſcouts came in with further intelligence, that the enemy were marching out of their intrenchments, and that the firſt ranks were already drawn up in the plain. *Cæſar*, tranſported with joy at this news, told his men, that *the ſo much wiſhed-for day was come at laſt, when they ſhould fight with men, not with hunger and famine.* Then he ordered the red ſtandard, the uſual ſignal of battle among the *Romans*, to be ſet up before his tent; which was no ſooner obſerved by the ſoldiers, than they left their tents, and with loud ſhouts of joy repaired to their arms. The officers drew up their reſpective corps, every man falling into his proper rank, without any trouble or noiſe. When he had drawn up his men, he ordered three legions to level the ramparts, and fill up the ditches of his camp, telling them with great confidence, that they ſhould lodge that night in *Pompey*'s camp. This he ſaid not from a dependence on the vain aſſurances of the augurs and the preſages of victory, which were brought him from all parts (Q); but on his own addreſs and the experienced valour of his veterans. After he had levelled his trenches, he harangued his troops

Pompey prepares for battle.

(Q) He had three days before purified his army by a ſacrifice, according to cuſtom, when the augur, upon the death of the firſt victim, told him, that within three days he ſhould come to a deciſive action. *Cæſar* aſked him, whether he ſaw any thing in the intrails, which promiſed an happy event? *That*, anſwered the augur, *you can beſt tell yourſelf; for the gods promiſe a great alteration from the preſent poſture of affairs; if therefore you think yourſelf happy now, expect worſe fortune; if unhappy, hope for better.* The night before the battle, as he went the rounds about midnight, he ſaw a light in the heaven very bright and flaming, which ſeemed to paſs over his camp

Cæſar's ſpeech to his ſoldiers.

troops according to cuſtom, but with ſuch an air of confidence and ſatisfaction, as was ſufficient to have inſpired cowards with courage. "Fellow-ſoldiers, ſaid he, the worſt "part of our labours is now paſt. To-day we are not to "fight with hunger and want, but with men; nay, with "thoſe very men who left *Italy*, becauſe they could not ſtand "before us, and who would deprive us of the honours that "are due to us for a long courſe of victories. If therefore "you have any grateful ſenſe of my benevolence and bounty, "let it now exert itſelf; and remember your promiſes at "*Dyrrhachium*. You there vowed, that you would conquer "or die; and it is no difficult matter for veterans to conquer "raw ſoldiers, eſpecially when they fight under a general, "who, I know, is driven to a battle contrary to his own "judgment. This I ſay of the *Italians* only; as for the *A-*"*ſiatics*, give yourſelves no concern about them; their own "fears will diſperſe them. Exert therefore all your valour "againſt the *Roman* legions and *Italian* cohorts. I have le-"velled your trenches, that you may have no reſource but "in victory, and that the enemy may ſee, we are determined to "lodge in their camp by our deſtroying our own". This ſaid, he marched into the plain, and obſerving the diſpoſition of the enemy, as he drew near them, regulated his own by it. *Pompey* was on the left wing, with the two legions which *Cæſar* had returned to him at the beginning of the war (R). *Scipio*, *Pompey*'s father-in-law, was in the centre, with thel egions he had brought from *Syria*, and the reinforcements ſent by ſeveral kings ond ſtates of *Aſia*. The *Cilician* legion and ſome cohorts, which had ſerved in *Spain*, were in the right under the command of *Afranius* (S). As *Pompey*'s right wing was covered by the *Enipeus*, he ſtrengthened the left with his ſlingers, archers, and the ſeven thouſand *Roman* horſe, on whom chiefly his party founded their hopes of victory. The

The diſpoſition of the two armies.

camp and fall into *Pompey*'s; and when *Cæſar*'s men came to relieve the guard in the morning, they perceived a panic among the enemy (30).

(R) *Cæſar* and *Appian* agree, that *Pompey* poſted himſelf in his left wing; but *Plutarch* places him in the right.

(S) Here again *Plutarch* differs from *Cæſar*, and gives *Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus* the command of the right wing, without ſo much as mentioning *Afranius*. It is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that the account which *Cæſar* himſelf has left us of this memorable battle, ſhould meet with contradiction. Surely his evidence muſt be of the greateſt authority.

(30) *Plut. in Pomp. & Cæſare.*

whole

whole army was drawn up in three lines with very little ſpaces between them. In conformity to this diſpoſition, *Cæſar's* army was drawn up in the following order: The tenth legion which had on all occaſions ſignalized themſelves above all the reſt, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been conſiderably weakened in the action at *Dyrrhachium*, the eighth legion was poſted ſo near it, as to be able to ſupport and reinforce it upon occaſion. The reſt of *Cæſar's* forces filled up the ſpace between the two wings. *Marc Antony* commanded the left wing, *Sylla* the right, and *Cneius Domitius Calvinus* the main body. As for *Cæſar*, he poſted himſelf on the right over-againſt *Pompey*, that he might have him always in ſight. His army was likewiſe drawn up in three lines, but with larger ſpaces between the corps. *Pompey*, as we have hinted above, placed his whole body of horſe in his left wing, in order to diſtreſs and cut off the tenth legion, at the head of which *Cæſar* always fought in perſon. Hereupon *Cæſar*, who had only a thouſand horſe to oppoſe the enemy's ſeven thouſand, ſupplied that defect with a body of choice infantry, which he picked out of the legionaries of the third line, and formed into ſix cohorts. Theſe he placed behind the tenth legion, commanding them to advance to the front as ſoon as the enemy's cavalry ſhould charge, and together with the legionaries ſuſtain the firſt onſet of the cavalry. He likewiſe commanded them not to diſcharge their javelins at a diſtance, but firſt to cloſe with the enemy, and then aim only at the faces of the horſemen, who were for the moſt part young patricians, and therefore, as he rightly imagined, would be more ſolicitous about preſerving their beauty than gaining a victory. Thus was the whole plain covered from *Pharſalia* to the *Enipeus* with two armies, dreſſed and armed after the ſame manner, and bearing the ſame enſigns, the *Roman* eagles. *Pompey*, obſerving how well the enemy kept their ranks, expecting quietly the ſignal of battle; and on the contrary how impatient and unſteady his own men were, running up and down in great diſorder for want of experience, began to be afraid, leſt his ranks ſhould be broke upon the firſt onſet; and therefore commanded the foot in the front to keep their ground, and quietly wait for the enemy (T). The two armies,

(T) *Cæſar* in his third book of the civil war blames this conduct. We ſhall give the reader a tranſlation of the whole paſſage from his own words; for every thing ſpoken by ſuch a man as *Cæſar* ought to be kept intire: "There was juſt as much ſpace "between the two armies, ſays he, as was ſufficient for both to "meet

armies, though within reach of each other, kept for some time a mournful silence, which might possibly proceed from the melancholy reflections of both parties. For what could be more affecting, than to consider, that the son had taken arms against the father, brother against brother, citizen against citizen, and friend against friend? At length the trumpets sounded the charge, and *Cæsar*'s army advanced in good order to begin the attack, being encouraged by the example of one *Caius Crastinus*, a centurion, who, at the head of a hundred and twenty men, threw himself upon the enemy's first line with incredible fury. This he did to acquit himself of a promise he had solemnly made to *Cæsar*, who, meeting him as he was going out of his tent in the morning, asked him after some discourse, *What his opinion was touching the event of the battle?* To which he, stretching out his hand, replied aloud, *Thine is the victory*, Cæsar; *thou shalt conquer gloriously, and I myself this day will be the subject of thy praise, either dead or alive.* In pursuance of this promise he broke out of his rank, as soon as the trumpets sounded, and at the head of his company ran in upon the enemy, and made a great slaughter of them. But while he was still pressing forward, forcing his way

The battle of Pharsalia. Year of the flood, 2956. Before Christ, 43. Of Rome, 705.

" meet and charge. But *Pompey* had ordered his men to receive
" the enemy's onset without stirring, and keep their posts, till
" *Cæsar*'s army by charging first should be disordered. This he is
" said to have done by the advice of *Triarius*, to the end, that the
" first force and impetuosity of those troops might abate and be
" weakened, and their ranks thinned; and that then those, who
" had remained firm in their posts, might attack them with better
" success, when they were thus broken and dispersed. Besides, he
" was in hopes that their javelins would do less execution, if they
" received them in their posts, than if they advanced to meet them,
" and that *Cæsar*'s soldiers, running the whole void or space in-
" stead of meeting them in the middle of it, would come up out of
" breath and wearied. But, in my opinion, this was founded upon
" no manner of reason, because there is a natural vehemence and
" alacrity implanted in every man, which is kindled in the mind by
" an eagerness and impatience to begin the onset, which should
" not be checked, but rather encouraged, by the general. Our
" ancestors therefore wisely ordained, that trumpets should sound
" on every side, and all the soldiers raise a shout, conceiving that
" those were the most proper means to animate and encourage their
" own troops, and daunt the enemy (31)". Thus far *Cæsar*. However, it is certain, that generals of great fame and experience have sometimes done as *Pompey* did.

(31) *Cæs. bell. civil. l.* iii.

through

through the firſt line, one of *Pompey*'s men ran him in at the mouth with ſuch violence, that the point of the ſword came out at the hind-part of his neck. Upon his death *Pompey*'s ſoldiers took courage, and with great bravery ſtood the enemy's onſet. While the foot was thus ſharply engaged in the centre, *Pompey*'s horſe in the left wing marched up confidently, and, having firſt widened their ranks with a deſign to ſurround *Cæſar*'s right wing, charged his cavalry, and forced them to give ground (U). Hereupon *Cæſar* ordered his horſe to retreat a little, and give way to the ſix cohorts, which he had poſted in the rear as a body of reſerve. Theſe, upon a ſignal given, coming up, charged the enemy's horſe with that reſolution and good order, which is peculiar to men who have ſpent all their lives in camps. They remembered their inſtructions, not ſtriking at the legs or thighs of the enemy, but aiming only at their faces. This unexpected and new manner of fighting had the deſired effect. For the young patricians, whom *Cæſar* contemptuouſly calls the *pretty young dancers*, not being able to bear the thoughts of having their faces deformed with ſcars, turned their backs, and, covering their faces with their hands, fled in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving the foot at the mercy of the enemy. *Cæſar*'s men did not purſue the fugitives, but charging the foot of that wing, now naked and unguarded, ſurrounded them, and cut moſt of them in pieces. *Pompey* was ſo tranſported with rage, in ſeeing the flower of his forces thus put to flight, or cut in pieces, that he left his army, and retired ſlowly towards his camp, looking more like a man diſtracted, and beſide himſelf, than one, who, by his exploits, had acquired the ſurname of *The Great* (W). When he had reached the camp, Pompey *retires to his camp, and his army is defeated.*

(U) *Cæſar* himſelf owns, that his cavalry gave way, and were in danger of being cut in pieces, when the ſix cohorts advanced to ſupport them. *Plutarch* therefore muſt be miſtaken, when he ſays, that theſe cohorts attacked *Pompey*'s cavalry before they had time to charge that of *Cæſar*. The memoirs he followed in his account of this battle ſeem not to have been the moſt exact.

(W) *Plutarch* applies to *Pompey*, as he is retiring before *Cæſar*, a paſſage in the eleventh *Iliad*, where *Homer* ſpeaks in a lofty manner of the flight of *Ajax* before *Hector*:

But partial *Jove* elpouſing *Hector*'s part,
Shot heav'n bred horror through the *Grecian*'s heart:
Confus'd, unnerv'd in *Hector*'s preſence grown,
Amaz'd he ſtood, with terrors not his own.
Oer his broad back his mighty ſhield he threw,
And glaring round with ghaſtly ſteps withdrew. *Pope.*

For

he retired to his tent, without ſpeaking a word to any, and continued there, like one whom the gods had deprived of his ſenſes, till his whole army was defeated. *Cæſar* no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of the field, than he marched to attack the enemy's intrenchments, that *Pompey* might not have time to recollect himſelf. When *Pompey* was informed that his rival was advancing to attack his intrenchments, he then firſt ſeemed to have recovered his ſenſes, and cried out, *What! into my camp too?* He ſaid no more; but immediately laying aſide the marks of his dignity, and putting on ſuch a garment as might beſt favour his flight, he ſtole out at the decuman gate, and took the road to *Lariſſa*, which city had hitherto ſhewn great attachment to him. In the mean time *Cæſar* began the attack on the enemy's camp, which was vigorouſly defended by the cohorts *Pompey* had left to guard it; but they were at length forced to yield (X). *Cæſar* was not a little ſurpriſed, when, after having forced the intrenchments, he found the enemy's tents and pavillions richly adorned with carpets and hangings, their couches ſtrewed with flowers, their tables ready ſpread, and ſide-boards ſet out with abundance of plate, bowls, and glaſſes, and ſome of them even filled with wine. So great was the confidence of *Pompey*'s party, that they made preparations before-hand for pleaſures to be enjoyed after the victory, which they thought certain. In *Pompey*'s tent *Cæſar* found the box in which he kept his letters; but, with a moderation and magnanimity worthy of himſelf, he burnt them

Cæſar *makes himſelf maſter of* Pompey's *camp.*

(X) *Cæſar* tells us, that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp, made a vigorous reſiſtance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he reſolved to inveſt them. But before he had finiſhed his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that poſt, and retire towards *Lariſſa*. *Cæſar* purſued the fugitives at the head of the fourth legion, and, after ſix miles march, came up with them. But they not caring to engage a victorious legion led on by *Cæſar*, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though *Cæſar*'s men were quite ſpent, and ready to faint with the exceſſive heat and fatigue of the whole day, yet, by his obliging manner, he prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of the water from the enemy by a trench. This obliged the unfortunate fugitives to come to a capitulation, throw down their arms, and implore the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except ſome ſenators, who, as it was now night, eſcaped in the dark. *Cæſar* received thoſe who ſurrendered with all the clemency and kindneſs imaginable, forbidding his ſoldiers to offer them the leaſt inſult, or even to plunder their baggage.

all

all without reading one, ſaying, that he had rather be ignorant of crimes, than obliged to puniſh them [d].

THE next day, when the dead were numbered, it appeared that *Cæſar* had ſcarce loſt two hundred men, among whom were about thirty centurions, whom *Cæſar* cauſed to be buried with great ſolemnity. He did particular honours to the body of *Craſſinus*, who had begun the battle, and ordered his aſhes to be depoſited in a tomb, which he erected to his memory. On *Pompey*'s ſide the number of the dead amounted to fifteen thouſand according to ſome, and to twenty-five thouſand according to others (Y). *Aſinius Pollio*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, tells us, that *Cæſar*, when he ſaw the field of battle covered with many dead bodies, cried out with a deep ſigh; *This they would have; they brought me, by their obſtinacy, to the ſad neceſſity of conquering them to ſecure myſelf.* Among the dead were found the bodies of ten ſenators, and forty knights. One of the ſenators was *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who fled from the camp when *Cæſar* attacked it; but, being exhauſted with fatigue, a body of horſe came up with him, and left him dead on the plain of *Pharſalia*. *Cæſar* took twenty-four thouſand priſoners, eight eagles, and a hundred and eighty enſigns. All the *Roman* citizens were immediately, by his orders, ſet at liberty; and it muſt be owned, that no conqueror ever took more pleaſure than *Cæſar* in acts of clemency. Some writers aſcribe his moderation to policy; but it is manifeſt, from his whole conduct before, as well as after the battle of *Pharſalia*, that he was endowed with a great fund of good-nature and humanity. He had always ſhewn a particular affection for young *Marcus Brutus*, whom he believed to be his ſon (Z); and therefore, as he had ſided with *Pompey*, and fought under his banners, he was under the utmoſt concern in not ſeeing him appear after the battle; nor was his pleaſure leſs when he ſaw him ſafe, ſurrendering himſelf to him, and imploring his clemency. He received him with inexpreſſible joy, and marks of the moſt tender and ſin-

His clemency and moderation

[d] PLUT. in Pomp. & Cæſar. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. DIO. CASS. l. xli. Cæſar. bell. civil. l. iii. c. 60 --- 91.

(Y) *Appian* quotes ſome writers, who made *Cæſar*'s loſs amount to twelve hundred legionaries. *Aſinius Pollio*, who was preſent in this action, and fought in *Cæſar*'s army, reduces the number of the ſlain, on *Pompey*'s ſide, to ſix thouſand men. But he is contradicted by all the antients.

(Z) *Cæſar* was paſſionately in love with *Servilia* the mother of *Brutus*, who gave herſelf up entirely to him; whence *Cæſar*, as *Plutarch* obſerves, had reaſon to believe that *Brutus* was his ſon.

cere

ctre friendſhip, not ſuſpecting then, that he would one day become an accomplice of his death.

Cæſar *reſolves to purſue* Pompey.

Cæſar, though victorious, could not think the work complete ſo long as his rival lived. His fleets were ſtill maſters of the ſea. *Lælius*, who commanded one of them, had lately beſieged *Vatinius*, *Cæſar*'s lieutenant, in *Brunduſium*, and *Caius Caſſius* had burnt above forty of his galleys in the ſtraits of *Meſſana*. Beſides, the remains of his troops might unite again, and, by the help of new levies and auxiliaries from foreign kings, make as formidable an army as the former; ſince *Egypt*, *Africa*, *Numidia*, *Pontus*, *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia* ſeemed to have eſpouſed his cauſe with great zeal. *Cato*, whom *Pompey* had left at *Dyrrhachium* with fifteen cohorts, and three hundred galleys, might follow him, and renew the war in ſome other country. So that *Pompey*'s party, though weakened, was not entirely deſtroyed. *Cæſar* therefore, in order to complete the work, either by the death or captivity of his competitor, reſolved to ſet all other things aſide, and purſue *Pompey* into what part ſoever of the world he ſhould retire. Purſuant to this reſolution, after he had ſtayed two days at *Pharſalia*, to return thanks to the gods for the victory he had gained, and to refreſh his ſoldiers, he ſet out on the third with his cavalry, advancing every day as far as he poſſibly could, while one legion followed him by more eaſy marches [e].

Pompey's *flight and adventures*

As for *Pompey*, he took the rout, as we have hinted above, to *Lariſſa*. When he had got a little way from the camp, he diſmounted, and, finding the enemy did not purſue him, walked on leiſurely with his ſmall retinue, wholly taken up with ſuch thoughts as were natural to a perſon of his condition and circumſtances. He had been, for the ſpace of thirty-four years together, accuſtomed to conqueſt and victory, and was then at laſt, in his old age, beginning to know the calamities of war in ſlaughter and flight. He conſidered, with the greateſt concern imaginable, that he had loſt in one hour all the glory and power, which he had been gaining for ſo many years in innumerable battles; and that he, who, a little before, was guarded by a mighty army, and attended by kings, was now flying in ſo mean a condition, and with ſo ſmall a retinue, that his very enemies could not know him. Thus he came to *Lariſſa*, but would not enter the city, notwithſtanding the preſſing invitations of the inhabitants, leſt their kindneſs to him ſhould provoke *Cæſar* and bring them into trouble; nay, he exhorted them to ſubmit to the conqueror,

[e] Cæſar. bell. civil. l. iii. Appian. l. ii.

and

and have timely recourſe to his clemency. From *Lariſſa* he purſued his rout with *L. Lentulus*, the laſt year's conſul, *P. Lentulus*, and the ſenator *Favonius*, and in the evening reached the vale of *Tempe* in *Theſſaly*, greatly fatigued and deſtitute of all neceſſaries of life. There, as he was very thirſty, he kneeled down and drank out of a river, which watered that fruitful plain. Then riſing up, he croſſed the valley, and, coming to the ſea-ſide, betook himſelf to a poor fiſherman's cottage, where he paſſed the remainder of the night. How dreadful this night muſt have been, not ſo much on account of the inconveniencies of the place, as of his own tormenting reflections, we leave the reader to judge. The next morning by break of day, he went into a ſmall boat on the river *Peneus*, and, taking his freemen along with him, diſmiſſed his ſlaves, adviſing them to go boldly to *Cæſar*, and not be afraid. As he was going in the boat along the ſhore, he happened to ſpy a great ſhip of burden, riding at anchor, and juſt ready to ſet ſail. The maſter of the ſhip, by name *Peticius*, a *Roman* citizen (A), knowing *Pompey*, took him into his ſhip, together with the two *Lentuli*, *Favonius*, and ſuch of his attendants as he thought fit. Soon after they had got aboard, they diſcovered *Deiotarus*, tetrarch of *Galatia*, who had ſerved under *Pompey* and made his eſcape after the battle, flying full ſpeed towards the ſhore. At the requeſt of *Pompey*, *Peticius* ſtayed and took him in likewiſe. *Cicero* tells us, that this prince had joined *Pompey* before the battle, depending on the flight of birds, which, he thought, promiſed his arms good ſucceſs. As the illuſtrious *Roman* had diſmiſſed his attendants, *Favonius* performed the meaneſt offices about him, not ſcrupling to wait upon him at table, and help to undreſs him. The ſhip purſued her courſe, touched at *Amphipolis*, on the confines

(A) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Peticius* had dreamt the night before, that he ſaw *Pompey* in a deſpicable condition, and that, while he was telling his dream to the paſſengers, one of the mariners acquainted him, that he ſaw a little boat putting off from the ſhore, and that the perſons in it held out their hands, as if they deſired to be taken into his veſſel. Hereupon *Peticius* ſtanding up, obſerved a man in the ſame dreſs, in which *Pompey* had appeared to him in his dream; and not doubting but it was he, he expreſſed with tears his concern for him; and ordering the mariners to let down the ſhip's boat, he called him by his name, as he drew near, and took him in with all his attendants, ready to convey him to what part of the world he pleaſed (32).

(32) *Plut. in Pomp.*

of

Pompey *arrives in* Mitylene.

of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, where *Pompey* took ſome money of his friends for his neceſſary expences, and in a few days made one of the ports of the iſland of *Leſbos*, with a deſign to take in *Cornelia*, *Pompey*'s wife, and his ſon *Sextus*, whom in the beginning of the war he had ſent to *Mitylene*, the capital of the iſland. He no ſooner arrived in the port, than he ſent a meſſenger into the city, not caring to come himſelf aſhore, with news very different from what *Cornelia* expected. For ſhe, having heard no news from her huſband ſince his ſucceſs near *Dyrrhachium*, believed that the war was near ended, and that there was nothing more remaining for *Pompey*, than to purſue *Cæſar* and diſperſe the few troops he had ſtill with him. The meſſenger, finding her ſtill in this perſuaſion, informed her of the misfortune of her huſband with his tears, before he could deliver her any meſſage; and the unfortunate *Cornelia* no ſooner heard of his defeat and forlorn condition, then ſhe fell down in a ſwoon, and continued a long time ſenſeleſs.

The meeting of Pompey *and his wife* Cornelia.

When ſhe came to herſelf, ſhe ſtarted up and haſtened to the ſea-ſide, where the ſight of *Pompey* renewed her grief. She fainted away a ſecond time in his arms, and, as ſoon as ſhe recovered her ſpeech, ſhe vented her paſſion in the following words; *It is the effect of my cruel deſtiny, not of yours, that I ſee you thus dejected and reduced to one poor veſſel, who, before your marriage with the unfortunate* Cornelia, *were attended by a fleet of five hundred ſail. Why therefore ſhould you come to ſee me, or why rather ſhould you not have left her to a ſeverer fate, who has been the cauſe of all your misfortunes? How happy a woman had I been, if I had breathed out my laſt, before I received the fatal news from* Parthia *of the death of* Craſſus? *Or how prudent, if I had followed his deſtiny as I deſigned? But I was reſerved for a greater miſchief, for the ruin of* Pompey the Great. *Pompey* is ſaid to have anſwered her thus: *Dear* Cornelia, *you have been hitherto accuſtomed only to the ſmiles of fortune, which perhaps has deceived you in this, that ſhe has been conſtant to me beyond her cuſtom; but it behoves us, who are mortals, to bear with theſe afflictions, and try our fortune once again: neither ought we to deſpond; for it is as poſſible for us to retrieve our former happineſs, as it was to fall from it into our preſent calamity.* All the *Mitylenians*, who ran to the port to pay their homage to their old protector, were witneſſes of this interview, and, being touched with compaſſion, invited *Pompey* into their city. But he returning them thanks for their kind invitation, anſwered, that he would by no means enter their gates, leſt he ſhould draw upon them the reſentment of the conqueror, to whom he adviſed

them

them to ſubmit, ſince he was a man of great goodneſs and clemency. Then turning to *Cratippus* the philoſopher, who then lived at *Mitylene* and came among the reſt to pay his reſpects to his old friend, he began to repine and argue with him, touching the diſpenſations of providence. But *Cratippus* modeſtly declined the diſpute for fear of heightening his ſorrow, and only encouraged him to bear with conſtancy his preſent misfortunes. *Plutarch* obſerves here, that the philoſopher might have eaſily anſwered his objections, by ſhewing, it was neceſſary, on account of the diſorders which reigned in the republic, that the government ſhould be lodged in the hands of a ſingle perſon, and by aſking him, what grounds men had to believe that he, if conqueror, would have uſed his good fortune better than *Cæſar*. But the diſpenſations of providence, adds *Plutarch*, are in the hands of the Supreme Being, and there we muſt leave them [f].

Pompey, having taken his wife and friends aboard, ſailed from *Mitylene*, ſteering his courſe towards *Cilicia*. The firſt place he touched at was *Attalia*, a city of *Pamphylia*, where he found ſixty ſenators of his party, ſeven or eight ſhips of his fleet, and ſome bands of ſoldiers. Here he was informed, that *Cato* had rallied a conſiderable body of troops, and was paſſed with them over into *Africa*. From *Pamphylia* he ſailed with his ſmall fleet for the iſland of *Cyprus*, where he received advice, that the *Rhodians* had refuſed to admit into their ports one of the *Lentuli* and his attendants, and that *Antioch*, the capital of *Syria*, had, at the inſtigation of the *Roman* citizens who traded there, declared for *Cæſar*. Hereupon being at a loſs whither he ſhould ſteer his courſe next, he ſummoned a council of the few faithful friends who followed him, to conſider with them what place would yield him the ſafeſt refuge and retreat, in the preſent ſituation of his affairs. Some adviſed him to paſs over into *Africa*, and there join *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, who had eſpouſed his cauſe and exerted himſelf in it with great zeal. *Pompey* himſelf was for retiring into *Parthia*, as the only country that was fit to protect him in his preſent diſtreſs, and ſupply him with a ſufficient force to make head againſt his competitor. But this was looked upon by all his friends as the project of a man overwhelmed with grief, and reduced to deſpair: They repreſented to him, that the *Parthians* were the moſt inveterate enemies of the *Roman* name; that they had hitherto ſtood neuter, and declared, that they would not eſpouſe ei-

He arrives at Attalia.

He deſigns to retire into Parthia.

[f] PLUT. in Pomp. DIO. l. xlii.

ther party; that they were overjoyed to see the republic weakening herself by her own forces; and lastly, that it was dangerous to expose the young and beautiful *Cornelia* to the brutalities of a dissolute court. This last motive, which was of more weight with him than all the rest, induced him to drop the design of seeking protection among the enemies of *Rome*, though he was much perplexed where to find a safe retreat among her friends and allies. Among those who attended the illustrious *Roman* in his flight was *Theophanes*, a native of *Mitylene*, who, as he was famous for the extent of his knowledge, had a great influence over *Pompey*; and this he made use of on the present occasion, persuading him to retire into *Egypt*, which was but a voyage of three days sailing, where he had reason to expect from young *Ptolemy*, his pupil, all possible assistance, since he had lately restored his father to his kingdom, which favour the young prince had gratefully acknowledged, by sending him a fleet to be employed against *Cæsar*. As soon as the advice of *Theophanes* prevailed, *Pompey* and *Cornelia* with their attendants weighed anchor, and, leaving *Cyprus*, steered towards *Egypt*, some in gallies, others in ships of burden [g].

Theophanes *perswades him to fly into* Egypt.

Cæsar *pursues him.*

In the mean time, *Cæsar*, wholly intent on pursuing his rival, arrived at the *Hellespont*, which he ventured to cross with a small number of galleys, but was met in his passage by *Pompey*'s fleet under the command of *Caius Cassius*. *Cæsar* did not avoid him, though the fleet he commanded consisted, according to *Appian*, of seventy ships; but boldly making towards him, summoned him to surrender. *Cassius* was so struck with the boldness of *Cæsar*, and surprised at his intrepidity and good fortune, that he readily obeyed the summons, and joined *Cæsar* with his numerous fleet [h]. *Cicero* seems to insinuate [i], that *Cassius* did not join *Cæsar*, till after the war of *Alexandria*, when the conqueror was sailing from *Egypt* to *Pontus*, to make war upon *Pharnaces* who had declared for *Pompey*. *Cæsar*, on his arrival in *Asia*, to gratify *Theopompus*, who had made a collection of fables, enfranchised the *Cnidians* his country-men, and remitted one third of the taxes to all the *Asiatics*. He likewise received under his protection the *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and other nations of *Asia Minor*, who came to submit to him

[g] Plut. ibid. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 53. Appian. ibid. p. 480. Dio. l. xlii, & Lucan. l. viii. [h] Suet. in Jul. Cæs. c. 63. Appian. p. 482, 483. [i] Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. epist. 15.

and

and implore his protection. As he could have no certain account of the rout *Pompey* had taken, he resolved to make what haste he could to *Egypt*, fearing his rival should get possession of that rich and wealthy kingdom, rally his forces there, and, with the assistance of young *Ptolemy*, a prince highly obliged to him, renew the war. With this design he sailed for *Rhodes*, stayed there till he was joined by two legions from the continent, and then set sail for *Egypt*, without communicating his resolution to any but *M. Brutus*, in whom he reposed an intire confidence [k].

Pompey *arrives on the coast of* Egypt.

BUT *Pompey* arrived in *Egypt* before *Cæsar*; and being informed, that *Ptolemy* was at war with his sister and incamped in the neighbourhood of *Pelusium*, he steered his course that way, and sent a messenger before to acquaint the king with his arrival, and implore his protection. The king himself, who was very young, returned no answer to the messenger; but *Photinus*, *Achillas*, and *Theodotus*, who were the young prince's chief counsellors and had the greatest influence over him, consulted among themselves about the reception of *Pompey*. *Photinus* was the chief minister of state, *Achillas* the general of the armies, and *Theodotus* a mercenary teacher of rhetoric, but one who was in great esteem with the king, as being his preceptor. While these three were consulting, *Pompey*, riding at anchor at a great distance from the shore, was forced to wait the result of their deliberations; that *Pompey*, as *Plutarch* observes, who thought it beneath him to owe his safety to *Cæsar*, a *Roman* and his father-in-law, stooped so low as to lie at the discretion of three unworthy favourites. *Photinus* and *Achillas* were for receiving *Pompey*, thinking it would be a reproach to the *Egyptian* nation to abandon one in his distress who had been guardian, friend, and zealous benefactor to their king; but *Theodotus* undertook to prove, that it was equally dangerous in that juncture of affairs to admit and refuse him admittance. *If we receive him*, said he, *we shall make* Cæsar *our enemy, and* Pompey *our master; If we dismiss him, we shall render ourselves obnoxious to* Pompey *for that inhospitable expulsion, and to* Cæsar *for letting him escape.* He concluded, *that the safest expedient was to send for him and put him to death; for by that means they would ingratiate themselves with the one, and have no reason to fear the other*; adding with a smile, *A dead man cannot bite.* This cruel advice was approved of, and the ex-

The Egyptians *consult about the receiving of* Pompey.

The advice of Theodotus.

[k] PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. p. 483. CÆS. ibid.

ecution of it committed to *Achillas*, who, taking with him *L. Septimius* and *Salvius*, the former once a tribune and the latter a centurion in the *Roman* armies, and three or four officers more, went on board a ſmall veſſel, and made up towards *Pompey*'s galley, while the whole *Egyptian* army ſtood in battle array on the ſhore. The chief men, who attended *Pompey*, alarmed at the meanneſs of this reception, adviſed him to weigh anchor without delay and launch into the main; but the hero encouraged them, and in the mean time the *Egyptian* boat drawing near, *Septimius*, ſtanding up firſt, ſaluted *Pompey* in *Latin*, giving him the title of *imperator*. *Achillas* complimented him in *Greek*, and invited him on board his veſſel, telling him, that the ſea was ſo ſhallow near the ſhore, that his galley could not avoid ſtriking upon ſome ſhelve. *Pompey*, obſerving ſeveral of the king's galleys well manned, and the ſhore covered with ſoldiers, began to ſuſpect ſome treachery: but nevertheleſs, without betraying the leaſt diſtruſt, he took his leave of *Cornelia*, who already bewailed his death, and commanding two centurions, with *Philip* one of his freed-men and a ſlave called *Scenes*, to go on board the *Egyptian* boat before him, he himſelf followed, repeating to his wife and ſon as he went into the boat, the following iambics of *Sophocles*: *He that once falls into a tyrants power, Becomes a ſlave tho' he was free before.* As thoſe who were in the boat kept a profound ſilence, without paying him the leaſt civility or ſpeaking a kind word to him all the way, in order to begin a converſation with *Septimius*, *Pompey*, looking earneſtly upon him, addreſſed him thus. *Methinks I ſhould know you friend; have we not been formerly fellow-ſoldiers?* But *Septimius* anſwered with a nod only, without ſhewing any manner of civility. Since therefore they all continued ſilent, *Pompey* took a little book in his hand, wherein he had wrote a *Greek* oration, which he intended to ſpeak to *Ptolemy*, and began to read it. When the boat drew near the ſhore, *Cornelia*, who never loſt ſight of her huſband, and was very impatient to ſee the event, obſerved ſeveral perſons of diſtinction running to the ſea-ſide to meet him. Upon this the diſconſolate *Cornelia* took courage, imagining they were coming to wait upon *Pompey* and conduct him to the king; but in that inſtant, as *Philip* his freedman lent him his hand to help him out of the boat, *Septimius*, coming behind him, ran him through with his ſword: at the ſame time *Achillas* and *Salvius* falling upon him with their drawn ſwords, the unfortunate *Roman*, having no means of defending himſelf or making his eſcape, took up his gown with both hands, and

Pompey's *reception.*

Pompey the Great *cruelly murdered, &c.*

and covering his face neither ſpoke or did any thing unworthy of himſelf; but giving a groan, patiently received, without ſtirring, all their thruſts. *Cornelia*, who had kept her eyes fixed on her huſband the whole time, ſeeing the ſwords of the aſſaſſins glitter about him, gave ſuch a ſhriek as was heard on the ſhore; but the mariners on board her galley, ſeeing the *Egyptian* fleet under ſail, immediately weighed anchor, and being favoured by a briſk gale, ſaved the virtuous *Cornelia* and her ſon *Sextus*, from captivity and the cruel outrages they had reaſon to fear from ſuch barbarous and inhuman aſſaſſins. *Cornelia* and her ſon were conveyed ſafe to *Cyprus*; but ſome of the other veſſels were taken by the *Egyptians*, and all thoſe who were on board moſt cruelly murdered [1].

THE head of *Pompey* was cut off, in order to be embalmed for a preſent to *Cæſar*; but the body was thrown naked upon the ſhore, and there expoſed to public view. *Philip* the freed-man ſtayed by it, watching it till the multitude had ſatisfied their curioſity; and then waſhing it with ſea-water, he wrapt it up in a garment of his own, and finding ſome rotten planks of a little fiſher-boat, he gathered them together for a funeral pile. While he was laying them together, an old *Roman*, who had ſerved from his youth under *Pompey*, came and helped him to perform the funeral rites (B). Such was the end of a hero, who in his youth had acquired the ſurname of *Great*, and had triumphed over

[1] PLUT. in Pomp. LIV. l. cxii. APPIAN. p. 481. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 53. DIO. l. xlii.

(B) The poet *Lucan* tells us, that *Pompey*'s body was thrown into the ſea, and that *Servius Codrus*, who had been formerly *Pompey*'s quæſtor and had followed him from *Cyprus*, brought it aſhore, and buried it. His words are:

E latebris pavidus decurrit ad æquora Codrus,
Quæſtor ab Idalio Cythereæ littore Cypri;
Infauſtus Magni fuerat comes: ille per umbras
Auſus ferre gradum, victum pietate timorem
Compulit, ut mediis quæſitum corpus in undis
Duceret ad terram, traheretque ad littora Magnum.

Aurelius Victor adds, that *Codrus*, having burnt the body, buried the aſhes, and on the tomb wrote the following words: *Here lies* Pompey the Great.

three

three parts of the world; but having unfortunately imbarqued in a civil war, more out of a desire of becoming sole master of the republic, than a zeal for her preservation when on the brink of ruin, he perished in it through his own ill conduct (C). The next day *Lucius Lentulus*, the last year's consul, who had left the island of *Cyprus*, and was sailing along the coast, observing a funeral pile, and *Philip*, whom he did not know, standing by it, from some secret apprehension of *Pompey*'s misfortune, came ashore, and being told by *Philip*, that his apprehensions were too true, he said sighing, *Alas! is this the fate of* Pompey the Great! and continuing immoveable, expressed his grief with a flood of tears. While he was thus bewailing the death of *Pompey*, he himself was seized by the king's guards and thrown into a dark prison, where he was soon after put to death [m].

Cæsar arrives in Egypt.

In the mean time, *Cæsar*, pursuing *Pompey* the same way he fled, steered his course towards *Egypt*, and arrived at *Alexandria* just as the news was brought thither of his death. Soon after he landed and entered the city, when the head of his rival was presented to him, some say by *Theodotus*, others by *Achillas*, wrapt up in a vail, together with his seal, on which was engraved a lion holding a sword in his paw; but *Cæsar*, with the utmost horror, turned his eyes from so dismal an object; and, reflecting on his former friendship with the deceased, the inconstancy of fortune, and the calamities which often attend the greatest men, burst into tears, and with a thundering voice ordered the messenger immediately to be gone. He kept the seal; but ordered the head to be buried with great solemnity in the suburbs of *Alexandria*, where he erected a temple to *Nemesis* the goddess of revenge. At the same time he prevailed upon *Ptolemy* to set at liberty all the

Causes Pompey's head to be buried.

[m] Plut: in Pomp. Cæs. bell. civil. l. iii.

(C) Had he continued in his camp at *Dyrrhachium*, and near the sea, of which he was master, he might have forced his rival to wander from province to province in search of provisions, and destroyed his army either by gradual losses, or useless conquests; but he suffered himself to be drawn into *Thessaly*, and engaged his rival, when he might have conquered him without striking a blow, *Cæsar*'s army being then reduced to the utmost extremity for want of necessaries. 'Tis true indeed, that his army forced him, in a manner, to quit his first camp; but this want of authority over his troops is just matter of blame in a general, who bore the surname of *the Great*.

friends

friends of the illuſtrious deceaſed, who had been taken as they were ſtraggling in thoſe parts, and by his orders thrown into priſon. Theſe all joined their benefactor, who received them with marks of the moſt ſincere friendſhip, ſignifying in all the letters he wrote to his friends at *Rome*, that the greateſt advantage and pleaſure he reaped from his victory was, his ſaving every day the lives of ſome *Roman* citizens, who had taken arms againſt him [n].

Cæſar being detained at *Alexandria* by the *Eteſian* winds (D), which continue in thoſe parts during the dog-days, in the beginning of which he entered that port, ſpent his time in demanding the money which the preſent king's father owed him, and in hearing and deciding the controverſy between young *Ptolemy* and his ſiſter *Cleopatra*. *Auletes*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Egypt*, had engaged *Cæſar*, during his firſt conſulate, by a promiſe of ten thouſand talents, to get him confirmed in his kingdom by the *Roman* ſenate and people; and accounted among the friends and allies of that powerful ſtate. Part only of this ſum was then paid; and *Cæſar*, wanting money to maintain his army, exacted the reſt with rigour; which *Photinus*, who was *Ptolemy*'s prime miniſter, by ſeveral artifices made appear to the people to be greater than it was: for he ſtripped the temples of all their ſilver and gold veſſels; and ordered the king's table to be ſerved in wooden and earthen diſhes, giving out, in order to ſtir up the mutinous populace of *Alexandria* againſt *Cæſar*, that he had ſeized all the ſilver and gold belonging to the temples of the gods and to the king. He alſo meaſured out to *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers, with a deſign to pick a quarrel with him before he was joined by the reſt of his troops, muſty

Photinus *endeavours to ſtir up the* Alexandrians *againſt* Cæſar.

[n] PLUT. APPIAN. CÆS. ibid.

(D) By *Eteſian* winds are meant ſuch as blow at ſtated times of the year, from what part ſoever of the compaſs they come. They are ſo called from the *Greek* word ετος a year, being yearly or anniverſary winds, ſuch as our ſeamen call *monſoons* and *trade winds*, which, in ſome parts of the world, continue conſtantly blowing for certain ſtated ſeaſons of the year. Thus the north winds, which during the dog-days, conſtantly blow upon the coaſts of *Egypt*, and hinder all ſhips from ſailing out of *Alexandria* for that ſeaſon, are called *Eteſiæ*, in *Cæſar*'s commentaries. In other authors the weſt and eaſt winds are called *Eteſiæ*, when they continue blowing for certain ſeaſons of the year (33).

(33) *Vide Salmaſii exercit. in Solin.* p. 121, &c.

And

and unwholſome corn, telling him, when he complained, that he muſt take it and be contented, ſince his army was maintained at the coſt of another. This contemptuous treatment made *Cæſar*, tho' he had then only three thouſand two hundred foot and eight hundred horſe with him, exact with more rigour the ſum owing him; but *Photinus*, inſtead of paying it, preſſed him every day to be gone, adviſing him to look after his other affairs, which were of greater conſequence than ſuch a paltry debt. *Cæſar* anſwered, That he was not come into *Egypt* to aſk counſel, but to exact the money which the late king owed him, and to compoſe the differences between the preſent king and his ſiſter *Cleopatra*, who were then at war. Accordingly ſoon after he iſſued out a preremptory order, injoining each of them to diſband their armies, and bring the cauſe before his tribunal for a final deciſion. This was looked upon by the *Egyptians* as highly injurious to the ſovereign majeſty of their king, who, being an independent prince, acknowledged no ſuperior, and therefore was not to be judged by any man. To this *Cæſar* anſwered, That he did not take upon him to judge as a ſuperior, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of the late king, who had put his children under the tuition of the *Roman* people. This quieting all for the preſent, the cauſe was brought before *Cæſar*, and advocates were appointed on both ſides to plead at his tribunal; but, in the mean time, *Cæſar*, being greatly taken with the charms and graceful behaviour of *Cleopatra*, from an impartial judge became her advocate, and betrayed a great inclination to favour her. This provoked *Ptolemy*, who thereupon ſtirred up the whole city of *Alexandria* againſt *Cæſar*. The *Roman* ſoldiers, who were near the king, ſeized him, while he was encouraging the inraged multitude to take up arms in defence of their ſovereign, and ſecured him in the houſe where their general lodged; but nevertheleſs, as the reſt of his forces were diſperſed all over the city in their quarters, he would have been overpowered, and tore in pieces by the populace, had he not from a balcony ſpoke to them, and aſſured them, that the differences between *Ptolemy* and his ſiſter ſhould be ſoon made up to the ſatisfaction of both. Accordingly the next day having aſſembled the people, he brought out *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* to them, and then cauſing their father's will publicly to be read, wherein it was ordered that his eldeſt ſon and eldeſt daughter ſhould, according to the cuſtom of the country, be joined in marriage and reign together, under the guardianſhip of the *Roman* people, he decreed, in virtue of that guardianſhip, which, he ſaid, was veſted in him,

Cæſar ſummons Ptolemy *and* Cleopatra *before him.*

A tumult in Alexandria.

him, that *Ptolemy*, as being the eldeſt ſon, and *Cleopatra*, as being the eldeſt daughter of the deceaſed king, ſhould, according to the tenor of the ſaid will, reign jointly; and that *Ptolemy*, the younger ſon of *Auletes*, and his other daughter named *Arſinoe*, ſhould reign in *Cyprus*. This laſt he added by way of gift to appeaſe the people; for *Cyprus* had been ſome time before ſubdued by the *Romans*, and was then governed, like the other *Roman* provinces, by a prætor ſent annually from *Rome*. *Photinus* was the only perſon in the aſſembly, who did not applaud this decree. As that miniſter had been the chief cauſe of the breach between *Cleopatra* and her brother, and alſo of her expulſion out of the kingdom, he was well appriſed, that both his life and authority would be brought into danger by her return, and therefore exerted his utmoſt endeavours to prevent the execution of the decree. In order to this, he not only ſowed new diſcontents among the people, but prevailed upon *Achillas* to bring his army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand men, from *Peluſium* to *Alexandria*, in order to drive *Cæſar* out of the city. This gave riſe to the *Alexandrian* war, ſo famous in hiſtory, of which we have given a very particular account in our hiſtory of *Egypt* [o]. King *Ptolemy* periſhing in this war, *Alexandria* and all *Egypt* ſubmitted to the conqueror, who thereupon ſettled *Cleopatra* and the ſurviving *Ptolemy*, her younger brother, on the throne, as king and queen; which was putting the whole power into her hands, *Ptolemy* being then only eleven years old; but as he had engaged in ſo dangerous a war only for the ſake of that lewd woman, he made it turn the moſt he could to her advantage. In this war periſhed not only the king, but likewiſe *Achillas* and *Photinus*, with all the accomplices of *Pompey*'s murder, except *Theodotus*, who, abandoning *Egypt* for fear of *Cæſar*, wandered up and down, deſpiſed and hated by all men, till *M. Brutus*, after *Cæſar*'s death, finding him in *Aſia*, which was his province, cauſed him to be put to death, after he had made him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments he could invent. The aſhes of *Pompey* were, ſome time after, conveyed to *Rome*, and delivered to his wife *Cornelia*, who buried them at his country-houſe in the neighbourhood of *Alba* [p].

Appeaſed by Cæſar's *decree.*

The Alexandrian *war.*

[o] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IX. p. 146, & ſeq. [p] PLUT. in Pomp. DIO. VELL. PATERC. ibid.

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